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THE HISTORY OF LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

VVITH THE MOST MEMORABLE accidents which happened in Europe during the two and twenty yeares of his Raigne.

Enricht with many Obſeruations which ſerue as Commentaries.

Diuided into eleuen Bookes.

Written in French by P. MATHIEV Hiſtoriographer to the French King.

And Tranſlated into Engliſh by EDVV: GRIMESTON Sergeant at Armes

Robert



Gordone

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TO THE MOST NOBLE AND WORTHY OF ALL HONORS THOMAS Earle of Suffolke, Lord Chamberlain *to his Maieſtie.*

WHO begins (my moſt Noble Lord) and not ends the Race, receiues no Crowne. I haue begunne to ſubmit to your Patronage, my former endeauours: And therefore thus continue their grace, with preſcription of your honorable name. Your moſt Noble diſpoſition neuer giuing ouer free and honeſt ſeruices; T'were inconſtancie, reſpectleſſe, and rude to relinquiſh, or not euer to celebrate you: Or to an encreaſing Nobilitie and merit, to decreaſe in obſeruance and Tribute. I haue choſen now to preſent your Lordſhip with the Life of one of thoſe Kings, which my former French diſfranchiſements, and makings free in our Engliſh, haue in other ſort toucht at: Now ſelected, augmented, and more par-

ticularly illuſtrated, by the neerer, and more labor'd inſight of one of their learned'ſt, and moſt profit-making Obſeruers. All obiections to his labours, he hath anſwered himſelfe in Sequell; my paines being onely to render him truely, and with as much grace of our Engliſh repreſentation as I might. Nought reſts but your Lordſhips leaſurable peruſall, and examination of both: Together with my zealous deſire of your honorable conceit; that all Offices, performed on my part, in this or any other worthy ſubiect, ſhall euer be particularly confined to your choſen ſeruice, and noble acceptance. So euer remaining in all things

Your LL. moſt deuoted,

EDVV: GRIMESTON.

AN ADVERTISEMENT.

ALthough that all Bookes which are presented vnto the King, proceed not from those excellent pens which haue taken life vnder his raigne, to aduance the French eloquence to the height of glory, no more then all Statues which were dedicated to Apollo, *in Creet, Rhodes and Cypres, were not made by the hands of* Zeuxis *or of* Phidias, *nor the wine which was offered to* Iupiter, *in his sacrifice, did not alwaies come out of the cup, nor grew in those Vines which he desired: yet this History, being but in her Infancy, hath merited the fauour of his iudgement, and of the greatest of his Court, who haue taken delight to see, as in an Astrolab, the rising and fall of those which are on earth as the Sunne is in Heauen. This is the rampier wherein shee fortifies her selfe against so many affronts wherewith she hath been threatned, for curious spirits are not pleased with all kinds of writing, no more then the Planets feed vpon all sorts of vapours.*

The most difficult to please will obiect against her, and mee thinkes I vnderstand these words proceeding out of their mouthes, or from their thoughts: why the History of Lewis *the eleuenth more then of any other? can they giue vs a better then that of* Philip de Commines? *to all these exceptions she hath but one answere.*

What though I giue not all humors content?
A worke that's great cannot please eu'ry taster:
But of so many tasts, so different,
Let it suffice me that it likes my Master.

I haue not affected in this worke the glory of mine owne wit, I haue contented my selfe with that of obedience. I haue made it such as you see it, his commandement carries his reasons, and staies the curiositie of such as desires others. This great Prince, who entertained himselfe and slept sometimes vpon the actions of this King, *as* Alexander *did vpon those of* Achilles, *and who made no lesse esteeme of* Phil. de Com. *then the Emperor* Charles *the fift had done, would haue his History beautified and illustrated in the same manner that I present it vnto you, to the end that being compared with his, Iudgement might make the difference, and that of two they might frame a liuely Image of that which might serue for the conduct of a Prince. The brightnes of truth appeares by the opposition of her contrary, and shadowes giue grace to liuely coulours, examples are of more force then precepts. Cowards instruct the Couragious, and lyars make Men speake the truth. He that turnes from vice encounters*

counters vertue. Iſmenias *mingled both good and bad Flute-players together, to the end that the diuerſitie of their muſick might be a leſſon to imitate the one and leaue the other, and that compariſon might make the difference. There is nothing ſo difficult as to paralel Princes; if there be any conformitie in their fortunes, it is found in their vertues, if they haue attained to one end, it hath not been by the ſame courſe, and therefore they ſay there are a hundreth yeares required to breed a great Prince or a great Captaine.* Lewis *hath carried, and* Henry *doth yet carry the glorious Title of the moſt renowned and magnanimous Princes of their ages: but they haue not purchaſed it by the ſelfe ſame meanes, the difference hath beene great in their humours, and in their kinde of gouernement: Both had one kinde of beginning, the one of the houſe of Valois, the other of that of Bourbon, two branches of S.* Lewis. *There was ſome conformitie in their firſt fortunes; being both retired from Court, and both inſtructed in patience in the ſchoole of neceſsitie: The beginning of their reignes had ſome reſemblance, for both had ſeene a great and mighty faction raiſed againſt them, vnder two goodly pretexts, the one of the Common-weale, the other of Religion: both haue been in paine to expell forraine enemies, to pacifie domeſtique, and to diuide their humors; but what the one hath done by policie and force, the other hath effected by the iuſtnes of his armes, and the mildnes of his clemencie. Both were troubled to moderate thoſe ſpirits, which had yet a feeling of ciuill diuiſions: they haue tried the infidelitie of their ſeruants, and haue made themſelues to bee feared and redoubted; but the one hath maintained the reſpect of his Maieſtie by feare and ſeueritie, and the other by wiſedome and loue. The raigne of the one was a Sea of ſtormes and tempeſt, the other a calme, milde, and cleare hauen.* Lewis *of much did little,* Henry *of nothing did wonders;* Lewis *thruſt himſelfe into apparant dangers to reap doubtfull fruits,* Henry *was neuer ſeene in any place but fortunate and victorious;* Lewis *medled with all things and would ſee and know all;* Henry *is a Prince of all howers and for all affaires:* Lewis *feared the fat of his people,* Henry *beleeues that the felicitie of the ſubiect is the glory of the Prince.* Lewis *the eleuenth had royall vertues, but they were not all pure; his wiſedome had a touch of cunning, his iuſtice of ſeueritie, his valour of raſhnes, his clemencie of feare, his liberalitie of profuſion, and his pietie of diſſimulation:* Henry *takes delight to be what he appeares, and to appeare what he is, wiſe and fore-ſeeing without deceit, iuſt without rigor, courageous without feare or indiſcretion, courteous, milde, magnanimous without puſillanimitie, liberall with iudgement, and religious without hypocriſie.*

Lewis *the eleuenth contemned the Sciences, and learning,* Henry *fauours them, makes choiſe of the beſt wits to reſtore the exerciſes, peoples the Colledges, and labors to make the famous Academies of France to flouriſh, and the Vniuerſitie of Paris, the eldeſt daughter of* Kings, *the* Queene *of the Academies of Chriſtendome.* Lewis *was blamed for the little care he had in the breeding, and inſtitution of his ſon:* Henry *conſidering how much it doth import that the generous inclinations of my Lord the Dauphin, ſhould be ſeconded with good inſtruction, hath committed the care to a Noble-man, which abounds in wiſedome, generoſitie, experience and fidelitie for the greatnes of that charge. Hee doth alwaies hold the minde of this Prince elleuated to things worthy of his birth and courage. France is bound vnto the King, who could make ſo good a choice; the election proues the dignitie of the perſon choſen, makes the excellencie of the chooſers iudgement to bee ſeene, and ſhewes that heauen hath conſpired with him to make ſo happy an accord of two ſuch different ages.* Lewis *would not ſuffer his ſonne to vnderſtand aboue two words of Latin:* Henry *wils that his*

deare

deare ſonne ſhould haue as much knowledge as a Prince ought to haue; he cauſeth his yonger yeeres to be inſtructed in learning, by the diligence of a great and excellent wit, who carefully and iudiciouſly doth ſhew him vvhat he ſhould know, and vvhat he ſhould be ignorant of: he giues him the whole vvorld for a leſſon; for companions, the ſtudy of Emperors and Kings; for a table, the image of glory; for Philoſophy, the knowledge of humors and manners, and entertaining him ſweetly in the varietie of Hiſtorie, vvhich is onely the Booke of Kings, frames his mind to a knowledge vvhich ſhould ſhew it ſelfe more by actions then by diſcourſe: for as he himſelfe ſaies,

For one that's not wedded to Arts, nor of them is vnknowing,
Tis skill enough to render them ſuch honor as is owing.

Lewis had more care then his predeceſſors to forteſie his frontiers, and forts. Henry hath made great workes for the beautifying of his royall houſes, and for the commoditie of his people he makes his forts vnexpugnable, and hath freed his affaires from the outrages and violence of neceſsitie. Lewis was inconſtant in his reſolutions, and did ſometime impaire them by change. Henry in his greateſt affaires ſaies nothing but vvhat he does, and doth nothing without premeditation, calling vppon God in his thoughts. That vvhich is framed in his minde remaines firme. He hath ſo much foreſight as he preuents all impediments, and hath ſo great power as nothing is impoſsible vnto him. Lewis loued a country ruined rather then loſt, Henry, giuen from heauen for the generall good of the earth, hath ſaued, enricht and preſerued the townes, which by the iuſtice of his armes he might haue ſpoiled and ruined. Lewis neuer left offences vnpuniſhed, Henry hath loſt no part of his memory but iniuries. Lewis tooke a delight to cut off the heads of poppy and eares of corne which doe ouertop the reſt, the torrent of his iuſtice hath often carried away the innocent with the guiltie. Henry hath ſo vſed his clemencie towards his greateſt enemies, as if the Iuſtice of God ſhould demand of him the number, he would eaſily giue him an account. Lewis left France ſo weake, ſo ruinous and ſo deiected, as it had nothing remaining but the tongue to complaine: Henry hath chaſed neede, idlenes and pouerty out of France, and from the neceſsitie of his affaires: and to conclude the paralel, there is not any nation which doth not reuerence the name, admire the fortune, extoll the vertues, enuie the triumphs, ſing or vweepe for the victories, loue the gouernment, and feare and redoubt the power of this great and incomparable Prince.

This Hiſtorie doth truely ſhow the diuerſitie of the two portraits, and giues the King an incredible content, to ſee that the raigne of a great, mighty, redouted; and wiſe King, may not enter into comparion with his, by the difference which hee hath ſet in the order of his treaſure, in the number of his forces, in the force of his armes, in the fortification of his frontiers, in the ſtructures of his great buildings, and in the reſtabliſhment of the publike ſafety and felicitie. As for the other obiection which I haue made as done, it is true that Philip de Commines hath related the life of this Prince ſo exactly and iudiciouſly, as if Statius, who hath written the life of Achilles after Homer, did not maintaine my deſigne by his example, I ſhould yeeld my ſelfe vanquiſhed of indiſcretion and preſumption.

Quamquam acta Viri multum inclita cantu
Mœonio, ſed plura vacant, nos ire per omnem
Sic amor eſt, heroa velis, Sciroque latentem,
Dulichia proferre tuba, nec in Hectore tracto
Siſtere, ſed tota iuuenem deducere Troia.

An Aduertiſement.

Though his great deeds by *Homers* lofty vaine
Be highly-ſung, yet much is left vnſaied:
Weele trace him all, and in Dulichian ſtraine,
Sound how this peere was cloſe in Scyros laid;
Nor in his dragging *Hector* ſtop our verſe;
But his yong Acts in all Troyes ſiege rehearſe.

Iudgement muſt be the poulder of ſeparation to reduce euery thing to his element, and will ſhow that he hath not ſo reapt his field, but he hath left ſome eares to gather: In like manner I doe not thinke that I haue ſpoken all things ſo fully, and cleerely, after him, but there will yet remaine ſomething to exerciſe others after me. The huntsman is commended that hunts and takes, but he is not blamed if hee hath not taken all: We muſt yeeld ſomething to the curioſitie and diligence of others. He teacheth not well that teacheth all. Another ſpirit will happily finde ſomethings wherewith to pleaſe himſelfe in this goodly ample field of the life of this Prince. I confeſſe I haue drawne the principall pieces of this building from Philip de Commines, *but the order of the work, the Architecture, and the Ornaments are mine owne. He could not ſpeake, of his owne knowledge, of the affaires of* Lewis *the eleuenth but from the yeare,* 1472. *when as he left the D. of Bourgundy to ſerue him; but this Hiſtory ſpeaketh of the infancy of this Prince, of his tetreat into Flanders, and of all that had happened memorable throughout the world, during the three and twenty yeeres of his raigne, and, beſides many manuſcripts, I haue ſeene the forraine Hiſtories of thoſe times.*

The ten bookes are extended vpon that which concernes his life, and the eleuenth vpon the obſeruation of that which was done in thoſe times, and of that which is done now, to ſhow that Lewis *hath been as much inferiour to* Henry, *as he was held ſuperior to other Kings. If all things haue not bin exactly and curiouſly digeſted, if in many places there be found defects, it ſufficeth to ſay that the worke hath been made following the Court, and printed in my abſence: To conclude, mens mindes ſhould not be more difficult to pleaſe then the Gods of the ancients; Hee that had no milke gaue them water, and he that found no wine offered milke, ſalt for incenſe, leaues and flowers for fruits, and fruits for beaſts. He that giues what he hath, and doth what he can, is bound to no more. They that content not themſelues with that which ſeemes good, trouble themſelues to ſeeke for better. Whatſoeuer happen, all theſe diſgraces ſhall neuer tire nor daunt me: Wee doe not leaue to till and ſow the ground, although the ſeaſons be bad and the harueſt vnfruitfull. Hee that cannot content all the world muſt endeuour to content himſelfe.*

AN

AN ELOGIE OF *LEWIS* THE *eleuenth French King.*



LEWIS of Valois only like vnto him-ſelfe and vnlike to all other Kings, was borne at Bourges, and preſented at the font by *Iohn* Duke of Alancon; he paſt his infancy in the ruines & miſeries of France, and the moſt ſenſible afflictions of his father, to whom there was a part of the Crowne remaining. At eleuen yeares the greateſt of the Realme, abuſing the innocency of his firſt age, to couer their diſcontentment and ambition, made him the head of a faction, which was ſo vniuſt, vnnaturall & odious vnto the French, as it was preſently abandoned euen by them that were the Authors, and laſted but nine months. At fourteene yeares hee was married to the Princeſſe of Scotland, at fifteene Generall of a royall Army into Normandy and Languedoc: At twenty one hee put all Germany in alarum, tooke Mombeliart, beſieged Baſill, defeated ſixe thouſand Swiſſes & ouer-run Alſacia. The bayes of this triumph were all couered with bloud, and ſoone after with tears, by the death of the Princeſſe of Scotland his wife.

The difficulty which hee felt to ſubmit his yong and boyling humors to the temper of reaſon, and his will to that of his father, drew him from the Court, and intertained him ſome yeares in Dauphine, whereas he married *Charlotte* of Sauoy, and made warre againſt the Duke of Sauoy his father in law, drawing vnto his ſeruice ſome by promiſes, others by fauour and preſents, but moſt of all by rigour & ſeuerity, oppreſſing his ſubiects of Dauphine with vnknowne charges, ſo as the cyment of his deſignes was tempered with bloud, ſweat & teares. The King, who was not inſenſible of Complaints, and wept by his ſubiects teares, made it knowne that he did loue his eſtate better then his ſonne. He came into Dauphine, and at the firſt glance of his eyes he diſperſed the deſignes of ſuch as would trouble the order of nature and the Lawes of the Realme.

Lewis, deſiring rather to truſt the enemies of his houſe then his fathers bounty, retires to Bruxelles to Duke *Phillip*, wheras he liued ſix yeares with *Charlotte* of Sauoy his wife, and there receiued the firſt bleſſing of his marriage, by the birth of his ſonne *Ioachim* of Valois, who dyed preſently. All this time taught him a leſſon of patience, being forced to make a vertue of neceſſity, learning to be wiſe in proſperity

ſperity and conſtant in aduerſity. In the end *Charles* gaue him place and left him the Realme vnited vnder the obedience of one, the Engliſh being expelled, and hauing nothing remaining vnto them but *Calis*. All the forces of this powerfull houſe of Bourgondy did accompany him vntill hee had the Crowne ſet vpon his head, which he tooke at Rhemes. Paris receiued him as it were in triumph, and all France ſeemed to reuiue againe at the riſing of this Starre.

The contempt of Princes of the bloud,& the change of officers, the ſeueritie in ſearching out things paſt,with the oppreſſion of the people, were the cauſe of a league which was made againſt him betwixt the Duke of Berry his brother,and the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Calabria,and Bourbon,with the greateſt of the realme. A powerfull and famous faction,which abuſed the ſimple,made the wicked mad, and thruſt good men into deſpaire. The bad ſucceſſe of the Battell of Montlehery was not able to ſhake the conſtancy and fidelitie of the ſubiect. Paris,whoſe motions had alwaies cauſed the reſt of France to wauer, held firme,and this great ſtorme fel, and was diſperſed before her wals. The greateſt Cities of the realme, and the chiefe Prouinces cõtinued conſtant in their duties, & the intereſt of priuat men being contented,the purſute of the publike good was ſtaied. Theſe arrowes being vnbound, *Lewis* had good meanes to breake them. The D. of Normandy is forced to quit Roan,& the D.of Brittaine auoids the ſtorme by his ſubmiſſion. The duke of Burgundy is troubled with the mutinies of his ſubiects, who deſirous of innouations & change did more affect the Earle of Charolois then the Duke of Bourgundy.

Lewis to be reuenged kindles a fire in his eſtate,and ſtirs vp them of Liege, yet making ſhew that he deſired nothing more then the obſeruation of the treaty of Conflans: relying too much vpon his wit and forces,he ingaged himſelfe indiſcreetly in Peronne, where the Caſtle was in ſhow his lodging, and in effect his priſon; he ſaw himſelfe forced to arme againſt his friends, & to receiue a law from him to whom he thought to giue it. The aſſembly of the eſtates at Tours iudge of the iniury of his promiſes, and cannot yeeld that Normandy (one of the goodlieſt flowers of the crowne of France)ſhould be diſmembred: they declare war againſt the D. of Bourgundy. The King takes the towne of S. Quintin, then Amiens, and ſeeing that the Duke of Burgundy, in the deſolation of his affaires, was preſt to giue his daughter in marriage to the Duke of Güienne,he doth not in this proſperitie imbrace the opportunitie, but is content to haue amazed his

enemy

enemy, and grants him a truce, during the which he ſees, as from the ſhore, that cruell tempeſt of England which ouerthrew the houſe of Lancaſter, whom he fauoured, & aſſured the Scepter in that of Yorke, ſuccoured and ſupported by the D. of Burgundy. The Duke of Guiennes death brake the truce and hopes of peace, and brought all them to the brinke of death and deſpaire which had followed his fortune, who were reduced to ſuch miſery, as then the moſt miſerable, hearing the diſcourſe, found therein conſolation and amazement. Many families were ouerthrowne, and that rich and famous houſe of Armagnac was full of ſtrange tragedies and reuolutions. The warre, furiouſly inhumane, began againe, and the Duke of Bourgundy armed to reuenge his death vpon innocents. The towne of Neſle ſaw heapes of dead carkaſſes in her ſtreets, and ſtreames of bloud in her Churches: Beauuais ſtayed the torrent of his fury, and diuerted it vpon Normandy.

The D. of Brittany, although he were gouerned by another head, conſidering the danger wherein hee was, ſubmitted himſelfe to the ſtronger, and ſeeing the K. at Angiers with an army of 50000. men came vnto him to demand a peace. The King of Sicily was diſpoſſeſt of his country of Anjou, beeing forced to retire into Prouence with griefe to ſuruiue his Son *Iohn* D. of Calabria & Lorraine, & *Nicholas Marques* of Ponte his grand-child. Hee doth repreſent the eſtate of his age & houſe in the deuice which he carried of an old ſtock which had no greene ſprout to make it liue, it was *Rene* D. of Lorraine, Son to *Yoland* of Anjou his daughter. The Conſtable, who would diuide his heart in two to nouriſh & entertaine the warre, thruſt the duke of Burgundy into fury & the King into diſtruſt of him, & hauing left the path of moderation & wiſedome, he came vnto the king by that of pride & diſtruſt, refuſing to repreſent himſelfe vnto his maieſty but armed, nor to ſpeake vnto him but by a barre, & vpon a cauſey well garded with ſoldiers.

The D. of Burgondy not able to liue idly during this Truce ſeekes for worke in Germany, paſſeth to Treues, propounds to change his dukes Crowne for a Kings, & is offended with the Emperor for refuſing it: He beſiegeth Nuze, and ſeeing that the croſſes, which he had in his affaires proceeded onely from the King, he perſwades the K. of England to paſſe the ſeas, to renew the pretenſions of his predeceſſors, and to make a fatall combuſtion of all France. But *Lewis* diuerts this ſtorme, and makes a bridge of gold for this King to repaſſe the ſea, ſen-

ding him home as wel content with peace as he was come resolute to war. The King reapt both honor & profit, and by his foresight disappointed the great designes which were laid vnder fauor of this army, and although it had diuers pretexts, as diuers branches of the same stock of sedition and ambition, they were all dangerous; all the kinds of this poison were mortall.

The Duke of Bourgundy was forced to accept a peace of the king, against whom he had proclaimed warre: The coale, which entertained the fire of discord was quenched, and this head that made the windes to blow; which caused the quiet of France to tremble, was cut off at the Greue.

The Duke of Bourgundy, to reuenge a light iniury done vnto the Earle of Romond, vndertakes a great warre against the Suisses, which by the vnfortunate euent of three battels, made him to loose his baggage at Granson; his reputation, his forces and his hopes at Morat; and at Nancy his life, with a part of his estate. The King reapt the fruit of this warre, hauing fauoured and supported the Duke of Lorraine against the great designes of this Conqueror. Hee seased vpon both Burgundies, and vpon a part of Artois, and had forced the Archduke *Maximilian* to leaue the low countries, and to leade the Princesse his wife into Germany, with repentance of his mariage, if the battell of *Guinegaste* had not troubled the face of his affaires, and changed the designes of warre into resolutions of peace, which was confirmed by the marriage of *Charles* Dauphin of France with *Margaret* of Austria.

Age, which neuer comes alone, suffers not the King to vndertake any long and difficult conquests, and binds him to thinke vpon the meanes to leaue his crowne peaceably vnto his Sonne, as it was rich, mighty, and more assured then hee had receiued it from his father, hauing beautified it with many goodly flowers, as *Burgundy*, *Anjou*, *Barre*, *Prouence*, and the recouerie of the Townes in *Picardy*, and of some in *Artois*.

Being prest with troubles of mind as much as with the languishing of the body, and reduced to an estate more lamentable then lamented, in the which he could not liue, & would not dye: he straue foure whole yeares against the force of an incurable disease, and repulst by strange meanes the approches of death, to retaine life, which was but too long for his miseries, and infirmities, as it had beene too short for his designes and hopes. He was forced to yeeld himselfe to discretion

cretion the 30th. day of Auguſt 1483. the 22th. yeare of his raigne, and of his age the ſixtith. He carried nothing from the place which hee left, but the proud title to haue freed the Kings of France from ſubiection or wardſhip, capable to command, not a Realme only, but the whole world. He was interred at our Lady of *Clery*, hauing obtained from Pope *Sixtus* the fourth an excommunication againſt all ſuch as would lay his body in any other tombe then in that which hee had built for himſelfe, and *Charlotte* of Sauoy his wife. He did often viſit this laſt abode, and did lye in it ſõmetimes, that by the meditation of death, he might deſcend liuing into the graue.

The triumphant Chariot of the proſperities of his life was drawn by Wiſdome, Iuſtice, Liberality and Reputation; wiſdome made him victorious ouer his enemies, Iudge of the controuerſie betwixt the Crownes of Caſtile, and Nauarre: Protector of the liberty of the Common-weales of Italy: Arbitrator of the peace betwixt Rome and Florence, and then betwixt Rome and Venice, He added the county of Prouence to the Crowne: Hee vndertooke ſtrange impoſſible deſignes. Iuſtice, alwayes in heat by his extreame ſeuerity, did more often put the ſword of execution into his hand, then the ballance of due conſideration: hee cauſed many great men to feele his rigour whoſe proceſſe he began by the execution.

Liberality, opened him the hearts and gates of townes, which hee battered with his money; cauſed many which were diſtracted from him to come like Bees at the ſound of a baſon: hee vſed it to bind the Engliſh to his friendſhip, the Suiſſes to his ſuccors, and the Brittaines to his ſeruice: Reputation hath held all the powers of *Europe* in admiration of him, and hath made him to bee redoubted of ſtrangers, and feared of his Subiects.

Yet the differences betwixt the priuate and publike fortunes of this Prince were great; his fortunes were of long Time in fauour amidſt his proſperities: In his raigne, he was a wiſe, happy King, a good and a bountifull maiſter, a diſtruſtfull friend, a cruell enemy, and a terrible neighbour; in his houſe a bad ſon, a bad father, & a bad husband: he had no children by *Margret Stẽward* his firſt wife, and by *Charlotte* of Sauoy, his ſecond, hee had *Ioachim*, *Charles*, *Francis*, *Anne* and *Ioane*.

THE

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THE

THE FIRST BOOKE:

OF THE HISTORY *of* LEWIS *the XI*

Disinheriting of Charles the Dauphin.

ISabel of Bauaria, an ambitious Princesse, and a cunning woman, but a cruell mother, [a] had so great power ouer the will and weaknes of *Charles* the sixt, her husband, as he disinherited the Dauphin his sonne, and gaue the Crowne of France to *Henry* the fift, king of England his son in lawe, by a treaty made at Troie the xxi. of May 1420. This declaration, published at the Marble table, was followed by another of the Kings Councell, which promised to vse all the seueritie of Iustice against the Dauphin, to punish him for the murder of Duke *Iohn*, slaine at Monstereau.

A murther, which making an altar vnto *Mars* of all France, gaue him for offerings, not prodigious shows of vices, but an infinite number of braue men, worthy of a more happy age, and a better end. He that knowes not the History cannot vnderstand that of the warres, which it hath caused betwixt the kings of Fraunce and the house of Burgundy; nor of those tragicall effects of malice and hatred, which continued all the raigne of *Lewis* the xi. But behold a true Table.

Distraction of Charles the 6.

Charles the vi. [b], for the infirmity and weaknes of his spirit, suffered himselfe to be gouerned by *Lewis* Duke of Orleance, his brother, whom he loued dearely. *Philip* Duke of Burgundy, Vncle to the king by the father, grew first iealous, then an enemy to this great authority, and his hatred tooke such deepe roote, as it died not with him, for *Iohn* his sonne was his heire, and sware the ruine of the house of Orleance.

Faction of Orleanois and Burgonians.

The two factions are framed, and the heads discouer their hearts by their deuises, the motto of that of the Duke of Orleance, was *Ie l'enuie*, hauing a knotted staffe: that of the duke of Burgundy was a Ioyners plan with this motto; *Ie le tiens*: th'one shewing how he would maintaine his authority, and the other how he would ouerthrow it. The Duke of Burgundies designes

[a] *Humane wisdome is deceiued in matters which it thinkes it hath foreseene.* Charles the 5. had desired to seeke an alliance in Germany for his sonne to fortifie him against the English. He married Isabell daughter to Stephen Duke of Bauaria, who despising nature banded against Charles her sonne to transport the Crowne to strangers.

[b] Charles the 6. going from Mans in July in the extreamest heat of the day his head being couered with a great hood of scarlet he met with a man bare headed and bare legged, atired in white rugge at the entry of the forest who staying his horse by the reyne said vnto him. King ride no farther for thou art betraid. *These wordes to a spirit weakened with care, watching, distemperature and distrust turned his braine and made him mad. O what misery did this poore head bring to the whole body of France.*

ſucceeded, both to the ruine of himſelfe and his houſe: He grounded himſelfe vpon the practice of the Townes, and eſpecially of Paris, ſupplanting the Duke of Orleance of all[c] credit and loue, and ſeeking to make him hatefull in the ſpeeches, but worſe in the affections of the people, who were otherwiſe incenſed againſt him, for ſome new ſubſidies which he had raiſed.

The firſt effect of this cruell hatred was, that after many combuſtions, both within and without Paris, and euen then when as they thought their minds were leaſt inflamed; the Duke of Orleance returning from the Queenes Palace, where ſhe then lay in, and hauing paſt moſt part of the night by her, on the 20. of Nouember 1407. fell into the hands of xviij. murtherers, which ſlew him. **Death of Charles D. of Orleans.**

It was a ſpectacle full of pitty, the next day, to ſee about this poore ſicke King, the widow[d] and her three ſonnes, aſſiſted by the three Princes of the bloud, imploring iuſtice. They ſeek out the crime, but they finde not the offenders: The Duke of Burgundies hatred is a great preſumption, that theſe were the fruites of his reuenge; all mens eyes were caſt vpon his, which his conſcience made him to hould downe: He drawes the King of Sicile, and the Duke of Berry apart, and aduowes the fact, he leaues Paris with fiue more in his company, and recouers his country of Flanders, in great haſt, ſo as the ſuſpition was changed into apparant proofe. **The Duke of Burgundy flies into Flanders.**

Sone after he[e] returnes with a mighty army; they that would haue condemned him, are now forced to ſeek his friendſhip: Paris receiues him as the *Dæmon Gardian* of her wals; he maintaines puqlikely that he had cauſed the Duke of Orleans to be ſlaine, to free the eſtate from oppreſſions. A Doctor of the Sorbonne vndertooke to iuſtifie him before the Kings Counſell, with ſo great impudence and flatterie, as it ſeemed he would canonize him before his[f] death, after this followed an accord; by the which the Duke of Burgundy ſhould for a reparation aſke pardon of the King vpon his knee. The Queene, the Dauphin, the Kinges of Sicile and Nauarre, & the Duke of Berry making the like requeſt for him, in the preſence of the Children of the Duke of Orleans, melting with teares, and weeping with ſobs, to ſee the bloud of their Father put to compromiſe, and themſelues forced to forget ſo ſencible an Iniurie. **He returnes to Paris.**

France was preſently deuided into two factions of Orleanois and Burgundians. Th'one taking his fauour and authority from the ruines & diſgrace of the other. The Duke of Burgundy hath the ſoueraigne gouernment of affaires, and forceth them of the howſe of Orleans to make an offenſiue and defenſiue league againſt that of Burgundy.[g] The name was of *Armanacks*, the marke a white ſcarfe: **A league of Armagnacs**

[c] *The credit and confidence which they haue in a man of commandement is the cheife ſupport of his authority, for from thence proceeds the loue of the people which is a buckler vnto the rod, and a ſtrong ramaire againſt the ciuill and priuate.*

[d] *Valentine of Milan widdow to the Duke of* Orleance, Charles, Philip, *and* Iohn *her ſons.* Iſabel *of France the Kings daughter, married to* Charles, *eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Orleance, the Kings of Sicile and Nauarre, with the Dukes of Berry & Bourbon demaund iuſtice of the murther.*

[e] *The Duke of Bourgondy returning into France with a great army carried in a table two lances in ſaltire, the one hauing a ſharpe head for the warre the other a burrhead for the tourney, giuing the choyce of war or peace.*

[f] *Flattery giues honors to mortall men which belong not vnto them* Tertullian *reprocheth the Pagans of lying and flattery which made them declare men Gods, and* Tacitus *ſaith* Deum honor Principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines deſierit. *Tac. An. lib.* 15. *The honor of the Gods is not to bee giuen vnto the Prince, vntil hee hath left to liue among men.*

[g] *League of Orleanois at Gien the tenth of March* 1410. *the heads were* Charles *Duke of Orleance and his brethren* Iohn *Duke of Berry,* Lewis *Duke of Bourbon,* Iohn *Earle of Alanſon,* Francis *Earle of Clermont,* Bernard

the

Challenge sent to the Du. of Burgundy.

the cauſe, the Kinges liberty who was in captiuity vnder the law and will of the Duke of Burgundy: and to the end the quarel might be ended with leſſe danger, loſſe of men, and time, Charles Duke of Orleans ſent a challenge to the Duke of Burgundy, to fight a combate with him, and to be reuenged of his fathers death. The Duke of Burgundy, who had drawn the Queene vnto his party, had noe great dificultie to perſwade the King, that the deſigne of the howſe of Orleans was nothing but ambition and rebellion; in denying him to demaund ſuccors from *Henry* the fourth king of England.

The ſonne in lawe against the father in lawe.

The Dolphin being of yeares able to iudge of the intentions of the one and the other, found that the intereſt of the houſe of Orleans was that of the Crowne, and that the ambition of the Duke of Bourgondy his father in law[h] was the cheefe motiue of thoſe troubles, wherefore he vndertooke to croſſe his deſignes and to make a peace: this ſoule was ſeaſond with good thoughts at the ſiege of *Burges*, for when they told him that in a ſalley, which the beſieged had made, ſome of his ſeruants were ſlaine, and that the ſouldiers dyed of poiſoned waters, he ſaid vnto the King his Father, and the Duke of Burgundy. *That this warre laſted too long, and that he would make an end of it. Iohn* of France Duke of Berry, and[i] *Philebert* of Lignac, great maſter of Rhodes, employed themſelues vertuouſly to reconcile the nephewes and the vnckle. The conditions of this peace were concluded at Burges, & ſworn in a great aſſembly at Auxerre, the names of that fatall faction of Armagnac, and Burgundian were comprehended in the forgetfulnes of things paſt, and *Philip* Earle of Vertus was married to the Duke of Burgundies daughter.

Peace of Burges.

But all the parts of France recouer not their former health: The warre renues againe, and the Dauphin is no more for the Burgundian, whoſe principall force conſiſts in the ſedition of Paris and the ſuccours of the Engliſh, who making their profit of ciuill diuiſions, win the battell of Azingcourt, which was called the vnfortunate day of the 25. of October, 1415. The Duke of Orleans, armed to reuenge his fathers death and the libertie of his country, was led priſoner into England, and if religion had not comforted him, he had no leſſe reaſon then *Pompey*, [k] to be amazed at the prouidence of God, which ſeemeth to fauour the moſt vniuſt party, tyranny againſt libertie, and couetouſnes againſt freedome: This loſſe was followed by the death of *Lewis* the Dauphin, and of *Iohn* Duke of Touraine, the Kings ſecond ſonne.

The battle of Azing-Court.

Death of the Dolphin and Duke of Turraine.

By the death of theſe two, *Charles* Earle of Ponthieu ſaw himſelfe in the firſt degree of the Princes of the bloud, and preſently made ſhow that he had been bred vp to apprehend the iniury which the Duke of Burgundy had done vnto his vncle. All the Princes and Noble men which had followed the houſe of Orleans

Lord of Armagnac, and Charles *of Albret Conſtable of France The heads of the Bourgundy faction were* Iohn *Duke of Bourgundy & his brethren.* Charles *King of Nauarre ſon to* Charles *the bad, the Dukes of Lorraine, Brabant, Brittaine, the Marques of Pont, the Earles of Neuers, Vaudemont,* St. Paul *&* Ponthure.

[h] *Queene* Iſabel *being banded againſt her nephewes of Orleans, adhered to the Duke of Burgundy & made the mariage of his daughter* Catherine *with the Dauphin* Lewis.

[i] Enguerand *of Monſtrelet notes, in what manner the Duke of Berry came to this treaty, in his armes, notwithſtanding that hee was 70. yeares old: (for he liued aboue 80) hauing vpon thē a Caſſocke of purple with a band poudred with marigolds, and ſo he is painted in the gallery of the Louure.*

[k] *The Mitelenians came to ſalute* Pompey *after the battel intreating him to land, which he refuſed and aduiſed them to obey the victor, and not to feare any thing, for that* Cæſar *was a iuſt man, and of a mild nature: and then turning to the Philoſopher* Cratippus *who was alſo come to ſee him, he complained and diſputed a little with him touching the diuine prouidence, wherein* Cratippus *yeilded mildly vnto him, putting him ſtill in better hope.*

came vnto him, and among others, the Conſtable of Armagnac: but his greateſt affliction was, for the vnnaturall hatred which the Queene his mother bare him, who declared her ſelfe againſt him Regent of the Realme, & was maintained in that quarrel by the Duke of Burgundy: vnder her was that cruell maſſacre committed the 12. of Iune 1418: whereas the [l] Conſtable of Armagnac and the Chancellor de Marle were ſlaine, and the Dauphin ranne a daungerous fortune, if *Tanneguy du Chaſtel*, Prouoſt of Paris, and his faithfull ſeruant had not ſaued him in the Baſtille. Paris ſaw it ſelfe reduc'd to that miſerable eſtate, as it ſeemed a retrait for Beares and Tigers.

During this fatall diuiſion, the Engliſh preuailed in Normandy and Guyenne, and then a peace was treated betweene the Dauphin, and the Duke of Burgundy; vnder the aſſurance whereof the Duke came vnto the Dauphin, being at Montereau Faut Yonne [m], and preſenting himſelfe vpon his knee, *Robert de Loire*, taking him by the arme, ſayd vnto him: riſe, *you are but too honourable*; who riſing, laid his hand vpon his ſword to drawe it forward, for that it hung too much back, then ſaid *de Loire* vnto him; *Doe you lay your hand vpon your ſword before my Lord the Dauphin?* whereupon *Tanneguy du Chaſtell* ſtroke him ſo forceably vpon the face with a battell-axe, as he made him to fall vpon his knee and cut off his chin, another thruſt his ſword into his belly: The body being ſtript was drawne into a mill, and buryed the next day.

Peace treated at Pouilly.

This death reuenged the houſe of Orleans, but it gaue ſo great a ſhare of the Realme to ſtrangers, as there remained very little for *Charles*, who preſently after the death of the Duke of Burgundy was declared by the king his father (at the perſwaſion of his mother) vnworthy to ſucceede vnto the crowne of France.

Hee might iuſtly haue appealed from theſe declarations to the Kings good ſence; but ſeeing him decay daily, and that hee was ſtill vnder the gouernment of this *Medea*, he choſe rather to appeale to God, [n] the Iudge of Kings, and to his ſword, lamenting with teares, drawne from the bottome of his heart, his owne miſerie and that of France.

This diſorder, contrary to the reaſon of nature, & the lawes of the realme, was followed with ſtrange changes. *Henry* the fifth dies, and 50. daies after *Charles* the ſixth king of France. *Henry* the ſixth king of England is crowned at Paris, *Charles* the ſeauenth at Poictiers, there were two kings in one Realm, two parties, two armies, but the Engliſh holde Paris, and the firſt [o] Senate, who thought that all authoritie and ſoueraigne command was in effect on their ſide; that the king had but the image, ſome calling him, for pitty ſake, Dauphin of Viennois, and others, in mocking, King of Bourges, or Earle of Ponthieu, there remaining nothing to make him knowne to

Death of K. *Henry* the fifth & *Charles* the ſixth,

[l] *A maſſacre at Paris vpon the Armagnacks from 4 of the clock in the morning the 12 of Iune vntil the next day 10. of the clock. To note the Conſtable by the ſcarfe which he carried they flead a bend of his skin and tyed it croſſe his body, his office was confirmed to the Duke of Lorraine, and the Chancellors to* Euſtace *de Laſtre.*

[m] *The Dauphin ſent* Charles *of Poitiers, Biſhoppe of Valence, to the Duke of Burgundy, to draw him to Monſtereau in Gaſtenois, for that he had refuſed to come by* Tanneguy du Chaſtel: *ſaying, that it were better for the Dauphin to com to Troye. The* 10. *of November*, 1419. *he came & was ſlaine vpon the bridge, which was fortified with 3. barres. The Duke hauing paſt the firſt entred into ſome apprehenſion of his fortune, and meeting* Tanneguy du Chaſtel, *he laid his hand vpon his ſhoulder, ſaying:* Behold him in whom I truſt.

[n] *Priuate perſons haue many Iudges, kings haue none but God, ſaies* M. Anthony, Dion Niceas.

[o] *In all factions the authority of the Senate is of great force.* Otho, *to ſhew the difference of his partie, & that of* Vitellius, *ſaid:* Nationes aliquas occupauit *Vitellius*, imaginem quandam exercitus habet, Senatus nobis cum eſt. Sic ſit vt hinc Reſp. inde hoſtes Reip. conſtituerint. *Tacitus* Hiſt. lib. 1.

be

be the fourth ſonne of *Charles* [p] the ſixth but a peece of the crowne.

He goes to field weake of all things, of armes, friends, men and mony, but ſtrong in right and courage to maintaine the quality of his birth, which the enuy of fortune, and the conſpiracie of his enemies could not take from him; for his mother had brought him into the world vnder purple [q] and the flower deluce. There is nothing ſo powerfull as a good cauſe maintained with a good ſword, nothing doth ſo much comfort the ſoule in aduerſity, nor moderate it in proſperitie, as the iudgement of conſcience, when as ſhe feares not to haue her intentions knowne to God and men.

But ſeeing himſelfe forced to vanquiſh before he raigne, that victories depend of the force of Armes, and that the triumphant Chariot of *Mars* is not moued but by the force of gold and iron, [r] that the ſprings of his treaſure are drawne dry, and the royall reuenues held by his enemies, he procures his ſubiects to aſſiſt him with taxes. The French, who haue alwaies excelled other nations in fidelitie and deuotion towards their Kings, not knowing what it is to haue good when they want, did contribute freely & cheerefully to the neceſſities of *Charles*, who like a good Shepheard was content to fleece his ſheepe and not to flea them.

Taxes ordained.

France which had beene beſieged 70. yeares, with the miſerie and calamitie of warre, might well haue beene without this cruell diuiſion, which was no other thing then a conſpiracie of the Children [s], to turne the points of their ſwords againſt their owne bowels; to inuite their Ancient enemies to the funerals of her liberty and to bring back thoſe cruell and bloudy dayes for the which England hath giuen to the two *Edwards* the proud titles of *Lightening*, and *Eagle*. There was nothing in generall but miſeries, confuſions, amaſements, and deſolation: The peſant being ſtript both of fleſh and fat had nothing left but bones, and they were bruiſed. The Hiſtorie admires that euen the cattell hearing the bell, (a ſigne of the enemies approch) fledde of themſelues to recouer their retreates.

Miſeries of France laſt 70. yeares.

Edward the third, and the Prince of Wales.

She had ſo loſt her firſt excellence, as ſhe ſeemed a building, of whoſe beauty no man could iudge, but by the peeces that remained of her ruines. Vertue and Fortune [t] which in the beginning, had agreed to ſettle and maintaine her Empire, held no more accompt of her, and conſpired with her enemies to ruine her. And as too much greefe makes men to looſe all feeling, the exceſſe of her miſeries, which had no eaſe but cuſtome, [u] made the French ſo accuſtomed to the darknes of ſeruitude, as they grew ignorant of the light of libertie, and they which were borne vnder the yoke,

[p] Charles *the 6. had 5 ſonnes*, Charles, *who died of a conſumption, at 9. yeeres*, Lewis *D. of Guyenne, who died at 19.* Iohn *Duke of Touraine, married to* Iacquet *of Bauaria in the yeare 1404.* Charles *the ſeuenth borne in the yeer. 1402. the fifth was he of whom the Queene was brought to bed, when the Duke of Orleans was ſlaine.*

[q] *The Emperors of Conſtantinople ordained that their wiues ſhould bee brought in bed vnder purple* ἐν πορφύρᾳ Nicetas lib. 5.

[r] *Fower things do perpetually follow warre, men, iron, ſiluer and bread, but of theſe 4. the two firſt are the moſt neceſſary, for that men and iron cannot furniſh ſiluer & bread but bread and ſiluer may find men and Iron.*

[s] *Ciuill warre is a mortall feuer in an eſtate. This ardent deſire in the Græcians to make warre in Greece, is called by Plutarch, a conſpiracy againſt themſelues, by the which they ſtaid with their own armes the fortune which led them to the height of felicity, and turned their weapons againſt their owne bowels.*

[t] *For the greatnes and continuance of an Empire, fortune, or to ſpeak better, prouidence and deſtiny muſt agree with vertue,* Roma vt ageretur ſublimibus incrementis fœdere pacis æternæ virtus conuenit atque fortuna, quarum ſi altera defuiſſet, ad perfectam non venerat ſummitatem. *Ammianus.*

[u] *Cuſtome is the onely eaſe of ineuitable miſeries, and thoſe calamities which are growen into a cuſtome giue ſome contents vnto miſerable men.*

did lay a foundation of this forraine domination by the length of their ſufferance.

In this terrible ebbing and flowing of calamities, capable to make the ſtrongeſt men faint and effeminate, [x] *Charles* continued ſtill conſtant in his reſolution, and God did comfort him by the birth of the Dauphin, at Bourges the ſixt of Iuly, 1423. the twentieth yeare of his age, the firſt of his raigne, the nineteenth of his marriage with *Mary* Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, and King of Sicile. The ioy was great: the Hiſtorie ſayes, they generally cryed Chriſtmas, an ordinarie cry at publicke ioyes, in thoſe daies. It is a great proofe of the peoples loue, when as they reioice at their Princes iſſue, and hold the want of it a misfortune [y]. 2

They went not to ſeeke godfathers in the ſoueraigne houſes of Europe, the ioy paſt with leſſe brute. *Iohn* Duke of Alençon, firſt Prince of the bloud, carried the new Prince to be baptiſed, and gaue him the name of *Lewis*. If they made ſome ſcruple to giue him his fathers or his godfathers name, as it was an old pagan error, that there was ſome fatallity in names [z], and was then in credit, it may bee they remembred the captiuitie of King *Iohn* in England, and the ſtormes wherewith his deſcendants called *Charles* had beene ſhaken. *Iohn* of Alançon godfather to *Lewis* the eleuenth.

Ignorance was ſo bould and generall in thoſe dayes, as all they that haue dealt in the hiſtorie, beeing neither curious nor diligent, haue not left any mention of the education of the Princes of France, whereon notwithſtanding is grounded the hopes of the reſt of their liues. For ſuch as they haue ſhewed themſelues in their firſt inclinations, ſuch are they knowne to bee afterwards. Seldome do they hate that in the end of their daies which they haue loued in the beginning. The care of ſuch deere and Important perſons hath alwaies beene very great in the houſe of France, they ſuffer nothing that is peſtilent or infectious to approche [a]. This ſpring muſt water the whole State, and it is hard for them to erre and faile among ſo many examples of vertue, valor, and courage, which are like whetſtones to giue an edge to generous natures.

He gaue ſuch timely proofes, as he made it knowne, that Iudgement & reaſon appeared ſooner in Kings children [b] then in others, that lyllies put forth ſooner then common flowers: at the breake of his morning they ſaw that which they ſhould expect of him all the reſt of the day. His Father married him at thirteene yeares to the Lady *Margaret Steward*, daughter to *Iames* the firſt, King of Scotland, as King *Charles* the ſixt had married him at eleuen yeares. The Ambaſſadors being ſent into Scotland to bring this Princeſſe, were croſſed by the Engliſh, being iealous and offended at this alli- Marriage of *Lewis* the eleuenth.

ance

[x] *Great courages grow reſolute againſt misfortunes, & take aduerſities for exerciſes of their vertue, others are preſently deiected.* Tacit. Ann. l. 4

[y] *It is a great teſtimonie of the bounty of a Prince, when as they reioyce at the birth of his children, or when as the want of them is accounted amongſt the miſeries of the common wealth.*

[z] *The ancients had great reſpect to names. They had certaine dayes for the impoſition and profeſſion of names & feaſts which they called* Nominales, *holding for a good ſigne the encounter and choiſe of a goodly name: as* Valerius, Salᵘius, Statorius, *and in the leuie, of men of warre, the Conſul had a care,* vt primus miles eſſet bono nomine. *That the formoſt ſouldiour ſhould haue a good name.*

[a] *The Egyptians did not ſuffer any about the Kings children but ſuch as were well bred, and of a generous diſpoſition, they were alwaies ſerued and followed by their Prieſts Children, attired in habites fit for their profeſſion, of great modeſtie and aboue twentie yeares ould, to the end that beeing alwayes guided by the Miniſters of their gods they might bee retained within the bounds of maieſtie and vertue.* HERODOT.

[b] *Great natures diſcouer themſelues ſoone. So* Plutarch *ſaid that* Pompey *did in the flower of his youth ſhow a venerable greatnes of reall maieſtie in his actions and manners.*

ance, which renewed and confirmed thoſe which ſince *Charlemaine* [c] had been betwixt theſe two Crownes, and put them into a great apprehenſion, that whileſt they ſhould be buſie in France, (wheras their affayres began to decline) the Scots might trouble them in England. They offered to yeeld him Barwick and Rosbourg, with all other placeswhich were in queſtion, if he would diſſolue the promiſe of this marriage. The eſtates of Scotland aſſembled vpon this propoſition. The Clergie was diuided, moſt part ſaying, that it was iuſt and profitable, that the refuſal would be pernicious, and that to attaine vnto a good peace with their neighbours, they muſt not ſo much regard things paſt as the future and the incertainty of euents. The Nobilitie did couragiouſly reſiſt the deſigne of the Engliſh, crying out that their enemies counſell was poiſon preſented in a cup of gold, a goodly pretext to ruine them, a practiſe to diuide Scotland from their ancient friends, and then ſubiect them more eaſily to their enemies.

Parlement in Scotland.

The Engliſh being refuſed of their requeſt they fall to threates, and declare that they had ſhipps at ſea to ſtop the Princeſſe paſſage. This made the King reſolue to ſend her ſoner then he had intended, the eſtates beſeching him not to deferre to truſt his Daughter to his Sonne, who truſted them with the guard [e] of his royall perſon. She paſt notwithſtanding the ambuſhes of the Engliſh, more by the prouidence of God, then the foreſight of men, for whiles the Engliſh, were buſie in fighting with a ſhip which was lade with wine for Flaunders, the Scotts veſſell paſt freely and landed the Princeſſe at Rochell. [f] She was conducted to Tours, whereas the marriage was ſolemnized the 24. of Iune. But this ioy laſted not long in her fulnes, newes comming of the death of the king of Scotland, being miſerably murthered with ſixe and twenty wounds by his Vncle and Couſin, in the ſight of the Queene his wife, who preſenting herſelfe vnto the murtherers, and making a buckler of her body to defend her huſbands, receiued two wounds.

Mary Stewart ſent into France

Murther of Iames King of Scotland

The thoughts of *Lewis* were in thoſe dayes more inclined to Armes then to Ladyes. Nature did diſpence them from their ſeruitude, and his breeding had diuerted him from all intemperance which makes men inferior to beaſts, and bound him to the exerciſe of vertue, which makes Princes ſuperior to Men. He had learned by the infancie of King *Charles* the 6. [g] his Grand-father, to lay hould of a ſworde as ſoone as of a Crowne. They did gird him with it ſooner for neceſſity then to grace him, more to defend himſelfe then to adorne him. So it is fit that a Prince ſhould carry an honorable marke [h] of the moſt excellent and neceſſary profeſſion of his eſtate. He could no more draw it but againſt the Engliſh, the French and the Burgundians were in the way of an ac-

[c] Charles *the great, Emperor and King of France, hauing bene aſſiſted by* Achaius *king of Scotland in Spaine againſt the Saraſens, and in Germanie againſt the Saxons, made an offenſiue & defenſiue league with him, and gaue him his daughter to wife in the yeare 777.*

[d] *We muſt not onely conſider matters which are paſt, but thoſe which are alſo to come. And in truth they to whom fortune hath neuer turned her backedoe not without cauſe feare the doubtfulnes of variable euents, ſo as a certaine peace were alwaies to be preferred before a doubtfull victory), for that the firſt is in our will and diſpoſition, and the laſt in the hand & power of the immortall gods.* The words of Hannibal to Scipio. Tit. Liu.

[e] *St.* Lewis *being at the holy land eſcapt a conſpiracy made againſt his perſon by the King of the* Arſacides, *it was diſcouered and preuented by the Scotchmen of whom afterward he made his guard.* [f] *Reuenge runnes alwaies againſt the enemie that hath moſt offended, and in the contention of three Nations there is alwaies one that ſaues himſelfe, and does his buſines.* [g] Charles *the fift, meaning to try the generous diſpoſition of his ſonne, did ſet a crowne of gold & a ſcepter vpon a veluet cuſhion, and on another an helmet and a ſword,* Charles *made choice of the ſword and the helmet.* [h] *In places where as armes are in a degree of excellencie and neceſſitie, the Prince and they of his blood ſhould make great eſteeme of them which make profeſſion.*

cord

cord. The Dutcheſſe of Burgundy, Infanta of Portugall, a good Frenchwoman, was the cheefe inſtrument. She tould the Duke that he ſhould be generally blamed, if he refuſed a peace offered with honor and profit, that indiſcretion would not excuſe the repentance of ſo preiudiciall a refuſall. She drew the heart of this Prince to her intention, making it knowne that burning iron is not ſoner quencht in water, then the heat of coller and reuenge is loſt by the perſwaſion of a milde and moderate ſpirit, and that nothing is vnpoſſible to Princeſſes of courage, when as their vnderſtanding hath power ouer their huſbands.[i]

Duches of Bourgundy drawes her husband to the treatie of *Arras*.

By her perſwaſions the Duke yeelded vnto the Kings youth the blowe which he had cauſed to be giuen being Dauphin, and the exceſſe of his offence to the greatnes and maieſty of the King, conſidering that forgetfulnes is an Antidote againſt the deadly poyſon of Iniuries, which may ruine the ſoule when it doth too egerly ſeeke reuenge, and that it is a great folly to continue immortall hatred amongſt mortall men.

The Counſell of Baſil imployed it ſelfe, ſeeing that whiles France was not in peace, Chriſtendome ſhould be ſtill in trouble; They ſent two Cardinals to mediate this peace, & to exhort the Kings of France and England and the Duke of Burgundy to cauſe their diſcords to ceaſe & to accord their wils for the defence of the Church; To ſtrayne their courages and tackle againſt the force of the winds that did ſhake that veſſell; that they ſhould haue pitty of themſelues and of their ſubiects. The Engliſh growing obſtinate not to leaue any thing had no part of this peace. There is nothing ſo difficult in a Prince as reſtitution; they left the Dutchies of Guienne and Normandy[l] to the King of England to quite the reſt; but the proſperity of his affaires doth preiudice him of the poſſeſſion, and the deſire to continue a reueng trouble the ſoules of ſo many perſons, as reaſon had no more commaund, opinion held the ſcepter. A Royalty endures no equall.

Wilfulnes of the Engliſh.

The great God of peace, who is all ſpirit, all light, all eye, all ſeeing, all hearing, all[m] knowing, inſpir'd the hearts of theſe two Princes with the holy reſolution of Concord, and a ful forgetfulnes of iniuries, ſo as the Duke ſeeing the King of England too difficult made his treaty apart.

They contented in euery degree the intereſts both of dead and liuing. The Kinge tranſported to the Duke of Burgundy the Townes vpon the riuer of Somme, whereof mention ſhall be often made, st. *Quintin*, *Corbie*, *Amiens*, *Abbeuille*, and others, vpon condition to redeeme them for the ſumme of foure hundreth thouſand old Crownes of gould. The marriage of the Earle of Charolois and of *Catharin* the Kings Daughter, was the ſeale of this treaty.[n]

[i] *The effects are alwaies perfect where a man of iudgement meddle, they adde good to good and bad to bad.* Tamerlanes *wife ſtaid him long from making warre againſt* Baiazet, *but being incenſed by an iniurious wiſh which hee had made, ſhee did animate her husband by an extreame fury againſt him.* Chalcondylas.

[k] *Reuenge continues iniuries & makes them hereditarie. A ſtrange diſtemperature of men.* Quid iuuat tanquam in æternam genitos, it is indicere breuiſſimam ætatem diſſipare? Sen. libr. 3. De ira. *What doth it auaile to make hatred eternal, and to leade a ſhort life.*

[l] *King* Charles *the ſeuenth offered to the K. of England the Dutchies of Normandy and Guienne, to hold them by homage of the Kings of Frãce as ſouereignes, and vpon ſuch conditions as the Kings of England his Anecſtors had enioyed them in the beginning.*

[m] *Treaties of peace are concluded when as men hold them broken and impoſsible: they bee the effects of the eternall prouidence of that great God whom* Clement Alexandrinus *cals* ὅλος νους ὅλος φῶς, ὅλος ὀφθαλμὸς, totus mens, totus lux, totus oculus, *all minde, all light, all eye.* [n] *The marriage of the Earle of Charolois with the Kings Daughter was the ſcale of this treaty, hee was then but two yeares old, and when he came to age he married* Iſabel

Charles

Charles Duke of Bourbon, and *Arthur* Duke of Brittany with the Earle of Richmond Conſtable of France craued pardon of the Duke of Burgundy for the death of his father, in the name of King *Charles* the vij. It is a cruel thing when he muſt take a Law from his inferior, but the good of a peace, and the neceſſity of the Kings affaires forced him from all theſe formalities: without this ſatiſfaction a peace had not bene made, and it was reaſon that he which had done the harme ſhould ſhew ſome repentance, and ſerue as a table in the hiſtory of France, that a Prince which wants piety towards God and Iuſtice towards men, falls alwayes into [o] confuſion. The Duke ſaid that he pardoned him for the loue of God, promiſing him to be his friend, enemy to his enemies, and to renounce the aliance of England, and the deputies of the Councell diſpenſt him of the oath which he had made, not to treat without the King of England.

Peace of Arras.

This happie and memorable peace, ſworne the 24. of Nouember 1435. was followed with great bleſſings for the French, and great ruines for the Engliſh. This was the Comet which threatned their ruine in France, and which brought the Duke of Bedford vnto his graue. With the like griefe ſix dayes after the treaty [p] dyed that old malicious woman the Queene mother, ſtepmother to the king and Realme. She wanted meanes to liue before her death, for being no more aſſiſted by the Duke of Bourgundy, the Duke of Bedford cauſed her to faſt vpon dayes which were not commanded to be faſted, lying in Saint Paule houſe. She had alwaies liued full of honors and affayres, and now ſhe dyes plunged in miſeries and contempts

Death of the Duke of Bedford Regent in France for the Engliſh.

The reduction of Paris was the firſt fruit of the peace, ſhe opened her gates vnto the King, which ſhee had ſhut againſt him, for the loue of the Duke of Bourgundy, for ſhe hath dealt with friendſhips as with flowers, the new haue alwaies beene moſt pleaſing vnto her. The [q] Engliſh depart, the Lillies flouriſh, and the Kings will, with the lawes of the Realme are honored there. The King made his entry, and was receiued as victorious of his enemies by his valor, and of himſelfe by his clemencie, forgetting ſo many iniuries whereby the people had incenſed him.

Reduction of Paris.

The King was at Montpelier when Paris was reduc'd.

1437. Here I ſeeke the Dauphin and the Hiſtorie doth not ſhowe me him, although it be credible that the father did not forget to haue him ſeene in this great occaſion in his capitall Citie, no more then at the aſſembly of the eſtates which he called at Orleans. But I finde him on horſebacke at the age of fourteene yeares, and commanding the Kings armie before *Monſtreau Faut-Yonne.* Hee tooke the towne by aſſault, and the Caſtle by compoſition, and made ſo good warre with the Engliſh that were within it, as they gaue him thankes in the Kings preſence, confeſſing that hee had giuen them cauſe, in admiring his valor, to commend his bounty, to the which they were bound for their liues [r].

of Bourbon. The Lady Catherine *who was promiſed dyed at eighteene yeares of age, the 28. of Iuly and was interred at Bruſſels in S.* Gould.

[o] *He that hath pietie & iuſtice for the guide of his actions frees himſelfe happily from confuſion in all ſorts of affaires.*

Theſe bee the glorious titles which Demetrius *purchaſed* θεὸς ὅσιος, χαὶ θεὸς ἀνθρώπος δίκαιος, *religious to the gods, and Iuſt to men.*

[p] Iſabel *of Bauaria contemned of the Engliſh and Bourgundian, for whom ſhee had banded her ſelfe againſt her ſonne dyed at S. Paul houſe the laſt of September* 1435. *ſhe was carried by the Riuer of Seine to S. Dennis, and buried without pomp. Her tombe was built in the ſame place where her husbands was, and her portrait is yet to bee ſeene in the window of that Chappell.*

[q] *The Engliſh were chaſed out of Paris the* 27. *of February* 1436. *where they had entred in the yeere* 1420.

[r] *A Prince which ſaues his life whom he may kil, cannot do any thing that brings him ſooner to the height of glory and reputation,*

This firſt beginning applauded by ſome old Knights, flattering this yong *Alexander*, who beganne to bee diſcontented for that his father left him no worke to doe, made him to conceiue better of himſelfe then hee ought, For ſuch flattering opinions [r] are fruitleſſe ſproutes, and vnprofitable leaues which grow too faſt in theſe yong plants and in the end kils them.

The Father who had made him Captaine ſo ſoon, repented as ſuddainely, for he beganne to make ſhowe that hee was not borne to follow but to goe before. *Martin Gouge* Biſhop of Cleremont, *Chriſtopher* of Harcourt, and the Lord of Chaumont make him beleeue that his valor and courage would not ſuffer him to ſtay there, that the more he ſhould eleuate his trumpet of fame, the farther it ſhould bee heard: that he could not beginne any exerciſe of glorie and reputation to [t] ſoone: and that he ſhould not attend vntill that fortune tooke him by the hand to lead him to the Empire of men, but he ſhould goe and meete her.

Theſe Councellers were ſpirits that were not capable to command, nor to be commanded, and which could not liue vnder that great rigor of the Kings authoritie, who knowing his humors allowed him not what he deſired, and made him giue eare to ſuch as found no other courſe for their greatnes; and who aſſured him that there was no other way for his riſing then to abſent himſelfe from the preſence of his father. An aduiſe which could not bee commended, but by ſuch to whom all wickednes is commendable. For of badde counſels, ſuch as was neuer giuen by men that were [u] wiſe, diſcreete, and without any priuate intereſt (three rare qualities, but neceſſarie for him that takes vpon him to counſel another) the worſt and moſt pernicious is that which deuides the Sonne from the Father, and withdrawes him from the dutie wherewith hee is bound by the lawes of nature and religion [x], nothing beeing able to extinguiſh this bond, free this ſeruitude, nor diſpence him from the obedience due to the fathers commandements, how ſeuere and difficult ſo euer.

Bad counſell giuen to *Lewis.*

1411. *Charles* Duke of Bourbon.

The Duke of Bourbon, who would make his profit of this diuiſion betwixt the father and the ſonne, and who was diſcontented to ſee the King contemne and reiect the Princes, to fauour priuate men, practiſed this diuiſion. The Dauphin, who was bred vp in the Caſtle of Loches, vnder the charge of *Iohn* Earle of March [y], ſaw him carried away by the baſtard of Bourbon, and was content to goe and to be ridde of his gouernor, who ſuffered him to enioy conuenient libertie, thinking it vnfit to treat the firſt ſonne of France ſeuerely, being now great and married.

Hee was led to Moulins, whereas the Duke of Bourbon attended him.

nec vlla re propius homines ad deum accedunt quam ſalute hominibus danda. Cic. *Neither is there any thing which makes me liker vnto Gods, then by giuing life vnto men.*

[r] *Flattery doth ſo tranſport young Princes with a good opinion of what they are, or ſhould be, as it is eaſily conuerted into preſumption, and admits no counſell nor conduct.*

[t] Alexander *at 16. yeares of age defeated the Megariens, and was at the battell of Cheronea; wherefore* Demoſthenes *called him child.* Hannibal *was but eleuen yeares old when hee made open profeſsiō of armes.* Wee muſt obſerue ſaith *Phil. de Commines* That all men which haue don great matters haue begunne very yong. *Warre is a ſcience which is not learnd by diſcourſe. It is a troubleſome practiſe for him that hath not accuſtomed it from his youth.* Paul: Emil.

[u] *Integrity, or fidelitie, ſufficiencie or wiſedome, are the two principall qualities of good counſellors: they add a third which depends of the precedent, to haue his heart free from paſsion and priuate intereſt.* [x] *The commandement of the Childrens dutie was halfe written in the firſt table, which regards Gods right, and halfe in the ſecond table, wherein are commandements which concerne our Neighbours, as being partly diuine and partly humane.* [y] *The Earle of March was gouernour to the Dauphin. He wrought meanes to get out of his hands and to bee at libertie. They ſaid then that King* Charles *ſhould not haue married him ſo ſoone to entreat him like a child.*

him. Thither came the Duke of Alençon and *Chabannes* Earle of Damartin, beeing incenſed for that the King had called him Captaine of Bandilieres. Theſe were men who after the peace of *Arras*, like vnto ſome after the treaty of Bretigny [z], did ouercome and ſpoyle all the whole country, leauing the peaſant nothing but his ſhirt. There imbarked in the ſame ſhip the Earle of Vandome, the Earle of Dunois, Baſtard of Orleans, and the Lord of Chaumont, Tremouille, Boucicaut and Prye. There reſolution was not to yeelde him vntill that an order were ſetled in France, the Princes in Authoritie, and the malecontents in fauour.

If their intention had appeared in her true and naturall forme, her deformitie had diſpleaſed all the world, for it was nothing but a meere conſpiracie of great men, who abuſing the youth of this Prince, ingaged him in an vnnaturall ingratitude, and thought to make him greater then eyther nature or God himſelfe had yet ordained, that vnder his ſhadow [a], they might liue at their eaſe, and make their profit of the publicke ruines. To giue ſome forme to this illuſion, they deuiſe ſuppoſed members, and giue it for a face the [b] maske of reformation of diſorders, proteſting that they had no other intention but to ſettle the Dauphin, to the end that all things might bee done by his authoritie, with the aduiſe of the Princes of bloud.

Duke of Burgundy refuſe to enter into the league.

They had ſought to imbarke the Duke of Bourgundy with them, but he who would not reuiue a quarrell, if not altogether quencht, yet at the leaſt ſmothered: And knowing the folly of this deſigne, ſent them word that he would liue in peace, and that at the end of the courſe whereinto they were entred, there was an ineuitable downefall [c]: That they ſhould doe wiſely to returne into the way which they had left, for that they more they went into this, the more they ſhould wander: that of all the miſeries that would fall abundantly vpon them, they ſhould not be [d] lamented of any, for that they were knowne to bee the cauſers: That although there were ſome diſorder in the ſtate, yet could it not be ſo great as that which ſhould grow by this diuiſion, and France ſhould be little beholding for her help to thoſe which had made her ſo ſicke to cure her [e]; for that neither the diſordred gouernement of affayres, nor the vniuſt commandement of the Prince would not cauſe ſo many ruines and inconueniences as diſobedience and rebellion [f]: That for his part he could not ſeperate himſelfe from the King his Lord, without forſaking himſelfe: That his armes and forces were alwaies at the Dauphins commandement, ſo as his deſignes were not diſauowed, and that he would more willingly employ himſelfe to bring him to his fathers preſence then to withdraw him.

[z] *When as treaties of peace are concluded, they muſt prouide for the retreat of forraine troopes, elſe they wil ouerrun the Prouinces. After the treaty of Bretigny in the yeare 1360. the Engliſh trooopes did ouerrun and ſpoile France, and defeated them that ſought to ſtop their violences at Bregnay neere to Lyon.*

[a] *He that wil enioy the ſhadow of his Prince muſt reiocye at his greatnes, ſo as it be not raiſed vppon a foundation of Iniuſtice and ingratitude.*

[b] *All deformities and imperfections are ſo ſoule being ſeene bare, as like vnto them that haue both their armes and legs cut off make other of Iron or wood, euen ſo they that haue bad deſeignes do couer them with ſome goodly pretext.*

[c] *of raſh deſignes we may eaſily foretell the vnfortunate euents, and hopes which haue vniuſt foundations cannot long continue.* [d] *He that is the cauſe of his owne miſery hath ſmall reaſon to complaine and few men pitty him.* [e] *It is a deſperate cure when as health muſt be beholding to ſicknes and peace to Ciuil warre* [f] *Ruines and miſeries grow not by them that command but by ſuch as obey. Obedience hath made Eſtates to proſper and floriſh vnder vniuſt and tirranous commandements. The common weale of Sparta was happy, not for that their Kings commanded wel, but for that the ſubiects obeyed well.* Theopompus.

The Princes of this league were very ſorrie for this declaration: For they conſidered that if they could haue kindled a hatred betwixt theſe two houſes, they would haue beene more violent, and yet they made this yong Prince beleeue, by reaſons, fuller of oſtentations then truth, that all would doe well. They diſſembled the [g] Iniuſtice of this warre, and flatter him with ſweet hopes of the euent: They write letters in his name to the townes of Auuergne, and other prouinces whereas they thought theſe deſignes would be well liked of, and this Innouation pleaſing.

Letters of *Lewis* to the good Townes.

But they were receiued of the wiſe with more amazement for this defection, then deſired to adhere vnto them, and although there be no cauſe ſo bad but it findes ſome refuge, and ſome one to fauour it, and that which is held a crime [h] in ſome is commended by others, as a publique ſeruice, yet all the townes did abhor this rebellion. They held it impoſſible that ſuch a diuiſion could proſper, and that France would bee made a Theatre of a new Tragedie: that the reaſons, whereof they did ground it, were like vnto falſe ſtones which haue ſome tranſparant ſhining like vnto fire, but they haue neither the vertue nor the hardnes.

They found not any ſpirit well ſetled that would follow them, but euery man ſtopt his eares at the firſt brute, as if they had been inchantments. All were amaſed [i] at their boldnes, and euery man ſaid that fury would draw theſe wilde Bores into the toyle, & that the Foxes craft would not free them from the ſnare.

The declaration of the nobility of Auuergne.

The Nobility of Auuergne giue them to vnderſtand, that if the Kinge came into the Country, they could doe no leſſe then to open their gates. This name of Kinge, and ſuch a King againſt who they could not arme but the reliques of his victories who had made ſo great proofes of his valor and courage, made the moſt mutinous to tremble: [k] It was an Anuill which would weare all hammers. Euery man ſaid vnto the Dauphin *I am yours without exception, reſeruing my duty to the Kings ſeruice.*

8

The King armes againſt the Dauphin.

The King could not yet diſpatch his affaires with the Engliſh. The Kinge of England had failed of the aſſignation made on the firſt day of May at S. Omer, to conſider of a peace and made himſelfe be ſought vnto. This trouble could not be but to the profit of the enemies of France. He reſolued to goe himſelfe againſt this conſpiracy, before that time and the Innouation, the auncient Idol [m] of the French, had giuen it more force. Hauing fortified the frontiers againſt the Engliſh he aduertiſed his ſonne of his duty, but good wordes ſerue but as oyle to feede the lampe of this yong Princes deſires.

He ſets an order in Poictou.

He muſt vſe ſharper tearmes to force obedience, [n] an vnplea-

g In enterpriſes of warre thy muſt conſider the ground and iuſtice of the cauſe, rather then the iſſue and ſucceſſe. The Romans had this glory neuer to enter into it wrongfully. They did not ſo much glory ſaith Titus Liuius *in the proſperous ſucceſſe as to haue begun it vppon a reaſonable and lawfull occaſion.*

h All the actions of men are taken by two ends, ſome commend them others blame them, Cœſar *is commended for that he attempt dagainſt the liberty of Rome.* Brutus *is blamed who oppoſed himſelf to his deſeignes to reuenge his contries liberties. Some blame* Cateline *for that hee would haue done, and others commend* Cæſar *for that hee did.*

i An vniuſt & raſh enterpriſe ſtrikes horror into good men, who foreſee the miſerable euents as the ignorant vulgar holds them fauorable they muſt ſtop their eares to their firſt propoſitions, for if they enter into the ſoule the fill it with confuſion. Claudendæ ſunt aures malis vocibus et quidem primis. Nam cum initium fecerunt admiſſæque ſunt plus audent. Sen. *k A Prince whoſe great actions purchaſed the name of valiant and wiſe is alwaies feared and reſpected. This authority diſperſeth all kind of factions and conſpiracies when as careleſnes and contempt giues them life,* [m] Cæſar *blamed the Gaules for a curious deſire of Inouations.* They are *ſaid he,* very inconſtant in their opinions & moſt commonly deſire change. [n] *Good wordes are of no force, to haue a difficult commandement obſerued. He that wil be obeyed in rigorous things*

ſing

ſing commaund requires not milde ſpeches. He came to Poietiers, he ſent to the Duke of Bourbon to deliuer him his ſonne, and to the Duke of Alençon to yeeld him his Townes of Niort and Sr. Maixant, and to both of them to yeeld an account of thoſe combuſtions, to come vnto him, and to call their fidellity vnto them. They were farre of, this ſtorme could not hurt them. They were no Children to be afraid of this thunder.

The Duke of Bourbon would not obey at the firſt ſummons without caution for his obedience. He had rather haue his abſence [o] a witneſſe againſt him, then repent him for his preſence. He had a good pawne in his poſſeſſion, he had Townes and Subiectes which had ſworne to follow his fortune, thinking that the war being betwixt the Father and the Sonne, all that were actors in it ſhould gaine by it, at the leaſt they ſhould be free from danger; for the Fathers bounty would refuſe nothing to his Sons humility, and that oftentimes fidelity was worſe rewarded then [p] rebellion.

The Duke of Alençon thought he ſhould alwaies haue Niort and St. Maixant to make his peace. He had ſent *la Roche* to defend the Caſtell of St. Maixant, but the Towne intrencht it ſelfe and put it ſelfe in armes againſt him. It was preſently aſſiſted with the kinges forces, who ſent the Admirall *Coitiui* and la *Varenne* Seneſhall of Poictou thither. The Caſtell being forced, *la Roche* eſcaped making a ſhewe to goe for ſuccors, and the Captaines which he left within it were hanged.

S. Maixan taken by the King.

The Kinges forces attempted not any Towne, but they took it. Some endured the Cannon and were ſpoiled, Rion and Aigues perces opened their gates at the firſt ſummons. *Clermont* and *Mont-Ferrand*, who had neuer giuen eare to the perſwaſion of the Princes of the league, receiued the King.

The Eſtates of the Country aſſemble at Clermont to order this diuiſion, which ſeparating the ſonne from the father, diuided one heart into two. The King thinking it fit that a buſines of that importance, which concerned the ſafety of them all, ſhould be conſulted of by many, [r] hee appointed this aſſembly. There they repreſented freely the ruines which threatned the Realme, and that the Engliſh had occaſion to mocke at the boldnes of the Princes of the bloud, which had attempted againſt the head of their houſe, and banded the Sonne againſt the Father. That it was fit euery man ſhould returne to his dutie, the King by the way of his bounty, and clemencie, to them that had offended him; by that of iuſtice to his eſtate, to ſerue [s] the which hee was ordained of God, as well as to command: and the Princes by that of obedience and repentance, with amendment for their faults, that, although the iuſteſt cauſe to arme againſt the Prince were vniuſt, yet the King ſhould conſider that a great Prince ſhould apprehend nothing more then to ſee his ſubiects ill ſatisfied [t] of his actions.

Eſtates aſſembled at Clermont.

muſt vſe ſeuerity and authority. So ſaies Machiauel in the third of his Diſcourſes.

o To flie iudgement is to confeſſe the fault, but oftentimes the innocent teach no defence againſt the perſecution of one more mightie, but abſence.

p There haue beene ages ſeene ſo full of confuſion, as they muſt haue done ill to reap good. If vertue were not of it ſelfe a great recõpence to good men, they might haue ſome reaſon to repent themſelues of doing well, when as their condition is inferiour to that of the wicked.

q A Prince that hath to deale with his ſubiects, performes great matters in time, how difficult ſoeuer.

r Although that a ſouereigne Prince may reſolue of any thing of his own motion, yet it is fit hee ſhould communicate it. So Auguſtus, made a pleaſing ſweet medley, as Dion ſaith, of a Monarchie and a popular ſtate.

s To raigne is to ſerue. Tiberius *comprehended the dutie of a Prince in three words, and three kinds of ſubiects.* A good Prince who is ordained for the ſafety of his ſubiects, muſt ſerue the Senat, ſerue his ſubiects in generall, and ſerue euery priuate man. *To ſerue the Senate is to follow their Councell: to ſerue all, is to procure the publike good: and to ſerue euery man, is to do him iuſtice that demands it.* *t A priuate man is pleaſed in ſatisfying*

Theſe reaſons pierſt the harts of the moſt diſtracted. The Princes fearing to be abandoned, their partie growing weake and decreaſing dayly, they ſued for grace vnto the King: Hee offered it them by the Earle of Eu, who did negotiate their accord, and did perſwade them to goe to *Clermont* to receiue his commandement: wherevnto they yeelded, ſo as they might bee aſſured. The King was ſo good as he gloried to be vndeſeruedly offended, by men who reduced to their duties very profitable; hee gaue a paſport for the Duke of Bourbon and Alençon, but not for *Tremouille*, *Chaumont*, nor *Prye*, whom hee held to bee the Authors of this ttouble, and of the aſſembly at Noion. [u] They complaine that they are abandoned, and inflame the bloud of this yong Prince, in ſuch ſort as ſeeing the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, returne to conduct him to Clermont, hee ſwore that hee would not goe, [x] but would ſeeke to doe worſe.

Euery one deſires grace of the King.

When the King ſaw that he came not, that the prefixed day was paſt, and that the Engliſh, who beſieged Harfleu, called him into Normandie, hee would temporiſe no longer, but ſuffered his Armie to ſpoile the Duke of Bourbons Countrie. His foreward did beſiege and take Vichy. [a] Cuſſet and Varennes yeelded. The whole countrie of Rouanna obayed: Clermont and Mont-Ferrant perſiſted in their fidelitie, from the which no Towne may in any ſort ſeparate [y] it ſelfe, but it preſently looſeth the glorious title of faithfull.

The wilfulnes of this Prince ruined the countrey, euery man found his deſſeigne vniuſt, and the affection he bare vnto his ſeruants vniuſt, the conſideration of whom ſhould bee of more force then that of the publicke good, for the which they might ſometimes ſtraine Iuſtice it ſelfe. [z] Wherefore the Duke of Bourbon and Alençon perſwaded him to ſubmit this affection to the Kings will, and the intereſt of his ſeruants to his diſcretion, intreating the Earle of Eu to bee a meanes that the king would be pleaſed that might bee done at Cuſſet, which was not performed at Clermont.

The King grants it: They come, and preſent themſelues vnto him, bending their knees thrice vnto the ground before they approch, beſeeching him to pardon them. This humilitie [a] did wipe out of the kings heart the feeling of ſuch ſenſible offences. Hee imbraced them, and ſaid vnto the Dauphin, *Lewis you are welcome, you haue ſtayed long: goe and reſt you, we will talke to morrow with you.*

The Dauphin reſtored to fauour.

But hee protracted no time to reprehend the Duke of Bourbon, drawing him a part [b] he put him in minde of his faults, hee notes him the place and the number, being fiue, hee reprocheth vnto him the iniuſtice and indiſcretion of a deſigne which ſought to put the father vnder the ſonnes gouernment; adding that if that

Reprehenſion of the D. of Bourbon.

himſelfe, but the condition of a Prince is bound to content his ſubiects, and to ſatisfi: ſuch as are malecontent.

u An aſſembly at Noion of the Duke of Alencon, Anthony *of Chabanes Earle of Dammartin*, Peter *of Amboiſe Lord of Chaumont*, Iohn de la Roche, *Seneſhall of Poictou, and of the Lord of Tremouille.*

x A Prince muſt haue care of them that haue followed him. Monſtrelet *vppon this occaſion writes theſe words.* When the Dauphin vnderſtood it, hee ſaid vnto the Duke of Bourbon, My faire Goſsip, you haue no thankes to tell how the matter was concluded, & that the King had not pardoned them of my houſhold.

y He cannot be held faithfull, that for any reſpect whatſoeuer hath ceaſed to bee ſo. Senec.

z To obſerue Iuſtice in great matters, they muſt ſometimes leaue it in leſſer.

a Humilitie only pleades for great perſons. Monſtrelet *ſpeakes in this ſort of this pardon. Being come into the chamber where the King was, they kneeled thrice before they came vnto him, and at the third they intreated him with great humilitie to pardon them his indignation.* *b Great men will be praiſed in publike and reprehended in ſecret.*

loue

loue and reſpect of ſome did not withhold him, hee would make him feele his diſpleaſure.

What could hee anſwere? The very feeling of his fault did preſſe him. The offender muſt yeeld to the iuſtice, and the Innocent to the force of the ſtronger. He renues all the vowes of his obedience, and affection, and ſubmits his will vnto the kings, hee commends his bountie, ſo apparant by the number of his offences, and ſo neceſſarie for them that had offended, whoſe preſeruation did ſerue as an increaſe to his glorie, and a trophee to his clemencie [c].

The next day the Dauphin preſents himſelfe vnto the king, who did not entreat him as nurſes doe children which flatter them when they fall. Hee did let him vnderſtand that his fall had carried him to the ineuitable ruine of his honour and fortune, if the bountie of a father had not as much will to retire him, as the iuſtice of a king had reaſon to puniſh him: In a word, he ſaid he would ceaſe to be a good father vnto him, if hee did not begin to be a better ſonne [d]: and that he deſired not to be held good, for not puniſhing the bad.

The Dauphin will not leaue his ſeruants

The Dauphin aſſuring himſelfe of his fathers bountie and clemencie ſpeakes no more but for his ſeruants, to whom ſafe conducts had beene refuſed. The king declared that they had made themſelues vnworthy of his grace; that they had deſerued to bee made an example to others, as the authors of this rebellion, which had made the wicked impudent, and brought good men to deſpaire: Yet there muſt bee a diſtinction [e] made betwixt the effects of clemencie and bountie, that for their puniſhment he was contented not to ſee them, and that they ſhould retire themſelues vnto their houſes.

The Dauphin held firme againſt theſe torrents of his fathers choller, & lets him know that if there be no grace for his ſeruants, he deſires not any for himſelfe. From this opinion [f] which is they Caue from whence the windes iſſue which torment his ſoule: or rather from the impreſsion which his ſeruants had giuen him, that in being reſolute he ſhould haue whatſoeuer hee deſired, he drew this yong and raſh ſpeech: *I muſt then my Lord returne, for ſo I haue promiſed.* To whom the King anſwered coldly. Lewis *goe if you will, the gates are open for you, and if they were not wide enough I would cauſe ſixteene or twenty fadome of the wall to be beaten downe, to make you a greater paſſage: I am your father, your will depends vppon mine. & I finde it very ſtrange, that you haue ingaged your word without knowing mine, But it imports not: The houſe of France by the grace of God is not ſo vnfurniſhed of Princes, as it hath not ſome that will ſhew more affection then you haue done to maintaine her greatnes and honor.*

Opinion cauſeth terrible motions in the ſoule.

Wilfulnes of the Dauphin.

This yong Prince deſired rather to bee held a bad Sonne then a bad maſter. Wee muſt beleeue that theſe clouds did not breake without ſome raine, and that this fire of choller, and loue, was not

[c] *They to whome the Prince giues life, liue not but to the glorie of his clemencie.*

[d] *Hee that is good muſt ſtriue to be better, for when hee doth not begin to grow better, then he ceaſes to be good.*

[e] *A Citizen of Sparta hearing Chatilaus highly commended for his bounty. And how, ſaid hee, can hee bee good, ſeeing hee is not ſeuere vnto the wicked. It is as great cruelltie to pardon all the world, as not to pardon any.* Senec.

[f] *Opinion is the falling ſickneſs of the minde: that is the Caue which cõtaines the winds from whence the tempeſts of the minde come, that is to ſay, diſordinate paſſions.*

[g] *The fathers will is ſouereigne ouer that of the Sonne. The power of the Father was in old time abſolute among the Romans, Perſians, and Gaules ouer the liues, deaths, goods, libertie, actions, and honor of their children.*

not quencht without teares. The Duke of Bourbon, who knew how to diſtinguiſh [h] betwixt the authoritie of the one, and the age of the other, and would not that there ſhould remaine any conceit in the Kings minde, that this wilfulnes was ſupported by his Counſell, at the ſame time tooke the oath of Allegeance, promiſing to leaue the Dauphin', and all intelligences and leagues contrarie to his Maieſties ſeruice.

He humbles himſelfe.

The Dauphin could doe no leſſe then apply himſelfe to the obedience and humilitie which God and Nature had ordained him. The King kept him neere him, changed all his officers, except his Confeſſor and his Cooke, ſet good gards about him, that no bad thing might enter into his eares, [i] and hee cauſed them to be obſerued that came neere him, to the end hee might call them to an account for the bad Impreſſions they gaue him.

The King reformes the Dauphins houſe

He gaue him men, better knowne and recommended for their wiſedome and Integritie, then for their cunning and ſubtiltie, [k] commanding them to haue a care of this yong Prince, who was of a good diſpoſition, but very tractable, and might eaſily bee diuerted. Many vitious inclinations creepe into mens mindes, whereof wee muſt no more blame Nature, then the Vine, when as the Wine growes ſower, or Iron when it ruſts. How good ſoeuer the diſpoſition be, it corrupts and is ſpoiled if it be not entertained, and education doth alwaies frame men after her owne faſhion, notwithſtanding any lets of Nature.

Hee is watcht leaſt he fall.

They that are about this Prince, by the Kings commandement, keepe him ſo ſhort, as notwithſtanding that Will be a prerogatiue of humane libertie, [l] hee durſt not will any thing contrarie to his dutie; And for that the Dukes of Alençon and Bourbon had promiſed by the treatie to yeelde vp vnto the King the places which they held, they hauing no other ſecuritie but the Kings word, and clemencie, the Armie was not diſmiſt before that all was executed: Which beeing done a Peace was proclaimed, and this reuolt (which they called *the Praguerie*) ſuppreſt in leſſe then nine monthes.

Parts which frame a Prince.

The Dauphin remained ſtill neere the King, he ſerued him, and followed him in diuers occaſions. It was an incomparable happines [m] for him, to ſee his way made vnto the Crowne, and to learne how to liue vnder ſo good a father. The practiſe of warre vnder the conduct and inſtruction of ſo valiant a Captaine, and ſo wiſe a King, the eſſentiall parts which frame a Prince, counſell, force, reputation, [n] and the inſtruments to raigne, which be, firſt knowledge, to looke into the nature of ſubiects; ſecondly, wiſedome to giue them

[h] *Kings are offended when the ſubiects will haue their children march equally with them. The high Prieſts in the beginning of the yeare made publike prayers for the health and proſperitie of the Emperor.* Tiberius *blamed thē ſharply, for that they had added the names of* Nero *and* Druſus *his ſucceſſors, bearing it impatiently to ſee youth march equall with his age.* Aequam adoleſcentes Senectæ ſuæ impatienter indoluit. *Tacit.*

[i] *Hearing is the entrie vnto the Soule, good or bad Counſells haue no other paſſage. When the gardes of theſe gates are wonne they triumph ouer the fort.* Ad ſummam ſapiens eris ſi clauſeris aures, quibus ceram parum eſt obdere. Firmiori ſpiſſamento opus eſt, quam vſum in ſociis *Vliſſem* ferunt. *Senec.*

[k] *Good men are alwaies neceſſaric about Princes, they muſt chaſe away factious ſpirits, who are more fit to diſorder then to ſettle affaires. It is alſo good to haue them that are cunning and politicke, to imploy them againſt deceiuers.*

[l] *The will which is in her libertie, and depends onely on the power of reaſon, aimes at things which are deſirable and to be affected. The name of vertue among the Grecians came from that of deſire, for that it is properly and chiefly to be deſired.*

[m] *It is a great contentment for a King to come to that age to faſhion his ſucceſſor, and to make him partaker of his experience and authoritie.*

[n] *The ſame things which ſupport the frame of an Eſtate, as Councell, force, and reputation, are the eſſentiall parts which faſhion a Prince. Councell teacheth him the true formes how to raigne well; force conſiſts in the vnion of ſix conditions which make him mighty, the which are, to*

them fit lawes; thirdly order of armes; fourthly the art to make warre; fiftly, induſtrie to maintaine peace; ſixtly, diligence to foreſee accidents; ſeuenthly, meanes to ampliſie his Empire; eighthly, iudgement to know the iealouſies and intereſts of States; ninthly, dexteritie to temporiſe inconuenients; tenthly, quicknes to reſolue; eleuenthly, celeritie to execute; twelfthly, conſtancie in matters reſolued; thirteenthly, force in aduerſitie; foureenthly, moderation in proſperitie; fifteenthly, and ſo firme a knowledge of diuine things, that ſuperſtition make him not fearefull, nor libertie raſh.

to haue his estate louing great, armed, rich and setled. Reputation is the glorious brute & of that efficacie as opinion giues it credit and respect amõg other Potentates.

Siege of Pontoiſe.

He led him to the ſiege of Pontoiſe, the Accademie of the moſt memorable exploits which had bin ſeen in thoſe times. The Engliſh hauing indiſcreetly o refuſed the kings offers, who left them the quiet poſſeſſion of that which they held in France, reſeruing onely the ſoueraigntie; were declared enemies to all parts. Paris beeing freed from their command, deſired to ſee them out of Pontoiſe, and therefore they ſupplied the king with money to expell them. Behold an armie of twelue thouſand men before Pontoiſe, good ſouldiars, and inured to dangers, who could both incounter, and paſſe them without feare, and knew better how to dye, then to kill, the beſt and onely part of valour.

o *Euery man commits errors, the Frẽch haue, and the English also in the deciding of their affaires. King Iohn refused the offer which the Prince of Wales made him, to yeeld vp all which he had conquered, and the spoile. Hee would beside al this haue the Prince and foure of the chiefe Noblemen of his Armie yeeld at his discretion. This refusall was followed with the losse of a battell, and the taking of the King. King Charles offered the English in the conference at Calais, to leaue them all that they held, in doing him homage, they refused it, and had neither the one nor the other.*

Talbot releeues Pontoiſe.

The approches to Pontoiſe were not ſo well garded, but *Talbot* enters and relieues it both with men and victuals. The Duke of Yorke, Lieutenant Generall to the King of England, preſents himſelfe at Cenery and Hotonuille with 8000. men. He ſent a Herald vnto the King to ſignifie vnto him, that either he ſhould accept of a Battell, or raiſe his ſiege. In this firſt furie of the French, there was not any one but ſaid that it were better to eate rootes p and die, then to raiſe the ſiege. But the King would not hazard any thing.

The riuer was betwixt both Armies, the King cauſed the bridge at Beaumont to bee garded, the onely conuenient paſſage for the enemies Armie. The Duke of Yorke had ſmall boates to paſſe ouer his ſouldiors beneath the bridge towards the Abbey, yet with ſuch difficultie as ten men had beene able to hinder a hundred. But the order was ſo great, and the night ſo fauourable, as the Armie was in a manner all paſt before the Sentinels had giuen the alarum. A happie paſſage, and which ſtrooke ſuch an amazement into the Kings Armie, as the Captaines were more buſied to wonder how the Engliſh had paſt, then to keepe the reſt from paſſing q.

p *Perseuerance forceth places, Cæsars souldiours beeing before Duras, they had no bread but a root called Chara, they within the towne laught at the obstinacie of the besiegers, being so ill furnished. But they told them, that as long as they found such rootes about Duras (whereof there were abundance) they would not dislodge.*

The King raiſeth the ſiege.

The King was not ſo much commended for that hee would not hazard a battell, as he was blamed for that hee did not keepe them

q *Amazement and admiration are weake Armes to stay an enemie.* Tit. Liu. *obserues how the Romans passe a riuer whilest that the Spaniards wonder and consult what they should doe.* Qui tumultum iniicere trepidantibus in ipso transitu amnis potuissent. Tit. Liu. *who might haue caused a disorder in the very passage of the riuer.*

from conſtreining him, ſeeing there was a riuer betwixt both. He wanted not courage, but iudgement to embrace the occaſion and opportunity. [r] He diſlodged from *Maubuiſſon*, leauing *Charles* of *Anjou* and the Admirall of *Cottiuy* with 2000. men in the fort of St. *Martin*, and ſo retires to *Poiſy*. The Duke of York followes him, thinking to ingage him to fight, but the King wil not change his reſolution, which was not to giue a battell but to take *Pontoiſe* [s]

The King raiſeth the ſiege.

The Duke of Yorke paſſeth at Mante to victuall and refreſh the beſieged. The King remained, ſcorned by the Engliſh, and contemned by the Pariſians, who repent themſelues for the mony they had giuen him, vnprofitably, for the charges of this enterpriſe. The greateſt of his Court murmured, for that he had retired ſo vnſeaſonably. He ſees his reputation ſo blemiſhed as he reſolues to take the place, or to dye there: he returnes thither within ten dayes after, cauſeth the Towne to be battered in three places, and a breach being made goes himſelfe to the aſſault, hazarding all for all. He was forced to play the ſoldier to be a King: vnleſs he would of a King become a ſoldier, and try how inſupportable repentance is, not to haue done, in an opportunity, that which can no more bee done when it is paſt, and how ſhee ſcornes at thoſe ouerweaning wits, which think in all places to ioyne authority to wiſdome, imparting nothing to neceſsity. The Kinges [t] affaires were not in ſuch termes as he ſhould be aſhamed to be whereas the Cannon might glance by his crowne, [u] nor to trouble his thoughtes to conſider how hee ſhould eſcape out of danger, nor how much it did import that hee ſhould eſcape.

Pontoſſe taken by aſſault.

The beſieged cannot withſtand the fury of the aſſault, they enter, they kill the enemies and ſaue the Cittizen, they heare not thoſe cruell wordes, *let the friend periſh with the enemy*. Thoſe whom the fury of armes could diſtinguiſh and know for French were ſaued, and the Engliſh ſlaine: But it is hard in theſe encounters, inflamd with fury, and foming with reuenge, to obſerue any Image of iuſtice in ſparing his friend or his hoſt. [x].

They ſpeak of God when they go to a charge or an aſſault, they recommend them ſelues vnto him, they pray vnto him, & they make vowes. At their returne they ſpeake no more of him then if he had not beene preſent. But the firſt thing and the firſt action which the King did at his entry, was to giue God thanks, acknowledging him the ſole author of this victory, [y] without whom he had beene as much troubled with his owne Subiects, as with the enemy: For the Duke of Bourgundy was not ſo well reconciled as he deſired not to raiſe the greatnes of his houſe vpon the ruines of the Kings affaires

[r] Agiſilaus *being demanded what party made the commander of an Army excellent and braue: hee anſwered, courage againſt his enemies, and counſell with iudgement in occaſions that are offered.*

[s] *When as the Duke of York ſent to offer battaile vnto the King, hee made no other anſwer but that ſeeing hee had ſuch a deſire to fight, he ſhould haue his belly full and ſooner then he looked for.*

[t] *Neceſſity bindes a Prince to caſt himſelfe into dangers. In the warre which the Emperor* Albert *of* Auſtria *had againſt the Bohemians, they demanded of him to whom he would giue the charge of his army: he anſwered. If any other then my ſelfe were your Captaine you would no more call me* Archduke of Auſtria *AEneas Silu. lib 3. de reb. Alphon.*

[u] Charles *braged of the wounds that he had receiued in the warre and ſhewed them*, Timotheus *an Athenian Captaine ſaid*, I was aſhamed before Samos that an arrow came from the walls and fell neer vnto me, for that I had aduanced farther then was fit for a commander of an Army *Plut.* [x] Epaminondas *that great Captaine who neuer ſlew any one vanquiſhed, held him a wicked man, how good a Citizen ſoeuer that did not ſpare his friend or his hoſte.*

[y] *The glory of victories belongs to the God of Battells. The Kings of France haue alwaies bene careſull of this duty.* Philip Auguſtus *after the Battell of* Bouines *cauſed the Church of our Lady of victory to be built neere vnto* Senlis. K. Lewis *the twelfth built a Chappel where as he won the Battel of* Ghiaradadda, *vnder the name of* St. Marie *of victory.* King Francis *the I. did the like vpon the place of battel where as he defeated the* Suiſſes *at* S. Donat.

and

and the greateſt of the Realme had already made ſecret aſſemblies to reforme the diſorders whereof euery one had complayned.

The King rewards his ſeruants.

He aſſembled all the Princes, Noblemen and Captaines, hecommended them that had done well, [z] and thanked thē for the fidelity and proofes which they had ſhowne, he made many knightes, and gaue to the Lord of *Ialonge* the place of marſhall of France, and a penſion to him that entred firſt into *Pontoiſe* by the breach. If the Hiſtory knew his name ſhe would giue him a murall Crowne, and would doe him the like honor as the Parthians did to him that mounted firſt vpon the walls of *Seleucia*. [a].

The Dauphin beſiegeth Tartas.

The King led the Dauphin to *Tartas*, being aſſieged by the Engliſh, and then to *Limoges*, teaching him ſtil that wiſdome and temporiſing ſurmount all difficulties, and that it is a more excellent thing to ſettle his eſtate in peace then to ſpoile and waſt his enemies contry. With the inſtructions and maximes of his father, who had giuen him in his infancy good gouernours, and in his youth good councellors. [b]. he made him capable of the actions of a Prince, to command well, and to cary the commandements of the King his father into *Languedoc*, to fruſtrate the practiſe of the Earle of *Armagnac*.

Baſtard of Armagnac fauord by *Lewis* the eleuenth.

The Baſtard [c] of this houſe aduertiſed him, that the Earle of *Armagnack* treated of ſome alliance with the Engliſh. Ielouſie vpon ſuch aduertiſements are alwayes excuſable, and there is nothing that doth ſo much bind the wiſedome of Princes, as to foreſee that great houſes doe not ally themſelues againſt their liking, and tranſport vnto ſtrangers the goods which ſhould remaine in their eſtates, which cannot be carried away without preiudice vnto them. Such practiſes are more eaſily preuented then broken when they are made.

The houſe of *Armaignac* is ancient, ritch, and mighty, in *Guienne*, and her beginning is found in that of the Crowne of [d] Nauarre. *Iohn* 4. Earle of *Amagnac* Conſtable of France had bought of *Iohn* Duke of Bourbon the Earledome of Liſle Iourdain in the yeare. 1421. for 38000. crownes of gold, of 64. to the marke. He had married *Iſabell* of *Nauarre*: The greatnes of his houſe, and that of his alliance, made him preſume, during the troubles of France, (when as euery man caſt his eyes vppon the peeces of her ſhipwrack) to qualifie himſelfe, *Prince by the grace of God*, and to ſeeke the allyance of the Engliſh by the marriage of his daughter. The King, who made no difference betwixt treaſon and ſuch allyances, ſent Commiſſioners to make the Earles proceſſe as guilty of high treaſon; hauing offended againſt the Lawes of France [e] *which forbids any Nobleman to make any marriage with ſtrangers without the Princes conſent.*

[z] *After a victory a Prince muſt take knowledge of ſuch as haue done him good ſeruice, honor & recompence valor & blame cowardize.* Luce orta (ſaith Liui. *in his 6. Booke*) vocatis claſico ad concilium, mili tibus, *Manlius* primum ob virtutem laudatus donatuſq;.

[a] *The names of ſuch as go to apparant dangers for the publicke ſafety, ſhould not be forgotten in a hiſtory, and yet they remaine vnknowne, if they be not noted by ſome other quality then a ſimple ſoldier.* Plutarch *remembers the name of* Surena, *who firſt ſcaled the wall of the great Citty* Seleucia, *the reaſon is for that hee was the ſecond among the Parthians next the King.*

[b] *Great Princes hauing had good maiſters beeing little, & wiſe Counſellors being great haue effected great matters.*

[c] *This Baſtard was made Admirall of France by* Lewis *the eleuenth who gaue him the Earledome of Comminge and the gouerment of* Guienne: *whereof hee diſpoſeſt* Iohn *Duke of* Bourbon *his Brother in law.* [d] D. Sancho, *ſurnamed the great King of Nauarre, hauing conquered ſome land in* Gaſcogne *on this ſide the* Pyrenees *gaue it vnto* Garſias *his ſonne, Earle of Armagnac in the yeare* 1013. *he made his ſecond ſonne* Arnold Garcias *Earle of Eſtarac, whoſe diſſent is entred into the houſe of Foix and a branch of Candalle.* [e] *Marriages treated with ſtrangers without the Kings permiſſion, haue been dangerous for them that treates it.* Valeran *of Luxembourg Conſtable of France was diſgract by King* Charles *the fifth, and King* Charles *the ſixth diſlikt the treaty of the Duke of Berries daughter with the Duke of*

The King ſent the Dauphin thither, who beſieged *Liſle Iordain* and tooke the Earle of *Armagnac*. His ſonne fled into Spaine, *Iohn de Meaux*, ſecond Preſident of the Parlament of *Toulouſe*, had heard the Earle of *Armagnac* vpon his practiſe, and had drawne from his owne mouth the truth of the principall points. He thought that he ſhould be quit for this confeſſion, and that the Preſident (hauing no other force then that of Iuſtice) could do him no great harme, but when hee ſaw himſelfe a priſoner in the Dauphins power, hee ſaid that whatſoeuer hee had confeſt was againſt his owne conſcience and the truth, hauing onely ſpoken it with a deſire to recouer his goods which the King had ſeazed on. After hee had expiated this offence in priſon, the King reſtored him his liberty giuing the Earledome of Foix for a caution. The Dauphin at his returne from this voiage was ſent into Normandy with the title of Lieftenant Generall. But we muſt obſerue that he was twenty yeares old before he had any gouernment, and that the King gaue it him only to diſappoint the deſeignes of ſuch as would haue drawne him elce where, and did buſie themſelues more then he himſelfe did in the eſtate wherein he was.

Earle of Armagnac a priſoner at Liſle Iourdain.

He chaſed the Engliſh from Deepe, and this victory did preſently carry the generoſity of his courage and the happines of his conduct throughout all the Prouinces of France, whereas nothing did diminiſh the greatnes of this growing reputation, but this reaſon, that being ſonne to ſo braue a father it was not ſtrange to ſee him ſo valiant. The French ſaid that the father had need of ſuch a ſonne and the ſonne had need of ſuch a father. The King glories to haue made him with his owne hand and to ſee his inſtructions ſo well followed, he augments his authority, and praiſeth his command, and ſends him into Languedoc with a thouſand Lances whereas his ſword made his way. He ſtaid not his courage at ſmall g matters, his fall could not be but very high. As hee diſdained glory of ſmal price, and reputation which coſt little, ſo he did earneſtly ſeek that which grew from great and goodly actions, and which were the iuſt fruites of true vertue.

The Dauphin takes Deepe.

The Dauphin goes into Languedoc,

The Engliſh, grown weake, make a truce, during the which *Lewis* goes to ſeeke exercciſe without the Realme, and becomes head of the French and Engliſh to be reuenged on thoſe who during the worſt eſtate of his fathers affaires had troubled him, and to fauour the warre of *Sigiſmond* Duke of Auſtria againſt the Suiſſes. h

1443.

Hee remembred that the Earle of Montbelliard had entred the Frontiers of France toward Langres. Hee cries quittance with him, takes and ſpoiles Montbelliard and giues the gouernment to *Iohn Thibergeau* captaine of his Archers: He oueruns, the Biſhop of Baſſils country, for that he had maintained the party of *Amide* Duke of Sauoy i who by the ſufferages of the Biſhops prelates and Doctors of the Councill had beene made Pope and named

Lancaſter Philiſius *for this reaſon was baniſhed out of the eſtates of* Denis *King of Sicile*

g *Natures well bred are eaſily bound by fauors, they would haue corrupted* Lewis. *King* Charles *his father giues him part of the gouernment of the eſtate and of his affaires, by which meanes he was drawne from thoughtes contrary to his duty and the peace of the eſtate.*

g *A Prince muſt flye vanity and ſeeke the effect of a ſollid and true glory*, nam vt luitatis eſt inanem aucupari rumorem omnes vmbras etiam falſæ gloriæ conſectari, ſic ieiuni eſt animi lucem ſplendoremque fugientis, iuſtam gloriam qui eſt fructus veræ virtutis honeſtiſſimus repudiare. Cic. *in* Piſ. *For as it is a lightnes to hunt after vaine fame & all the ſhaddowes of falce glory, ſo it is a weaknes to refuſe iuſt glory, which is the honeſteſt fruit of true vertue.*

h *The Duke of Auſtria had married* Radigonde *of France, eldeſt daughter to King* Charles *the ſeauenth: in fauour of this alliance he intreats him to ſuccour him againſt the Suiſſes.* i Amidee *Duke of Sauoy in the yeare* 1437. *retired to Repaille into a monaſtery of Monckes of* S. Morris, *and tooke their habit*, A grey gowne, a long Cloake, a grey hood, a

Fælix

Fœlix the fift, againſt Pope *Eugenius*, and who before his retreate into his Monaſterie of *Ripaille*, had done all hee could to fauour the Engliſh.

The Suiſſes ſeeing ſo mighty an enemy at their gates, attend not vntill he did aduance, but looke which way he would turne the head of his forces. The Lord of Ramſtein receiues him at Altkilch, a Towne which he held by engagement of the Biſhop of Baſill for 12000. florens. The Nobillity of the Country comes vnto him, and to be reuenged of the people, and to preſerue their howſes, they offer him the ſeruice of their ſwords. The Armies vſed incredible inhumanities vpon this poore people, who gaue the name of Flears vnto the men of Warre [k].

Good order of them of Baſill.

The Towne of Baſſil knew well that the councill would draw this ſtorme vpon them, and that King *Charles* the ſeuenth would reuenge the degradation of *Eugenius* the Pope: and therefore they omitted nothing that might ſerue for their defence & ſafety: they made a bulwarke at the Port of Spalen, and raſed all that was about the Towne which might help the beſiegers: they appointed two Bels, one for warre, and the other for fire, by the firſt euery one knew whither hee ſhould goe, by the ſecond Churchmen and Monkes onely were bound to runne to the fire. They cauſed a proclamation to be made in the country, that whoſoeuer would bring his goods and prouiſion into the Towne, the Bourguemaſters would bee bound to reſtore it againe, or to pay the iuſt price, if neceſſitie forced them to vſe it [l].

Suiſſes beſiege Zurich

The houſe of Auſtria had caſt the Apple of diſcord among the Suiſſes. Zurich was allyed to *Sygiſmond* Archduke of Auſtria, the Cantons of Berne, *Lucerne*, *Vry*, *Suuitz*, *Vnderual*, and *Glaris*, came to beſiege Zurick, to force them to renounce this allyance. Beeing at this ſiege they are aduertiſed that *Iohn* of Rechberg in the beginning of Auguſt had ſurpriſed the Towne of Bruck, in the Country of Ergueu, belonging to the Canton of Berne, that hee had committed great cruelties there, and had ſent the ſpoile by water to Lauſtemberg: and the chiefe priſoners to Farnsberg. The common feeling they had of the priuate offences of their Allies, ſuffers them not to diſſemble this iniurie. Hee that attempts againſt the leaſt Hamlet of this common-weale, giues an Alarum to all the Cantons: they ranne thither as if the fire had beene in their owne houſes. [m] They ſent foure thouſand men to beſiege Farnsberg, *Reckberg*, who was within, it let them know vpon their firſt approches that he was no man to yeeld. Hee knew well that the Armie of France was not farre off, and that the Swiſſes had worke enough elſewhere.

Burkard Monchen whom the French called *Burgo* the Monke,

a ſhort corner, & a red cap vpon his hood, but vpon his gowne he carried a great girdle of gould, and vpon his cloak a Croſſe of gould, being accompanied by twety of his fauourits attired like the Monkes.

He reſerued vnto himſelfe the title of the Duke of Sauoy and the ſouereigne authority ouer his Eſtates. He was choſen Pope at the Councill. The election was ſignified vnto him the 11. of December 1439. He came to Baſill the 24. of Iune, was crowned the 24. of Iuly, ſaid his firſt Maſſe and made Cardenals the 27. of November. He went to hold his ſea at Lauſanna 1442.

[k] *The ſouldiers who ſpoiled the frontiers, and the Countryes of Baſill and Ferrette at diuers times were allwayes called by one name* Schindern, *Flears, and by mockery* Armeniacken.

[l] *Whereas there is concord betwixt the townes and country, not onely of opinions in certaine things, but in all that concernes the common profit, a forraine enemie ſhall finde great difficultie to worke any great effects, for all conſpire againſt him.* [m] *The Lawe of alliance, which is that of friendſhip, requires that friends and allies ſhould apprehend and imbrace one anothers good or harme. Their duties and intereſts ſhould be common, as imbarked in the ſhip of one common-weale, the which ſuffers not any one to ſaue himſelfe apart, nor that they which are at the poope ſhould not be moued with the water which enters in at the prow.*

Lord by ingagement of Landſec, was as it were the guide and Marſhall of the Armie. Hee preſt the Dauphin to come before *Baſil*, thinking that at the ſight of ſo many men they would rather ſeeke to capitulate then reſiſt: for the Armie conſiſted of 20000. horſe: the Hiſtories of Germanie make mention of 30000. *Baſil*[n] ſends ſpeedily to demand ſuccours of the Suiſſees which were before Farnsberg. They ſent them one thouſand and ſix hundred men, whom the Siegneur of Halwil cals peaſants:[o] The which were twice incountred and charged by the Earle of Dammartin, firſt in the plaine of Brattelen, when as they thought to paſſe at the breake of the day, and the ſecond time neere vnto the Village of Mutents halfe a league from Baſill, but they marched ſo cloſe, and in ſuch good order, as it ſeemed to the Caualery which offered to charge them, that they went againſt a rocke, or an armed wall[p].

1441 Baſill beſieged by the Dauphin.

Suiſſes repulſe the Earle of Dammartin.

They of Baſill gaue them notice that they ſhould bee carefull how they did aduance, that it would bee a great raſhnes for them to ſeeke to force through ſo mighty an Armie, which held all the paſſages. But the Suiſſees beleeue that the Lion is not ſo furious as he is painted: Being incouraged, and glorious of that which had ſo happily ſucceeded, in the morning they will not heare ſpeake of ſtaying, and much leſſe of retyring. The braueſt courages ſhew themſelues in dangers: [q] It belongs onely vnto them to doe and endure difficult things. They are more inquiſitiue of the place where the enemies are, then of their numbers, and holding all manner of ſtay for a kinde of cowardiſe, they marche directly towards the Towne, and finding the paſſage at the bridge ſtopt, they ſwimme ouer the riuer of Biſrein[r].

The Romans would not haue commended this furie; they held it vnfitting for the greatnes and Maieſtie of the Empire, and Emperour of their armies, to paſſe riuers otherwiſe then vpon bridges, hauing gardes ſet at eyther end[s]. For this onely reaſon, and without any other neceſſitie *Ceſar* made a bridge vpon the Rhin, and was nothing amazed at the bredth, ſwiftnes, nor depth of this riuer. The Suiſſes were much troubled with the water and the enemy, before they could recouer the bankes, and then by the fauour of a little Hill they ſlip into S. Iames Hoſpitall. They of the Towne, for that they would not faile to releeue them who came ſo freely and generouſly to their ſuccors, ſent forth two troopes to meete them: but there was an Ambuſh of eight thouſand horſes layed for them, able to haue broken the Battalions of Suiſſees, if they had beene as equall in number [t] as they did imitate in order the Roman Legions. They that were in garde in the Towers of the Towne aduertiſed them of the danger, and made them returne.

Battell of S. *Ieams* Hoſpitall.

[n] Baſill *made the firſt alliance with* Bern *and* Soleure, *in the yeare* 1441. *The houſe of Auſtria was offended, ſaying that they did infringe the Articles of the golden Bull.*

[o] Thuring de Halluul *in a letter which he did write vnto the Marquis* William, *and to the Towne of Zurick the day after the Battell, calls the Suiſſes* Bauren *Peſants.*

[p] *A Battalion of foote well ordered is called a wall.* Antiqui murum dixerant pedeſtrem exercitum Veget. Dion *ſpeaking of the fourth Legion called,* Pytique, *giues it the title of a warlike wall.* πολεμικώτατον τεῖχος.

[q] *Not to yeeld, but to reſiſt the ſharpeſt and moſt dangerous accidents, is a ſigne of a great courage.* Romanum eſt agere et pati fortia.

[r] *The Townesmen of Baſill were in counſell how to draw in their ſuccors without danger.* Munſter *ſaith that the Suiſſes beeing vpon a little hill, ſeeing their enemies come vpon them, they repulſt them vnto the Hoſpitall of S Iames.*

[s] Germanicus *ſaid that to wade through riuers did wrong the reputation of a generall of an Armie.* Ceſar niſi pontibus preſidiiſque impoſitis dare in diſcrimen Legiones haud Imperatorium ratus.

[t] *The number of ſouldiours in a Legion, haue been diuers. In the time of* Romulus *it was of ſix thouſand foote and 600. horſe, of* 4000. *during the Commonweale. That which* Scipio *led into Affrike was of* 6000. *And two Legions in* Cæſars *Armie made not* 7000. *men.*

The

Suisses defeated.

The Suisses had barricadoed themselues in the Church and Hospitall of S. Iames; But the French forced them out by fire. They fought long at the hedges and walles of the gardens, they indured three assaults, and repulst the two first valiantly, but they were charged with great resolution, and at the third they were forced and all cut in pieces: yet the most miserable sold his skin dearely. *Æneas Siluius* [u], who was then Secretarie to the Councill, and afterwards Pope, saith *they could not without horror and amazement behold that cruell butchery of men, in the which the Suisses drew the arrowes all bloody out of their bodies, and stabd them furiously into their enemies bowels and so died together.* No man was slaine but hee slew. No man breathed forth his last gaspe without the content of being reuenged, comforting his death in that of his enemy. The Dauphin said that he had neuer seene men more furious, more strong, nor more resolute: there were but sixtene saued, who comming into the Contry were taken for runawayes which had forsaken the Camp. And notwithstanding any thing they could alledge yet euery man said vnto them, they should haue dyed with the rest. They could not bee held honest men who had brought back their heads from the danger where their companions, had been slaine, as *Philopemen* could not thinke well of him who had fallen aliue into the enemies hand. [x] The Combat continued ten houres.

Insolence in the victory punished.

Burkard Munch of Landscron Conductor of the Army riding ouer the place of battell and ouer the heapes of dead men, the Beauer of his helmet being vp, full of insolence and pride, he said: *Here we bath in Roses*, [y] or as some write, beholding the Castle of Landscron and Munchenstien. *I see the Rose bushes which my Predeceßors haue planted.* A Suisse, lying among the dead Carcases, and halfe dead, hearing these wordes of cruell disdaine, striues to get vp on his knees, and with the remainder of his courage and life casts a stone, with such violence at his face, as hee ouerthrew him. He was carried to Landscron and there he died. Another seeing one of his Companions ill intreated by foure soldiers ran thither, freed him from the danger, and carrred him away dying vpon his sholders [z]

It is not certaine how many were in the Suisses Army: *Haluuil* the Suisse, saith that they were 4000, the Chronicles of France speake of 5000. But whatsoeuer it were, neither France nor England had any great cause to triumph for this Battell: For they lost as many men as they must kill of the enemies to merit a triumph. [a] The Army that was before Farnsperg, hearing of this defeat, raised the siege and retired.

[u] Committitur atrox et miserable prælium, cæduntur que ex vtraque parte quamplurimi. Horrendum auditu est. Euellebant sanguinolentas ex corporibus suis sagittas Suitenses, ac truncatis manibus in hostes irruebant nec prius animam exhalabant, quam occisorem ipsi occidissent. Erat retro Suitenses murus quidam horti sancti *Iacobi*, quo illi se tutos ab vna parte rebantur solumque in fronte pugnabant. Sed Teutonici qui cum Armeniacis erant intrantes hortum, murum perfodiunt, Suitensesque a tergo feriunt, que res magna causa ruinæ Suitensium fuit: pugnatur tum ante tum retro, iam viro vir imminet nec iam eminus sed cominus ferrum stringitur.

Those that fled from a battell were alwayes odious to all nations. These 16. *Suisses although they saued themselues with fighting were contemned as Cowards. The name of* Reißlauffchtiger *a forsaker of the Campe is a great reproch among the Suisses.* [y] *The Annalls of the Bishoprick of Basil report the wordes of Burkard.* Hie hadden wir in Rosen, *or* Hie sicht ich in den Rosaten, welchen meine vorderen gretet. [z] Erant quatuor Armeniaci qui Suitensem vnum insequebantur. Iamque illum telo confossum arauerant et supra corpus grassabantur, tum eius comes arrepta bipenni in quatuor illos fertur ex quibus duos obtruncauit, alios vero in fugam dedit, ac deinde semianime corpus super humeros recipit et inuitis hostibus portauit ad suos *AEneas Sil. Munsterus.* [a] *A Triumph was not giuen for any victory except they had slaine 5000. enemies, as* Valerius *saith. Neither did they giue it vnto the Victors when as the victorie had*

The

The Dauphin continued three daies vpon the place of Battell, and to couer the nomber of men which they had loſt, cauſed them to be buried in diuers places, as at Arleſheim, Reinach, and Eſch: Two Earles were interred at Montbelliard, two at Iſenheim, The grand Pryor of France was ſlaine at this Battell, with many other Noblemen. They of Baſill demand leaue to take a view of the dead men and to bury [b] them, he would not refuſe peace vnto the dead, ſeeing he was willing to grant it vnto the liuing [c], and that there was no likelihood that he would grow obſtinate at the ſiege of Baſil nor againſt the Suiſſes. The begging Fryars were appointed for this act of pietie. They made three pits to bury them in. There were ſome that did breath three dayes after the battell. They found ſome halfe burnt in the ruines of the Hoſpitall, many in the hedges, and a great number in the Riuer of Birs.

The Dauphin went to refreſh himſelfe in Alſacea. His Court was at Enſiſheim, and the Armie lodged ſo at large in the country, as it held from Montbelliard to Haguenaud. The Emperor aſſembled the Princes of the Empire at Ments to conſult of the meanes to expell the ſtrangers out of Germany. The Councill of Baſill ſent [d] Embaſſaſſours vnto him to perſwade him not to trouble the aſſembly, to the which France was bound for the peace it had with the houſe of Bourgundy. His Deputies were at Baſil to vnderſtand the will of the Fathers vpon this accord. They of Berne and Soleure came thither, yet there was nothing concluded but a truce of ſome few daies.

Counel of Baſil ſeekes an accord with the Dauphin.

The Emperor *Frederick*, gaue the Dauphin to vnderſtand that if he did not retire himſelfe, the Empire would proclaime warre againſt him. The Nobilitie of Germanie, who had drawne the French and Engliſh into the country, began to bee weary of their gueſts, who dranke their wine without paying, and made vergys of their Vines. Mulhouſe [e] freed it ſelfe from this ſtorme, refuſing to receiue the Dauphins troupes.

The Dauphin retires into Lorraine.

When as hee ſaw that all the Empire began to riſe againſt him, and that the Suiſſes were like to haue their reuenge for the battell of S. *Iames* of Baſill, he went into Lorraine, to ſee King *Charles* his Father who was before Mets, being reſolued to reuenge the King of Sicile, who was much incenſed againſt this Towne, for that they had fauoured the Earle of Vaudemont againſt him.

1445 Truce betwixt Frãce and England prolonged.

The Engliſh who had refuſed a peace, tooke ſuch taſte in a truce [f] as it was prolonged for fiue yeares. Such as tooke delight in the publike miſeries, for that they were profitable vnto them, were not content, they would haue the tempeſt ceaſe, but they ſtill deſired ſome winde to raiſe the ſtorme. Wee doe not alwaies finde ſpirits of that integritie, but they preferre their priuate profit before the publike good. Men of this excellencie haue been euer ingaged in great tempeſts, the number of them which haue come

had coſt much bloud, & therfore Titus Liuius *in his 16. ſaith, that it was refuſed to* Attilius.

[b] *Among the Grecians hee that demanded a dead body to bury it, loſt the fruit of the victory, and re nounced the triumph.* Plut. de Niceas & Ageſilaus.

[c] Aeneas *ſaid vnto the Latins, who came to intreat him to haue their dead bodies to bury them,* Pacem me exanimis & Martis ſorte peremptis oratis, equidem & vinis concedere velim. *you pray to men ſlaine in the warres I peace ſhould giue, yea willingly I would grant it them that liue.*

[d] *The Councill of Baſill ſent the Cardinall of Arles and Biſhop of Baſill vnto the Dauphin, who did mediate a truce for twenty daies.*

[e] *Mulhouſe was ſometimes an imperiall town, the Biſhop of Straſburge was gouernor, and it was called Ariabinium. It allied it ſelfe with the Suiſſes in the yeare 1464. and then in the yere 1506. it was made fellowburgis with all the Cantons.* Stump. *lib. 1. of the Suiſſes common weale.*

[f] *A truce is the baite and charme of peace. It is in the libertie of Princes to make it, but when as the people haue once taſted therof it is hard to draw them againe to warre.*

to

to a safe port to make others haue been very small. They grow like the Phenix at the end of fiue hundred yeares [g].

Whiles that Rome was well gouerned, the profession of Armes was in time of peace for an exercise, and in the time of warre for necessitie and glorie, euery man returned to his affayres hauing yeelded an account of his Armes, witnessing still, that hee carried them not for his owne priuate good, but for the seruice of his country. The ciuill warres troubled this order, and therefore they said that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were held better Captaines then good Citizens, and greater in valour then in integritie. France was neuer fruitfull of such spirits as haue willingly made warre to haue peace, and haue not troubled the peace to make warre [h].

Marriage of *Henry* the sixth and *Margaret* of Anion.

During this Truce a marriage was made betwixt *Henry* the sixt King of England, and *Margaret* of Aniow Daughter to *Rene* King of Sicile. The Earle of Suffolk came to fetch her at Nancy, the King was there present, and the ioy was great: but as any great ioy hath still some great sorrow attending it, and pleasures strangle when as they imbrace most straightly. [i] King *Charles* receiued so great an affliction for the death of the Dauphins wife, and his heauines was so apparent, as the whole Court did participate thereof.

Death of *Margaret* Stuard.

But there was more then teares to witnesse that hee loued this Princesse, and that the remembrance of her should not end with weeping [k], for he receiued the Princesses of Scotland her Sisters with all kindes of honor, whom she had greatly desired to see. They came at the time of her Funerals, and finding themselues, as it were vnknowne, in a country whereas that which should make them to be knowne and respected was wanting, they dyed for griefe. All consolations made their greefes comfortles, [l] and made them desire that the Queene their sister, being in the bosome of the earth, had them vpon hers. But the King to witnes that the affection which he bare vnto their Sister was not dead, made them to feele the effects. He married the one to *Francis* Duke of Brittaine, and the other to *Sigismond* Archduke of Austria.

The iudgement of two Historians of England.

It is impossible to finde truth in an enemies tongue. Hony how sweet soeuer it be, is sharpe and offensiue to a mouth vlcered with passion and slander. *Edward Hall*, and *Grafton*, two writers of England, seeing that their imposture would take no hold vpon the manners and actions of this Princesse, haue indiscreetly written, that she was vnpleasing to her husband. [n] But there are records yet to be seene both in France and Scotland of the griefe which *Charles* the seuenth, and the Dauphin his Sonne had for her death, and *Monstrelet* speakes as of a Princesse who excelled in beautie both

[g] *A wise man such as the Stoicks discribe him, neuer was nor neuer will be.* Quis sapiens sit aut fuerit, nec ipsi Stoici solent dicere. Cic. *And as great things happen rarely,* Seneca *saith, that* fortasse tanquam Phœnix semel 500. annis nascitur. Sen.

[h] *Marshall disciplin should be wel obserued if it did alwaies consist of men who after the war made no difficultie to return to their trades and labour, but the libertie and disorder in warre is so great as it is hard to draw them to the rules of Duty, and therefore warre makes theeues, and peace hangs them.*

[i] *Ioy is commonly the beginning of sorow, as riuers of fresh water die in the salt sea; the sweetnes of life ends with sorrowes that are bitter.*

[k] *Affection is not tryed by teares onely. To ceace to weepe is not to forget. the remembrance is too short, which lasteth no longer then teares.*

[l] *We must giue time and ayre to sorrow to euaporate it. In those which are extreme, it is a part of the griefe to heare of consolations.*

[m] Iohn *Duke of Brittanie sent Ambassadors into Scotland to treat the marriage of his Sonne with* Isabel *daughter to the King of Scotland, at whose returne he enquired what the Princesse was? Who made report,* That shee had beautie sufficient, a bodie well disposed to beare children, but shee had no ready speech. *To whom he answered, That she was as he demanded, and that he held a woman learned enough, if she could make a difference betwixt her husbands doublet and shirt.* Annal. *of Aquitaine.*

[n] Buchanan *in the tenth booke of the Historie of Scotland, saith that two Historians of England, hauing as little sufficiencie as modestie, haue beene so*

of minde and bodie. She fauoured the good wits of her age, *Alain Charretier* was held at that time one of the firſt of the Court, and this Princes did eſteeme him ſo rare, as ſhee honoured him with a ſingular fauour, for paſſing by a Chamber whereas he ſlept vpon a forme ſhe kiſt him, and to ſatisfie the amazement of the Ladyes of her traine ſhe added, *I kiſſe not the man, I kiſſe the mouth from whence haue come ſo many goodly Diſcourſes.* Yet it was one of thoſe mouthes which haue learned to talke and not to bee ſilent[o]. This warlike and Marſhall ſeaſon was debarred both of learning and learned men: For whereas warre ſpeakes, learning is ſilent. The Prouinces, troubled by armes, neither teach nor are taught, and the money which ſhould ſerue for the ſtipend of publicke Readers, is imployed for the muſters of ſouldiers[p].

The yeares of Truce being expired, the warre was renued with all violence againſt the Engliſh. The Hiſtorie ſpeakes nothing of the actions of *Lewis* vntill his retreat into Dauphine, neither are the cauſes thereof well expreſt. Shee hath well obſerued his diſcontents. His Father held him ſomewhat ſhort, and his actions were not ſo temperate, but they gaue him ſome cauſe of ſuſpition, that he had a deſire to be maſter[q]. The warre renues.

The King being come to an end of his affayres, would recompence the troubleſome nights which hee had paſt[r], when as melancholly had dryed vp his bones; that all his demeanes were engaged; the chiefe forts of the Realme in the power of the Engliſh, that his table often fayled, and that hee liued in ſuch frugalitie, as hee had no need of excellent Cookes, ſuch as thoſe of the Romans were, for they found him not with three or foure Diſhes like vnto *Charlemaine*, but with a meſſe of Pottage made with a rumpe of Mutton, and a couple of Chickens roſted for his whole ſeruice[s]. The wretched life of a great King. 1446

The great toyles which hee had paſt deſerued ſome good daies, but he ſought them not in his family, nor in his children[t]. His ſpirit plunged it ſelfe in delights, for the which like vnto another *Iupiter*, he transformed himſelfe into diuers ſhapes, vnworthy of his Maieſtie, and although he was impatient of ſeruitude, as all Kings be, yet he vowed himſelfe to the ſeruice of Ladies which followed the Queene: Aboue all their appeared the fayre *Agnes*, beautifull in the flower of her age, and as louely as worthily to bee beloued[u]. She ſtole the Kings heart, who made her Miſtris of the Caſtle of beautie, as ſhe was Queene of all the beauties, but beauty was in her a bad Hoſtes in a goodly lodging. He giues himſelfe to delights. and to Ladies.

The Hiſtorie which ſhould not be curious to lay open mat-

Impudent as not finding any thing wherewith to ſlander this Princes haue ſaid: Ob oris graueolentiam marito fuiſſe ingratam.

o There is no ſuch itching of the ſpirit as a deſire to write. It is not cured but by ſilence. Euſenius *demanded of* Apolonius Thianeus, *why hee did not ſettle himſelfe to write,* for that ſaid hee I haue not yet learned to hold my peace.

p The Emperor Leon, *made an anſwere to one that counſelled him to imploy his treaſure in the entertainement of ſouldiors,* vtinã meis temporibus euenisſt ſtipendia militum in doctores artium abſumi. *I would it might happen in my time that the ſtipends of ſouldiors might bee imployed vpon Doctors of Arts.*

q The opinions of children ſhould be limitted in that ſort, as it is not lawfull for them once to thinke to aduance the time, they muſt ſuffer heauen & the order of nature to worke. *r A troubled youth requires a quiet age, he that hath liued in the waues, deſires to dye in the Port.* *s The ſobrietie of* Charlemaine *hath beene commended, he had but foure diſhes, hee dranke but thrice and neuer betwixt meales, he did eate ſome fruits after dinner.* Eghinard. *t Reſt after their trauels is iuſt and lawfull, but it is moſt ſweet in his owne houſe. And therefore* Hercules *was repreſented playing with a little Child. The familie hath conſolations.* Bella planè accincti obeunda, ſed reuertentibus poſt laborem, quid honeſtius quam vxorium leuamentum? TAC. *u The Obiect of Loue is Beauty, and Beautie is the marke of many deſires. It is for blind men to demaund why Kings loue fayre things.*

ters

Modestie of the History touching the Kings loues.

ters which are distastfull, hath beene so carefull of the Kings respect, and of the honor of this Ladie, as it hath spoken very lightly of that which in those daies was knowne to all, and published by few, It onely saith, *that for that shee appeared alwaies richly attyred, was one of the Queenes maides, and that the King saw her oft, they thought she was wholly the Kings*[x]. That her eyes were the Altars whereon he made his vowes vnder the vales of Night and secret.

The Author of the Historie of S. *Dennis* saith, *that by the duty of his charge* (The Historie of France in those dayes was written by Monkes, as it was at Rome by the High Priests)[y]. *He informed himselfe most curiously of his most inward seruants, making some of them sweare whether the common brute were true, from whom hee had learned what hee had written. That* Charles *loued her onely for her gallant humor,* Shee was excellent in many pleasant conceits, but especially in her speech and incounters, which is one of the gestures of Loue.

Strangers, whose testimonie in these Occasions is as free from flatterie as it is subiect to Hatred, haue spoken no more plainely. *Oliuer de la Marche* saith, that in the yeare 1444. the Duches of Bourgundy passing into Flanders saw the French Queene at Chalons. Where they had great and priuate conference together. [z] *For they had one griefe and one disease, and there were reasons for their iealousies, for that the King had giuen vnto* Agnes de Soret, *a traine comparable to that of great Princesses, and the Duke was very louing, and had many base children both sonnes and daughters* But who sees not that flatterie hath falsified the Annales of those times? And that the little which they report is sufficient to assure that *Charles* and *Agnes* knew where to meete and to haue newes one of another; they were not troubled to write vppon the marbles of Churches and on the Mercuries of the high waies. *Pithius* is on the right hand, and *Pithias* on the left: Princes who thinke they may say, *if it please it is lawfull*, haue sometime greater want of enterprises then of fortune.

The King, which held a peace miserable which gaue not some rest, stole some howers in his affayres to imploy them in his loues & gardens. He went no farther to seek for palmes and bayes, he would not haue any but from the hands of this Lady. Shee had a daughter: *Montstrellet* saith that she was not auowed, [a] and the Author of *Lewis* the eleuenths Chronicle, writes that she was married to the Seneshall of Normandies sonne.

Yong Princes haue alwaies discoursers, which speake of euery thing, not to dispute thereof but to taxe it, who carrying their thoughts to the future, neuer speake of the present, but with distaste and disdaine [b]. These droanes buz continually about the Dauphins eares, and raise vp in his soule vnlawfull murmurings against the Kings delights. They made him beleeue that *Charles* could neither loue himself, nor any other, so long as he loued faire *Agnes*.

[x] *The fayre are easily suspected of incontinency for that chastitie and beauty doe not alwaies agree.*

[y] *By the policy of Rome, the charge of the History, and the Annalls did belong vnto the High Priests.* Res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pont. Max. *Cic. 3. de Orat.* Penes Pontifices scribendæ Historiæ potestas fuit. *Fla. Vopis.*

[z] *There is some kinde of ease in the conference of troubles and afflictions.*

[a] Charlote *Base Daughter to* Charles *the seuenth, and* Agnes Sorret, *was married to the Earle of Mauleurier, sonne to* Peter, *or* Iohn de Brese, *Seneshall of Normandy.*

[b] *Pleasures are enemies to libertie: Wee should bee our owne if they were not ours.*

The Dauphin could not diſſemble his diſcontent, and this cunning woman, for the ſafetie of her fortune, did all ſhee could to ſeaze vpon the fathers loue: And that hee ſhould not receiue any grace but at her diſcretion, leaſt that her diſgrace ſhould grow by their accord. The Dauphin enemy to fayre *Agnes*.

The King by the bad offices of this Lady, who incenſed the Fathers wrath againſt the Sonne, and ſought occaſions to content his diſlike, who by the iealouſie which hee had conceiued, that a ſonne of thirtie yeares of Age did tread vpon his heeles, ſaw him no more, but with an eye troubled with waywardnes and deſpight, Princes, who haue children growne to age ſhould not vſe towards them the auſtere grauitie of fatherly authoritie, whereby denying them the honour of their familiaritie they depriue themſelues of the ſweeteſt conuerſation of [d] life: For whom doe they keep this loue and proofe of affection? Feare they that it will ſhorten their power? and that God and Nature and the Lawes haue not well prouided to maintaine it? If they haue loued them in their infancie, when as they could not diſtinguiſh of the force and reſpect thereof, why doe they take from them the knowledge when as age giues them the feeling, and commands them to yeeld vnto this loue the tributes of the ſame loue, feare and obedience? Many young Princes, dying, haue left vnto their Fathers this troubleſome griefe, nay rather this reproch, that they haue neuer let them know that they loued them amidſt theſe auſtere courſes. The Dauphin, by reaſon of his age and his diſpoſition, being tractable and quick, was carried to ſodaine alterations, during the which hee onely conſidered the qualitie of the firſt Sonne of France, and not the authoritie of the King, [e] nor the reuerence of the Father. *R. Gaguin*, writes, that during theſe impatiencies, he ſtroke fayre *Agnes* at Chinon. He ſtrikes her.

They adde to theſe diſcontents an other occaſion which made him leaue the Court. *Anthony de Chabanes* Earle of Dammartin, a man valiant, but not able to endure, was in the greateſt fauour in Court, and theſe fauours had taken ſuch deepe rootes [f] as they were able to reſiſt the moſt violent ſtormes of Enuie: Vertue and good fortune had alwaies held the helme and ſailes of his nauigation. The troupes which he led had been well beaten vpon the fronter of Bourgundy. The Dauphin ſaid vnto him by way of ieſt, yet without bitternes, (for he knew that this ſpirit would be eaſily moued) [g] neither did he dwell vpon it, (for ieſts ſhould end when as they begin to moue laughter) *How now Earle of Dammartin, by the faith of my bodie the Marſhall of Bourgundy hath vnſhod you, he doth contrarie to other Smithes who ſhooe horſes, and he vnſhooes them.* You ſay well anſwered the Earle, *but I haue gotten ten thouſand crownes to make new ſhooes for my horſes.*

[e] *A malicious ſpirit looſeth no occaſions to doe ill, they ſeeke them.*

[d] *Princes ſhould breed vp their children in a liuely and not a fained and conſtrained affection towards them, they may alwaies cauſe themſelues to be feared, but they were better to purchaſe loue.* There are ſaith *Michael de Montagne* ſo many defects in age, ſo great weaknes and it is ſo ſubiect to contempt as the beſt purchaſe it can make is the affection and loue of his owne: *command & feare are no more his armes.*

[e] *Although the father ſtray in many things frō that which he ought, yet the ſonne ought rather to think of that which hee is bound to doe rather then of that the father hath not done.*

[f] *The fauour of Courtiers muſt take deepe rooting before it be ſetled. This ſeed of a Princes fauour lies long before it ſprings. It ſeemes often to flouriſh when it hath no roote, ſo as the firſt puffe of choller or diſgrace ouerthrowes it.*

[g] *Euery ieſt that containes truth in it offends, although it bee ſpoken by a ſuperiour. The more mens courages are raiſed vp, the leſſe they endure, and the longer they remember it.* Fulſius dicax, Tyberium facetiis irridere ſolitus quarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria eſt. Tac. An. lib. 5. *Babling* Fulſius *was wont to ſcoffe at* Tiberius, *the remembrance once whereof continues long with mighty men.*

He

Reuenge against the Seneſhall of Normandy.

He was very inward with him, and of that credit, as meaning to be reuenged of any one that had offended him, he imparted his deſeine vnto him and gaue him mony to execute it.[h] It is a proud abſtinency to refuſe his prince, but a great miſery when it is for the recompence of a ſeruice which ſubiects the conſience vnder the tyranie of repentance and remorſe. *Iames* of Chabannes Lord Steward of France blamed his brother for this match making, by the which he gaue his friends cauſe to repent themſelues for the eſteeme they had made of him.

Excuſe of the Dauphin to accuſe Chabannes.

The King was aduertiſed, and not able to diſſemble an Act ſo vnworthy the generoſity of the blood of France, which knoweth not how to ſhed blood neither for delight nor reuenge, but onely for neceſſity,[k] reprehended him bitterly. The Dauphin to excuſe himſelfe accuſed the Earle of Dammartin ſaying, that it was by his counſell. The Earle, deſiring rather to wrong his fortune then his honour, did not accord with the Dauphin, but tolde the King that therein he had but giuen eare and obayed. The Dauphin ſeeing himſelfe diſcouered and contradicted, ſaide vnto the Earle, *reſeruing my duty to the King my Lord, you haue lyed.* The reproch of a lye is the moſt ſenſible offence that may be done by words, but it is neither weaknes nor baſenes to endure it of his prince, it were indiſcretion to be moued therewith. Yet the Earle of Dammartin ſought to reuēge thoſe words with this ſpeach. *Reſeruing the reſpect I owe vnto the King, if you were not the Kings ſonne, I would make anſwer with my perſon againſt yours, but if there be any gentleman of your howſe that will charge me with this matter, I will make him ſay the contrary.*

The Dauphin leaues the Court.

The King iudging by their countenances the truth of their intentions, commanded the Dauphin to abſent himſelfe for fower Monthes[l] from Court and to go into Dauphine. The Dauphin going out of the Kings Chamber bare headed, and his heart full of reuenge and collor, ſpake theſe words. *By this head which hath no hood I will be reuenged on thoſe that haue caſt me out of my howſe.* And he kept his word, for he was too true in his threats and promiſes of reuenge. He did neuer loue that which he had hated, and his diſpoſition was far from that generous precept, that wee muſt hate to loue more ardently.[m]

Whether the Kinges iealouſie, or the diſlike of faire *Agnes*, the wordes of the Earle of Dammartin, or ſpies, or flatterers, had cauſed the abſence of *Lewis*, the father bare it with much greefe and repented himſelfe that he had no more regarded his owne age then the age of his ſonne, and that he had neuer ſhowed him his face but fraught with waiwardnes, nor opened his heart but full of wrath and diſdaine.[n]

The Kings griefe for the Dauphins abſence.

Time which ſhould haue cured this wound, did but augment the griefe. He is victorious ouer forraine enemies, but he hath in his heart ciuill war, which is more cruell. He hath giuen peace vnto

[h] *The Chronicle Martinienne ſpeakes plainely of this proceeding. A rock which euery Prince ſhould ſhun if hee will not make ſhipwrack of his reputation. To cauſe an enemy to be ſlaine is an act of feare and not of bravery.*

[i] *He that doth an act to ruine his reputation, forceth many to repent themſelues of the admiration & eſteeme they haue had of him.*

[k] *Tyrants ſaith Seneca ſhed blood for pleaſure, and Kings for neceſſity.*

[l] *A Prince which hath many Children, great & capable to command, ſhould not keepe them about him: hee muſt giue themſome obiect to conſume their ambition: The idlenes of Court giues them vitious inclinations & bad deſeignes. Wherefore Tiberius abſented himſelfe Vrbano luxu laſciuientem. His ſpirit began to grow diſordered by the exceſſe of the Citty and idlenes which make men humerous.*

[m] *We muſt not loue to hate, but we muſt ſo diſpoſe of hatred, as it may be conuerted into more ardent friendſhip.*

[n] *The youth of Princes hath their lawes and priuiledges. The fathers ſeuerity ſhould not ſeeke to breake them quite, but to bend*

France and his ſoule is in trouble. It was a great griefe not to ſee himſelfe aſſiſted and ſerued by a ſonne, ſo great and ſo valiant, in thoſe goodly occaſions which hee ended ſo happily, to make all France French, The ſiege of Rone, and the reduction of all Normandy in one yeare and ſixe dayes, hauing remained Engliſh the ſpace of 30. yeares; the battell of Firmigny [o] which for the death of 8. or 10. Frenchmen gaue the victory againſt the Engliſh, of whom there were 4574. ſlaine vppon the place: The Conqueſt of all Guienne: The ſiege of Chaſtillion, whereas *Talbot* [p] the *Achilles* of the Engliſh was ſlaine: whoſe name doth yet terrifie the little children in Guienne: The taking of Bourdeaux, with other great and goodly occaſions, which ſhould haue beene as ſo many fields of Marathon to *Lewis*.

Battell of Furnigny.

The king ſeeing that he made no haſt to returne, grew eaſily into a conceit that he had ſome deſſeine: he is glad they ſhould flatter his iudgements and allow of his apprehenſions. Princes haue alwaies about their eares men-pleaſers which haue wordes for all incounters, and know how to make maskes for all faces, and buskins for all feete. They make complaints vnto him of the rigorous commands of his ſonne, oppreſſing his people with all ſorts of charges to haue wherewith to maintaine himſelfe. They told him that hee ſent aduertiſements to the Dukes of Bourgundy, Alençon and Bourbon, and that he receiued from them; that the cloudes were gathered together for ſome great ſtorme. The poore father beleeues all, and feares all, making proofe that there is nothing more inſupportable then the infidelity of his owne blood: and as the Lyon is neuer mooued more furiouſly then at the ſight of his owne blood, ſo when this yong Prince ſees his bloud [r] diuerted from the veines and ſpirits which nouriſh the hart, he enters into extreame paſſions of greife, the which he doth hold cruell, for that they do not cauſe him to dye ſoone enough. He is aduertiſed that the Dauphin hath ſent into Sauoy for men and money. He ſent the Earle of Damartin to the Duke, to let him vnderſtand that he would hold the ſuccours which he ſhould giue him for an iniury. The Duke anſwered [s], *That he did not carry his affections againſt his duty, and knew how to order his deſires to his power, and that he had no other, but to his maieſties contentment.* The Dauphin had married his daughter, and yet the Kings reſpect was greater with the Duke then the conſideration of this alliance.

Complaints againſt the Dauphin.

The Earle of Dammartin ſent into Sauoy.

The King ſends to the Dauphin to haue him come, and the Dauphin promiſeth at a certaine time, but the terme being come, the effects of his promiſe are excuſes and delayes. The King ſends the Earle of Damartin to ſeaze on his perſon, and the Lord Chaſtillon

[o] *The Battell of Firmigni the 15. of April 1450. whereas there were ſlaine in the place and put into 14. pits 4574. engliſh except 12. or 13. that were priſoners Our Hiſtories report this battel diuerſly, we muſt giue credit to that goodly ould peece of tapeſtry which is at Fountainbleau whereas the whole is repreſented. A thouſand fighting defeated 6000. Engliſh.*

[p] *The Engliſh called* Iohn Talbot *their* Achilles. *Hee is interred at VVhitechurch to whom they haue giuen this Epitaph.* Orate pro anima prænobilis Domini D. Iohannis Talbot quondam Comitis Salopiæ. D. Talbot, D. Furniual, D. verden, D. Strange, de Blacmere, et Mareſcalli Franciæ qui obiit in bello apud Bourdeaux. the 7. of Iuly. 1453.

[q] *The Country of Dauphiny did long feele of the diſcommodities of the Dauphins abode there, for the King held him ſhort and would not heare of the complaints he made of his neceſſities; ſo as for his entertainement he drew rigorous ſubſidies out of Dauphine.*

[r] *Conſpiracies which paſſe beyond the reſpects of nature are cruell. Of mans blood may be made a moſt violent poiſon againſt man.*

[s] *The Annalles of Bourgondy report that King* Charles *being at Feurs in Forest, Lewis Duke of Sauoy came to ſee him, where there were two marriages concluded, the one of the Dauphin and the Lady* Charlotte *of Sauoy, & the other of the Lady Yolande*

to comand in the Prouince. The dilligence in the execution of this comandement put the Dauphin in danger to be taken at Oranges, but hauing made ſhew to go a hunting he deceiued the ambuſh which the Earle had laid for him, [t] and eſcaping their ſnares he tooke another way, and with ſixe or ſeauen gentlemen recouered St. Claud. If he had fallen into his fathers collor, hee would haue vſed him with more rigour then he thought. But he went not without making it knowne that hee would one day make the Earle of Dammartin repent it. [u] And that it was not the reſpect of his father made him flye from his fathers wrath, but the very weaknes of the Earle of Dammartin, ſaying, that if he had had halfe his forces hee woud haue met him.

Being at S. Claude he wrote vnto the King that he deſired, with his permiſſion, and the meanes that he ſhould giue him to make a voyage againſt the Turke. It was at ſuch time as all Chriſtendome did mourne for the loſſe of that Citty which had beene ſometimes the Metropolitane of the world [x] and the common ſtarre of the vniuerſe: The Queene of all Realmes, the faire daughter of that faire mother Rome, the new Rome, Conſtantinople, which at the the time of her deſolation was nothing but a great maſſe of ſtone made ſubiect to the Tirant of the Eaſt, who hauing filled it with all impieties and cruelties hath made it the vnexpugnable dongeon of his tirranny and cruelty. *Charles* ſends word vnto his ſonne that if the deſire of glory & reputation carried him to this enterpriſe, he had loſt great and goodly occaſions againſt the enemies of France, the Dutchies of Guienne and Normandy hauing beene reduc'd during his abſence: as for the voyage of Turkey he might not vndertake it vnleſſe he were aſſiſted by his Nobility, the which hee had cauſe to employ elſewhere.

The Dauphin retires into Flanders.

And to ſpeake the truth *Lewis* loſt much time which hee ſhould haue imployed to ſerue the King and the Realme, or to make new Empires tributary to France. Hee ſhould not haue beene in any place but in armies, and the father ſhould no more meddle but with the Counſell of affaires, and to command bonfires to be made for his ſonnes victories: Nature gaue vnto the one wiſdome and experience for his part, and to the other force and execution. [y]

Lewis auoiding one danger fell into another, and as *Cæſar* found himſelfe among Pirats thinking to flye from Scilla, ſo he ſaw himſelfe at the diſcretion of the Marſhall of Bourgondy, after that he had eſcapedthe ambuſh of the Earle of Dammartin, who loued him not, and had charged his troupes when as they aduanced vpon the marches of Bourgundy, whereof the Duke was ſo iealous as hee could not endure that the French ſhould approch them, knowing

He truſts his enemy.

of France the Kings daughter with Ame *Prince of Picmont.*

[t] *The Dauphin did rely in two noble men who did counſell & conduct him.* Lewis *of Chalons; and* Iohn de Leſtore *a baſtard of the houſe of Armagnac. He was at Oranges when hee was aduertiſed of the Earle of Dammartins comming.*

[u] *The offence which Princes receiue are deeply ingrauen in their memories in braſſe,* gratia honori vltio in quæſtu habetur. *The Dauphin had a feeling of that which the Earle of Dammartin did him, in executing his fathers comandements and was reuenged ſo ſoone as hee came to the Crowne.*

[x] *After the example of Rome, Conſtantinople was called the head of the world, and new Rome and was honored with the like dignities and prerogatiues* lib. 1. de priuil. Vrb. Sid. App. Salne ſceptrorum columen, Regina orientis, orbis Roma tui, *The Emperor* Conſtans *nephew to* Heraclius, *reſoluing to reſtore the ſeat of the Empire to old Rome, ſaid that they muſt honor the mother more then the daughter.* Δεῖν μᾶλλον τὰς μητέρας τὰς θυγατέρας τιμᾶν. Zonaras *in the life of Conſtans.* [y] *Age ſhould reſolue & youth execute. The one hath force, the other wiſdome.* Ἡ δύναμις ἐν νεότητος ἡ φρόνησις ἐν πρεσβυτέροις. Ariſt. Polit. 6.

well

well that a Prince looſeth much of his reputation within, which doth not ſtirre when hee is ſet vppon without [z]. A power which is not feared by ſtrangers, is not well obeyed by ſubiects.

But he was in that eſtate as hee thought it ſafer to truſt his enemies then his Fathers ſeruants: He is found to plant his foote vpon the precepts which fortune preſents vnto him, and to get out of this Libia, he truſts himſelfe vnto Rauens [a], he was beaten and purſued by the Puttocke, the protection was ſacred, and it is inhumanitie to deliuer a ſuppliant. Wherefore they aſſured him, and then they conduct him with ſafety vnto Bruſſels.

Who conducts him into Fladers

Duke *Philip* beeing aduertiſed of his comming, hee diſlodged from Deuenter, hee ſent the Earle of Eſtampes vnto Louuaine to meet him, and ſoone after the Earle of Charalois to accompanie him. The Duches of Bourgundy, the Counteſſe of Charolois and the Lady of Rauеſtain receiued him at Bruxelles. A day or two after the Duke arriues, and the Dauphin gets downe the ſtaires [b] to ſalute him, for the which the Duke was very ſorry, and held this honour greater then hee ſhould receiue of a Sonne of France, the preſumptiue heyre of the firſt crowne of the world. And hee knew well that they that were iſſued from thence did not conceiue any thing greater then themſelues, and did not humble themſelues to other Princes but by curteſie.

He is honored as the ſonne of France.

This Ariuall was in the beginning of the yeare 1456. The Duke lodged him at Gueneppe, neere to Bruxells, and ſent his Ambaſſador to the King to aduertiſe him thereof, and to beſeech him to pardon *Lewis*, The King made no other anſwere, but that the Duke *ſhould haue a care not to feede the Foxe which would deuoure his hens.* Many thought that the Father and Sonne had intelligence one with another, and that *Charles* was glad that *Lewis* ſhould diſcouer the deſſeignes, and obſerue the actions of the Duke of Bourgundy and his ſonnes. Whatſoeuer it were, they kept him carefully, as an hoſtage of the quiet and proſperitie of their affayres [c]. Time now teaching them that it was more profitable, and more ſafe to maintaine themſelues in the eſtate wherein peace had ſetled them, then to ſeeke the increaſe thereof, which is not done without paine, nor preſerued without danger.

He is lodged in Gueneppe.

The King beleeuing that if he were preſt by neceſſitie in a forraine country, hee would returne the ſooner to his fathers houſe, went into Dauphiny to ſeaze vpon the Townes and meanes wherewith he might be relieued. All men came vnto him, ſuch as had promiſed to hold good, ſaid, that they would not offend the Father, to content the Sonne [d]. But fearing that the ſame neceſſitie would bring him backe in furie, as he had gone away in choller, and that he would fortifie himſelfe in ſome place: He aſſured him-

He is diſpoſeſt of his reuenues in Dauphiny?

ſelfe

[a] *Alexanders armie being in Egipt had Rauens for their guide. Plutarch ſaith, that they followed the wandring ſouldiers, and neuer ceaſt crying and flying about them vntil they had brought them into the right way.*

[b] *The Princes of the bloud of France go equal with others how great and mighty ſo euer they be.* Oliuer de la March *ſaith, that the Duke of Bourgundy went to meet the Emperor* Frederick *when as became to Bezancon & that ſeeing the Emperor come a farre of, hee vncouered his head, and approching neere he bent himſelf downe vpon his ſaddle pomell with all the reuerence that might be. Adding a reaſon for that he did not light, that he was the third Sonne of King* Iohn *of France*

[c] *A Prince aſſureth the treaties & affaires which hee hath with one that is more mighty, when hee can draw into his power ſome one of his children or his neereſt kinſmen. They be gages and hoſtages which they alwaies reſpect, and feare to looſe.*

[d] *The people conſider but the preſent, whereunto they accomodate their thoughts and affections, at the ſight of their firſt maſter they forget the new.*

[z] *A Prince which ſuffers himſelfe to bee moleſted vppon his frontier may alſo prepare himſelfe to endure the contempt of his reputation among ſtrangers, and of his commandements & deſignes amõgſt his owne ſubiects. And Cæſar commends the Germans, for that they would not ſuffer any one to approch neere their frontiers.*

[a] *Alexanders armie being in Egipt had Rauens for their guide. Plutarch ſaith, that they followed the wandring ſouldiers, and neuer ceaſt crying and flying about them vntil they had brought them into the right way.*

ſelfe vpon all the paſſages and frontiers: he did prohibite the gouernors to receiue him with any ſtrength, and did puniſh *Iames Coeur*, very ſeuerely, who had ſubiected his heart, purſe, and fortune to his wils, and had made himſelfe too paſſionate a miniſter of his youthfull affections [c].

He agrees not wel with the Earle of Charolois.

Charles Earle of Charolois, the Dukes Sonne, bred vp alſo as *Lewis* in the French libertie more then in a Laconicall diſcipline [f], had not alwaies his affections conformable to thoſe of his Father, neither did he accord well with *Lewis*: He had been much gouerned by them of the houſe of Croüi, the which was one of the moſt apparant in the country, as drawing their extraction from the crowne of Hungarie. *Lewis* a great Prince to inſinuate, did not ceaſe till hee had wonne, and drawne them to his affections. The Earle of Charrolois found it, and aduertiſed the Duke his Father, who would not beleeue it, and if hee did, yet hee diſſembled the beliefe, applying himſelfe to the humors of this Prince, for we muſt not feede a Lyon, or we muſt pleaſe him [g].

The Earle of Charrolois from that time frowned at them of Croüi, and there grew ſo great an Antipathie of wils in the minds of theſe two Princes, as all the remainder of their liues they were but fained friends. They of Croüi made an altar of refuge of the Dauphins fauour, againſt the Earle of Charalois, and thought that, notwithſtanding that they were great, both in Alliances and meanes, yet they had need of ſome greater ſupport, as the heauens how excellent ſoeuer they be, haue need of the motion of the firſt mouer, beſides the Nature and aſſiſtance of their owne intelligences. *Lewis* could counterfet and diſſemble his paſſions ſo cunningly, as the Duke (who had an excellent iudgement) could not diſcouer any thing. But the Earle of Charrolois, being of a harſh diſpoſition, ſuſpitious [h] and boyling, made them of Croüi to feele the indignation which hee durſt not euaporate againſt *Lewis* who fauoured them. It burſt forth at ſuch time as they ſetled the eſtate of the Earle of Charrolois houſe. The Duke would haue *Philip de Croui*, Sonne to *Iohn de Croui*, ſet downe for the third Chamberlaine, in the abſence of the Lord of Auchy the firſt, and of the Lord of Formelles the ſecond Chamberlaine. The Earle of Charrolois entred *Anthony Raulyn*, Lord of Eimeries. The houſe was diuided, ſome followed the Fathers will, and others the Sonnes [i]. The Duke ſeeing the danger which might grow by this adoration of the ſunne riſing, made it knowne that he was both maſter and father, commanding his Sonne to bring him the Rowle, and in his preſence caſt it into the fire, and then willed him to goe forth. *Monſtrelet* ſaith, that the Duke commanded the Earle of Charolois to cauſe *Croui* to martch in his ranke. *I will not, anſwered the Earle, they of*

Diſpoſition of the Earle of Charolois.

[c] Iohn de Seres *ſaith that the Signiors of Loudun and* S. Pons *Gentlemen of Viuarez dying very old, ſaid that they had heard, the one of his Vnckle, the other of his Grandfather, both houſhold ſeruants to the Dauphin, that the true cauſe for the which Iames Coeur was ſo intreated, was, for that hee had beene too familiar with Lewis, as one of the Miniſters of his youthfull delights. Others haue told mee that faire* Agnes *had ruined him.*

[f] *The laconical diſcipline ſaith* Plut. *was hard and painefull, but it taught childrē to obey, and therefore Sparta is called the Tamer of men.*

[g] *It is indiſcretion to bandy againſt a power which we haue ſupported and raiſed:* Ariſtophanes *brings in* Pericles *ghoſt aduiſing the Athenians not to feed the Lyon or to pleaſe him.*

[h] *Suſpition and facillitie is to beleeue all things,* Suſpitionum & credendi temeritas. Tac. *ruins*

friendſhips and the moſt firmeſt affections. [i] *A controuerſie betweene two priuate Noblemen, is able to diuide the opinions of a whole Court. That which was betwixt Chimay of Emeries, who ſhould haue the firſt place in the abſence of the L. of Auchy, firſt Chamberlaine to the Duke, was ſo affected as the father was for the one & the ſon for the other.*

Croui ſhall neuer gouerne as they haue done, and that the Father (being offended at an anſwer ſo bold and of ſo little reſpect) he would haue fallen vpon his Sonne, but not able to get him he commanded him to auoid the country.

The Sonne departs full of murmuring and deſpite, the Father comming to himſelfe and ſeeing that his Sonne returned not, goes to horſeback all alone, ſad and penſiue in a raynie night, rides through the country, to let the Dauphin know the griefe hee had, and his Son the choller wherin diſobedience had drawen him [k]. He loſt himſelfe in a wood and lay all night in a Collyars cabbin, with hunger in his belly, and choller in his head. He came the next day to Seuenbergh, a little towne of Brabant, whereas he found one of his huntsmen, who conducted him to Guinneppe, where as the Dauphin (the cauſe of all this trouble) beſought him to pardon the Earle of Charrolois. The Duke would haue held the refuſall of ſo iuſt a requeſt cruell, being made, by, and for a perſon ſo neere vnto him [l], for he could not but loue his onely Sonne, in deſpight of his youthfull & wayward affections. He required no other ſatisfaction, but that hee ſhould diſmiſſe two ſeruants *William Biche* and *Guiot* of Vſie, who retired themſelues into France.

Diſpleaſure of the Duke of Bourgundy to his Sonne.

Soone after the Earle of Charrolois bred another ſubiect of choller in his fathers hart, he was come from hunting without the Dauphin, and had ſuffered him to wander in a wood, thinking that hee had been before. When the Duke ſaw him returne alone, he blamed him ſharpely, and commanded him to goe preſently to horſebacke to ſeeke the Dauphin. They ſought him long by torchlight, and found him on the way to Bruzells conducted by a Peſant [m].

Wandring of the Dauphin being a hunting.

The Duke was exceeding glad to ſee him returne, for he knew that he ſhould be alwaies bound to yeeld an account of ſo precious a gage, and that he might be aſſured whileſt he held him he might haue what he deſired from the King. God ſent the Earle of Charolois a Daughter, for the firſt fruits of his marriage; the Duke intreated the Dauphin to chriſten her *Mary*. This birth did moderate the grief which the Lady *Iſabel* of Bourbon her Mother had conceiued ſix monthes before, for the death of her Father *Charles* Duke of Bourbon [n]. The King was offended for that hee did not yeeld him his Sonne, and deſired ſome occaſion to let him know his diſcontent, the which hee did not diſſemble, when as the Duke ſought to puniſh the Gantois for a rebellion, commanding him to ſuffer them to liue in peace, as being vnder his protection.

Birth of *Mary* of Bourgundy the 13. of Feb. 1457

The Dauphin thought the time of his returne into France long, and had ſworne that he would not make that voyage vntill his Father were paſt vnto another world. The firſt yeare of his abode there, *Charlotte* of Sauoy, Daughter to the Duke of Sauoy was 1459.

brought

[k] *Whatſoeuer the Sonne doth yet muſt the Father alwaies ſhow himſelfe a Father, & matters are very foule & ſtrange when as hee is forced to forget the dutie of a Father.*

[l] *As it is vnpleaſing to intreat a ſtranger, ſo is it a very ſenſible diſcipleaſure to bee refuſed of his owne.*

[m] *The Dauphins wandring was in the night aboue eight leagues from Bruſſels. The Duke cauſed him to bee ſought for with torches: the next day hee gaue a crowne to the Peſant which had conducted him.*

[n] Charles *the firſt Duke of Bourbon dyed in the end of the yeere* 1455. *he was Sonne to* Iohn *the firſt Duke of Bourbon and of Bonna of Bourgundy, daughter to* Philip *the hardy. Hee married* Agnes *of Bourgundy Daughter to* Iohn *Duke of Bourgundy, and had fiue ſonnes, and fiue daughter. His ſonnes were. Iohn* the ſecond Duke of Bourbon. *Lewis*, who died yong, *Peter* Lord of Beauieu, *Charles* Cardinall of Bourbon Archbiſhop of Lyon, and *Lewis* Biſhop of Liege. The Daughters were *Ione* Princeſſe of Orange; *Catherine* Dutcheſſe of Gueldres. *Margaret*, Counteſſe of Breſſe and Dutcheſſe of Sauoy. *Iſabel* wife

brought to Namur to consumate the marriage which had beene concluded fiue yeares before. o A marriage which being made vnwillingly, was continued without loue. When the Duke of Bourgundy gaue the Dauphin his pension of 12000. Crownes, *Oliuer de la March* writes that it was vpon condition that he should marry her which shewes that he had no great desire. She was deliuered of a sonne who was named *Ioachim*, the Duke of Bourgondy was so glad of this newes as he gaue a thousand Lyons of gold to *Ioselin du Bois* which brought it. He was the Godfather and the Countesse of Charrolois the Godmother. The Infant dyed presently after, and left the father very sorrowfull, who being not then in those distrusts which age brings, desired to see him great, knowing well that the Children which were borne late are soone Orphlins. The losse of this infant, which first had giuen him the name of Father, was so sencible vnto him, as *Phillip de Comines* saith, that he made a vow neuer to loue any other woman but his owne wife, and yet in many parts of his Cronicle we see him among women, we find some lost, some married, and their husbands from base fortunes raised to great dignites, with many other actions which argue not a continency equall to that of *Alexander* P, who being a victor would not see those beauties which might vanquish him: nor to that of *Cyrus* q who would by no meanes see her, who he thought might bind him to see her more then once.

Birth of the Dauphins sonne at Guenneppe in Iune 1459.

The King bare the absence of his sonne very impatiently, it was a thorne in his heart which time could not pull out. Hee grew sicke, and his sicknes was seconded by a great affliction, for the death of *Ladislaus* r King of Hungary, to whom he had promised the lady *Magdalen* his daughter. After his recouery he thought that all the cause of his ill grew from the Duke, whom he accused to haue drawne away his son, and corrupted his good nature, resoluing to seeke a remedy rather with deedes then wordes.

Death of *Ladislaus* King of Hungary.

He leuied a great army, and no man knew how he would imploy it, the duke fearing that it was to make some enterprise vppon the townes of the riuer of Somme, which had beene giuen him by the treaty of Arras, staid not to demand the reason; s he armes and goes into Picardy to prouide for the safety of his townes, and to hinder the Kinges entry with forces.

The King sendes word to the Duke of Bourgondy, that he was in armes to take into his protection the goods of the Lord of Rodemart, u The Duke answered *that he was no subiect of France, that his lands lay in the Dutchy of Luxembourg, that the King should speak more plainely, and that he desired to know whether the king had a will to keepe the treaty of Arras or not.* The King had a desire to haue his sonne otherwise then by the hazard of Armes, or breach of a truce, which

o Charles *Duke of Bourgondy and* Mary *married first to the Duke of Calabria, and afterwards to* Gaston de Foix. o *One of the goodliest parts of ciuill society is marriage, the first gate to enter into it is loue, there is none to go out of it but that of death. And for that in the marriages of Princes they regard more the interest of subiects & estates, then their own content, It happens that their loues are not so pure and free.*

P Alexander *being perswaded to see* Darius *daughters who were faire and yong, made answer,* I will haue a care not to be vanquished by women seeing that I haue vanquished men.

q *They intreated* Cyrus *to see* Panthea, *which he refused to doe, and being told that shee was very faire, it is, for that reason (said he)* I may not see her for if I doe visite her now that I haue leysure, she will bind me another time when I shall be full of affaires. r *Sorrow creepes sodainly amidst ioy, whiles they treat of a marriage at Tours betwixt the* L. Magdalen *of France, and King* Ladislaus, *his Embassadors receiue newes of his death, on Christmas Eue.* 1457. s *In occasions which presse, we must not loose time with wordes; men of courage should not haue their handes on their tongues but their tongues in their handes.* u *Princes haue alwaies pretexts to make warre, and he that will breake with his friend neuer failes to find occasions.*

coſt ſo much blood and drawn ſo many Princes into danger.[x] He feared to ingage himſelfe in new miſeries and to bring France to the hazard of ſhipwrack which ſhe had eſcaped. He went to the weſt of his life, and knew that the greateſt of the Realme had their eyes turned to the Eaſt: Age had coold his military heat, the vigour of his nature was without edge, the blood of his courage was nothing but flegme: [y] And although that this firſt force of his ſpirits was not altogether deiected, yet was it much altered, France did ſtill produce ſome fantaſtick humors vnknowne to other Prouinces, as Egypt doth bring forth Beaſts, and Nile Fiſhes, which are not found in other countries nor in other Riuers.

The houſe of Bourgundy had beene ſo beaten with the like ſtorme as it deſired to continue in this calme, the couetouſnes of great men was glutted with the calamities of innocents, [z] the moſt greedy of troubles were forced to commend reſt. It would haue ſeemed hard vnto the ſubiects to ſee themſelues ouerwhelmed ſo ſuddenly with waues [a]. The Duke would not leaue a doubtfull peace with his ſubiects, he deſired to be ſatisfied of the Kings intention, ſaying, that if they forced him to raiſe an armie, they ſhould bury him in his armes, that he had no will vnto it vnleſſe he were forced, that the Trumpet ſhould make no noiſe, if violence were not offered, and that this Eccho ſhould remaine quiet in the eaſe of ſolitarines, but if they moued him hee would not be ſilent vntill that they who had cauſed him to ſpeake did firſt hold their peace.

Declaration of the houſe of Bourgundy.

Theſe practiſes paſt away, and the King was glad that they raiſed no ſtormes, not holding it reaſonable to reſolue to warre more by the occaſion which hee had, then by the inconueniences which he did foreſee [b]: beſides being now oppreſt, not with yeeres, but with cares, which ſeemes to be inſeparable accidents of the life of great men, and the exceſſe of thoſe pleaſures which Nature had made ſhort, for that they are pernicious, hee ſuffered himſelfe to be carried away with melancholly and waywardnes, two rockes againſt which the veſſell ſuffered ſhipwracke, Hee grew wayward after the condemnation of *Iohn* Duke of Alençon to loſe his head the tenth of October 1458. After which, melancholly and heauines had ſeazed on him, hee changed the troubles of his life into a perpetuall priſon at Loches, and gaue his goods to his wife and children [c].

The Dauphin being wel aduertiſed of al that paſſed at Court, grieued at the misfortunes of his godfather whom he loued. The deſire to ſee a change did much diſquiet him. *Claude* of Seyſſel Biſhop of Marceilles vnder the raigne of *Lewis* the twelfth ſaith, that the

[x] *In the aſſembly of Arras for a peace betweene King Charles the ſeuenth, and Philip Duke of Bourgundy were preſent the Embaſſadors of the Pope, of the Councell of Baſill, of the Emperor, and of all Chriſtian Princes. They numbred about four thouſand horſes*

[y] *Princes are men, and borne men, wherfore their beſt qualities and diſpoſitions are mutable and in the end diſcouer their inconſtancie.*

[z] *The people are for the moſt part innocent of the cauſes of warre, & they ſuffer al the calamities. The couetouſnes of Souldiers is neuer ſatisfied, but with the miſeries of innocents.* Calamitatibus inſontium expletur auaritia. *Tac. lib. 2.*

[a] *It is alwaies dangerous to take from the people the eaſe and commodities wherein they liue. The iudgement of* Tiberius *was long in ſuſpence before he could reſolue to draw the people from the ſweetnes of peace to the diſcommodities of warre.* Tac. *ſaith,* Populum per tot annos moliter habitum non audebit ad duriora vertere.

[b] *All occaſions to make warre ſhould not be raſhly nor ambitiouſly ſought for, what ſhew of profit ſoeuer they had. It is better to haue a care to keepe ſubiects in peace, to people townes, and to increaſe the commerce, to diſcipline ſouldiers, and to gather treaſure together leaſt he be ſurpriſed in neceſſity.*

[c] Iohn D. *of Alencon was condemned for that he would haue brought the Engliſh into France. The cleere ſighted ſaid, that his misfortune grew rather from Iealouſie, or from the loue which he bare vnto the Dauphin who gouerned him by his counſels.*

Dauphin

Dauphin and they that followed him, desired nothing more then his Fathers death: some enquired by Astrologie, some by Negromancie. He had many politique inuentions to augment his Fathers cares and caused his suspition to turne into feares [d]. He knew that the Earle of Dammartin was as it were the Kings King, and he found meanes to bring him into iealousie with the King, whose braine beeing weake and very moist, did easily receiue such impressions [e], He wrote a letter vnto a Lady whom the King loued and sent it vnto her by a Franciscane Fryer which hee wittingly deliuered to the Earle of Mayne, enemie to Dammartin, who shewed it to the King [f]: It was full of termes of so great trust in the Earle of Dammartin, as the King not considering from whom it came, nor by whom it was presented, commanded the Earle of Dammartin to retire himselfe, then being informed by the Dauphins secretaries that this Prince had no greater enemie, & that he had not written vnto him, he did easily beleeue that it was an act of his bad Sonne who had so much troubled him, as it was the ordinary argument of his complaints. Some few daies before his death hee recalled him: apprehension bred no lesse amazement in him, then his life gaue him affliction.

K. *Charles* resolues to dye of hunger.

The aduise which a Captaine gaue him that hee could not liue long, and that there was a conspiracie plotted against his life, did so distemper and torment him, as he could not liue without feare and trembling [g]. And imagining that they ment to poyson him, he deprived himselfe of eating, and brought himselfe to so great a weakenes, as when they would haue caused him to take any thing to restore him, the passages were so shrunke, as that which hee would haue done willingly happened vnto him by force and against his will, and it may be said that he died of hunger [h], the 21. of Iuly. 1461.

Dying he recommended to the Earle of Dammartin his yonger Sonne, whom he called the little Lord, to whom hee desired to leaue the Crowne, knowing the spirit of *Lewis* to be terrible & an implacable enemie to his best seruants. God would not suffer him to trouble the Order of Nature, to reuenge his priuate affections, nor to runne the fortune of *Alphonso* [i] King of Castill, who hauing preferred the yonger before the elder, forced him to bee a parricide and a fratricide.

France hath giuen him the title of Victorious.

Charles the seuenth was the restorer of France, of a Towne of Bourges he made a whole Realme, he expeld the English, who of the whole peece, which they held, kept nothing but Callice. He had the honor to haue pacified that great and deadly schisme, against the which were held the Counsels of *Constance* and *Basill*. A time of such strange and terrible confusion as no man could say that Rome

[d] *Great courage should not easily receiue suspitions, and* Seneca *saith that it is the act of a timerous soule to turne suspition into feare.*

[e] *In matters of State Princes enter easily into icalousies of their most trusty seruants, and suspition is a bone which age of it selfe doth willingly gnaw vpon.*

[f] *The chiefe points of this letter reported by the Chronicle Martinienna are,* I haue receiued letters from the Earle of Dammartin, whom I make shew to hate. I pray you tell him that hee serue mee still wel, as he hath alwaies done, I will thinke of those matters whereof hee did write vnto me, and hee shall very shortly receiue newes from me.

[g] *There is no torment so much to bee feared as feare, & what auailes it to feare that which is ineuitable? to feare death is to call it, for the feare of death is a perpetuall death.*

[h] *The Earle of Dammartin who was retired to his house at* St. *Forgeau came to see the King the day before his death, perswading him to take something, who told him that he would take a Cullis from his hand, if he saw it made, the which hee presented vnto him, but he could not swallow any thing, the conduits were so stopt.*

[i] Alphonso *beleeuing by the rules of his Astrologie that the yonger of his sonnes would be the more capable to raigne, named him his successor, whereat the elder was so incensed as he caused the Father to dye in prison, and slew his Brother.*

was where the Pope remained, as they were wont to ſay that whereas the Emperor was, there was Rome, [k] for there was a Pope in Spaine, one in France, and two in Italy. He ordeined, by the aduiſe of the Prelates of France, and cauſed to bee confirmed and paſt at the councell of Baſill, the pragmaticke ſanction [l].

With the like zeale as he laboured for the peace of the Church, he deſired to reuenge the iniurie which it had receiued in Aſia and Europe by the armes of *Amurath* & *Mahomet*. Pope *Nicholas*, and *Pius* the ſecond, exhorted this Prince, as *Elezeus* did *Ioas*, *to* ſhoote his arrowes againſt the Eaſt, but he was ſo troubled for his iuſt defence againſt his neighbours, as he had no meanes to think theron. [m] They alſo giue vnto this Prince the honor to haue ſet an order for his troupes, for ſeeing that the number of his ſouldiers were ſo diminiſhed, as his could not equall thoſe of his enemies, hee made leuies throughout all his villages, taking one labouring man out of threeſcore, who were bound to arme and pay him, and he was freed from taxes. Neceſſitie, in whoſe ſchoole hee had learned great experience, diſpenſt with him for the obſeruations which are made in the choice of ſouldiers. Theſe were called Franke Archers, who being well led did great ſeruices, being able to indure all paine, as beeing bred vp in diſcommodities and wants, without cunning or malice. They beganne their profeſſion at the ſiege of Vernon. The defects which are obſerued in the life of this Prince, as the griefes of Kings [n], doe not alwaies incounter ends like vnto their beginnings. His loues and his diuerſions could not hinder it, but that France hath giuen him the well deſerued title of Victorious.

[k] *During the Schiſme of three Antipopes they might ſay* Impertumque ſuis a ſedibus errat. *Claud. But they could not ſay that the authoritie of the church was whereas the Pope remained, for there was a Scisme: as they were wont to ſay that where the Emperor was there was Rome,* ἐκεῖτε καὶ Ῥώμη ὅπου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν. *Herod. lib.* 1.

[l] *The orders which the councell of Baſill made for the gouernment & diſcipline of the Church were not generally receiued, Germany and Italy would none of them. King* Charles *cauſed an aſſembly to be made at Burges, by the aduiſe whereof they were obſerued and publiſhed in Parliament the ſeuenth of July* 1438 *vnder the name of the Pragmatick Sanction.*

[m] *Among the obſeruations which they giue for the leuies of Souldiers, they haue reſpect to the ayre and the place; hot countries produce men of more vnderſtanding then courage, and could doe the contrary. A good rule for them that haue diuers prouinces to chooſe, but to make it generall they muſt take them where they finde them.*

[n] *The raignes of Princes doe not continue and end alwaies as they haue beguune, The firſt fiue yeares of* Neroes *raigne were iuſt,* Conſtant *was good ten yeares, cruell twelue, and prodigall ten.*

The end of the firſt Booke.

THE

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THE

THE HISTORY
of LEWIS *the XI.*
THE SECOND BOOKE.

1461



An heyres teares are sone dried vppe.

Death which brings Scepters & Crownes, doth not alwaies meete with sorrow and teares. When there is a question of the succession of the Realme, a desire to raigne doth presently dry vp the teares which the law of Nature drawes from the eyes [a]. *Lewis* longed too much to be at home, to be grieued when as they brought him newes that *Charles* the seuenth had quit him the lodging. Hee had already spent two third parts of his age in obeying, hee held the rest very short to command and to end at; in great enterprises worthy of his qualitie [b]. Hee entertained the Iuie of his hopes in the ruines of this old building: he did not hope for any light but by the ecclipse of this Sunne, and his vowes were no let, that his Father was not already among the Gods [c].

Lewis comes into France.

And what can a Kings eldest Son desire but to raigne? euery obiect lesse thē a crown is vnworthy of his birth, but the wishes are vnnaturall & monstrous vpon vniust effects. To desire for a crownes cause the death of him of whom he holds his life, is ingratitude & impiety. The same day that *Charles* dyed, *Lewis* was aduertised of his death [d]. He went presently to horse to goe into France, fearing least *Charles* his brother should make his profit of his absence. The Duke of Bourgundy and the Earle of Charrolois accompany him with foure thousand horse, chosen out of the flower of all the forces of their Estates and the Princes their friends. Hee entred into Rheims the fourteeene of August, being attired in white and crimsin damask, vpon a white courser caparoned with the armes of France. The next day he was anoynted and crowned. The peeres of the Church were there in person. The Duke of Burgundy Deane of the peeres. The Duke of Burbon held the place of the Duke of

He makes his entry into Rheims.

[a] *There is no water whose spring is sooner dryed vp, then that which flowes from a profitable mourning.*

[b] *Life is very short for great enterprises; and inconstancie makes it much shorter.*

[c] *The Romans held their Fathers dead in the number of the Gods, and their Images were reuerenced as persons deyfied. Wherfore among the predictions which Antonin had of his adoption and succession to the Empire, they note that,* In somnio sæpe monitus fuit penatibus suis *Adriani* simulacrum inferere. Capitol. *Hee was often admonished in his sleepe that hee should place Adrians Image among his housholld Gods.*

[d] *They that haue written that these newes were sent by* Charles *Duke of Anion, Father in lawe to* Charles *the seuenth, are mistaken, both in the name and matter, for* Lewis *Duke of Anion liued since the yeare* 1417. [e] *The King arriued at Rheims the* 14. *of August, and caused himselfe to be annointed the next day. A remarkeable diligence. They cannot goe toospeedily to so great a Feast. The Duke of Bourgundy being followed by the Earle of Charolois, the Earle of Neuers, the Earle of Estampes, the Duke of Cleues, the Earle of St. Pol, and many other Noblemen,*

Normandy. The Earle of Angoleſme for the Duke of Guienne. The Earle of Eu for the Earle of Tholouſa. The Earle of Neuers for the Earle of Flaunders, and the Earle of Vandoſme for the Earle of Champagne.

The King is anointed and Crowned.

The ceremony of his coronation was beautified with an other which they found very new and ſtrange. The King drawing his ſword preſented it to the Duke of Bourgundy and intreates him to make him Knight. He gaue this honour of Knight-hood to an hundred and ſeauenteene Gentlemen, the firſt were the Lord of Beaujeu, *Iames* of Burbon, the Earle of Geneua, the Earle of Pontieu, the Earle of Witembergh, *Iohn* of Luxembergh, and to the Marques of Saluces Sonne. From the Coronation they went to the Royall feaſt, whereas the twelue peeres were ſet on either ſide the King. At the end the Duke of Bourgundy kneeled downe, intreating the King to forget the iniuries of ſuch as had offended him during his Fathers raigne. [f] He anſwered *there are ſeauen which I cannot pardon*. Reuenge had mounted with him to the Royall throne, he had not trod it vnder foote, he carryed it in his head, it was in his mind, like vnto thoſe ſtarres that were fixed about the pole. Hee findes it not ſo ſweet to recompence the good as to reuenge the bad. The King cannot forget the iniuries which they had done vnto the Dauphin. [g]

Two daies after the ceremony of the Coronation the Duke did him homage for his countries which held of the crowne of France, and offered him others which he held in Souerainty. [h] From Rheims the King went to Meaux, then to Saint Dennys, and made his entry into Paris, where they did number twelue thouſand horſe which followed him.

All the pompe and magnifficence which was made at this entry did repreſent aſwell the ſimplicity and ignorance of thoſe times, as the greatneſſe and State of Paris. Good witts in ſuch occaſions do not repreſent all things ſo plainely to the eye, as there doth not remaine ſome thing where-with to content curioſity, by the paine it hath to ſeeke, and the pleaſure to finde and to deuine at the intelligence of their inuentions. Brokers were then more neceſſary then paynters, for they did only ſet perſons of diuers ages and ſexes for all kinds of hiſtories. A Virgin was ſufficient to repreſent the Citty of Paris, as we finde not any more in bookes, nor in auncient medalls for Rome, nor Athens; and there were fiue to ſignifie Paris, euery one carrying a letter of it name. They were conducted on horſebacke by a Herald, towards Saint Ladros Church, and there preſented vnto the King. The Cronicle ſaith, *that they had all perſonages fitted to the ſignification of fiue letters making Paris, and that all ſpake vnto the King as they were appointed.*

The Frontiſpice of S. Denis gate was beautified with a great ſhip

went out of Rheimes to the Abbey of Saint Thierry to meet the King.

[f] *This requeſt is reported by Monſtrelet in theſe termes.* When the tables were taken away, the noble duke of Burgundy, vſing his accuſtomed gentlenes, in the nobillity of his courage, kneeled downe before the King, and intreated him for the honor, paſſion and death of our Sauior, that he would pardon all thoſe which he held ſuſpect to haue ſet diſcord betwixt his father and him, which requeſt he granted reſeruing ſeauen perſons

[g] *A royalty ſhould make mē forget forepaſſed iniuries. The Emperor* Adrian *being come to the Empire ſaid vnto his enemy which was before him.* Euaſiſti, *thou haſt eſcaped.* Quos in vita priuata inimicos habuit, Imperator neglexit AE. Spart. *And* Lewis *the twelfth ſaid generouſly, it is not fit that a King of France ſhold reuenge the iniuries done to a duke of Orleans*

[h] *The Duke of Burgundy was receiued to fealty and homage by King* Lewis *the eleuenth and to be Peere and Deane of the Peeres of France, by reaſon of the Dukhie of Burgundy the 17. of Auguſt. 1461.*

in

Ridiculous representations.

in the which were the three Eſtates in three Perſons which made the Proſopopeia, and Iuſtce ſate in the prow who ſpake vnto the King. On the toppe of the Maſt there was a Lilly, out of the which came a King conducted by two Angells. At the fountaine du Ponceau, they gaue wine and Ippocras to them that paſt. [i] There were alſo three Virgins like Mermaides all naked, and at the Trinity was the paſsion of *Ieſus Chriſt* repreſented by a liuing man, being tyed vnto a Croſſe betwixt two theeues. At S. Innocents Fountaine there was a Hinde put forth, beeing followed by a great cry of Hounds and Huntſmen. At the Butchery was the Baſtille of Diepe, as the moſt glorious trophee of this Princes youth. Paſsing ouer the Changers Bridge, which was couered ouer head, they let flye two hundred dozen of ſmall Birdes.

The King went to pray in our Ladies Church, he ſupt and lodged in the Pallace, and the next day he went to the Tournelles in St. *Anthonies* ſtreet, where hee made a new world, changing his chiefe Officers, The Duke of Bourgondy and the Earle of Charolois made a great part of the pompe, they and their traines being ſo ritchly appointed, as there were not any more ſtately. The King made ſhew of great loue both to the father and ſonne, but there was ſo great a diuerſity of manners and humors betwixt *Lewis* and *Charles*, as this harmony laſted not long [k] Into their moſt ſincereſt affections, Iealouſie, which is the poiſon of friendſhip, did alwaies creepe: There was nothing pure nor perfect, the proſperity of the one was a troubleſome croſſe vnto the other.

Lewis ſeeks for the rights of the Crown

The King came vnto the Crowne like a new heire to his fathers poſſeſsions, who doth not ſo much affect his kinſmen and tutors, as he deſires to ſee his Regiſters, examine his accompts, and know if he doth enioy all the rights of his ſucceſsions: from theſe firſt wordes they iudge what his deſignes and actions would be. [l]

Death of *Mary* of Aniou Queene of France.

The Pompe and magnificence of this publike ioy being ended the Duke of Bourgondy and the Earle of Charolois tooke their leaues of the king to returne. The Duke went into Flanders and the Earle of Charolois to Diion, and then to St. Claude, the King to Ambois to ſee the Queene his mother, whoſe dowry he aſſigned vppon the County of Xaintonge and the Towne of Rochell: ſhee did not long inioy this aſsignation, paſsing from this life vnto a better. Her death aflicted them, who knowing that this King did all of his owne head, and that he had no other Law then his will, deſired her a longer life, for her preſence had been a cauſey to ſtop theſe torrents. [m] It falls out ill with a Prince who ſees nothing betwixt God and himſelfe whereof the reſpect ſhould reſtraine him, and be a bridle vnto him. She had endured much before her death.

[i] The Chronicle vſeth theſe wordes in this place. A little within the Towne at Fountaine du Ponceau were wild men and women which did fight & made many countenances; and there were alſo three faire maidens repreſenting mermaides naked: where they might ſee the faire white pap ſeperated round and hard, which was a pleaſant ſight, and they had pretty ſpeeches and neer vnto them were certaine ſtill Inſtruments, which made great melody. And to refreſh ſuch as entred into the ſaid Towne there were diuers pipes in the ſaid Fountain caſting mi ke, wine and Ippocras, wherof euery man dranke that would: And beneath the ſaid Fountain right againſt the Trinity there was a paſſion by men without ſpeech, Chriſt being hanged on the Croſſe and the two theeues on the right and left hand.

[k] *Enuy and Iealouſie which trouble great men will not ſuffer the one to reioyce at anothers good.* Themiſtocles *not able to indure* Cymons *proſperity dyed through Impatiencie.*

[l] *Not onely by the firſt actions, but by the firſt wordes of a Prince comming to the Crowne they iudge of the future: So the word which* Seuerus *ſpake,* Laboremus, *and that of* Pertinax, militemus, *were taken for ſignes of warre or peace in the Empire.* AElius Spart.

[m] *The great name of mother well bred and of vnderſtanding is a great reſtraint vnto a Prince: Tacitus ſaith that after that Nero had loſt his mother he fell to all diſſolutions and exceſſe,* Quas male coercitas qualiſ-

The Chronicle of *Lewis* the eleuenth commends her patience vnder her husbands raigne and humors, but ſhe could not diſſemble the diſcontent which ſhe receiued at the pleaſure of her *Auguſtus* n As a good conſtitution of the body doth eaſily endure both heat and cold, ſo the force and vigour of the mind doth without any great paine reſiſt theſe croſſes and diſcontents, which are thornes amidſt the roſes of marriage. This paſſion ſeazing vppon a weake ſpirit and without defence, tranſports it to diſlikes and extreame hatred.

About the end of the yeare he went to Tours, the Earle of Charolois after his returne from pilgrimage came thither to him, where after they had ſpent ſome daies in the pleaſure of hunting, he had the Commiſsion of Lieftenant Generall in Normandy with 36000. Crownes for his entertainement. This guift was without aſking. The benefits of Princes are ſweeter offred then granted. He had but one third part paid, which defect made him to faile in his affection, and tranſported him to other thoughts. o Hee went to Rouen to take poſſeſsion of his gouernment, It was at Tours that he began to frame his intelligences with the Duke of Brittanny. Theſe two Princes were yong, both diſcontented, and they which know one another, ſalute a farre off. The Earle of Charolois did conferre ſecretly with *Romille* Vicechancellor and Ambaſſador of Brittany, to whom he gaue the ſeale of alliance wherewith hee ſhall be ſoone reprocht.

Lewis entered into France a friend to all his neighbours. There was not any but Pope *Pius* 2 p who let him know that he could not be ſo, if the pragmatike Sanction were obſerued. To vnderſtand how France hath loſt that which ſhe had preſerued ſo deerely, we muſt take the diſcourſe ſomwhat higher. The Pope had called an ſan aſſembly of Princes at Mantoua, to conſult of the meanes to make warre againſt the Turke, and to preuent the great deſeignes which hee had againſt Chriſtendome. King *Charles* the ſeauenth ſent his Ambaſſadors thither, Prelates, Knightes, and Doctors, to let them vnderſtand his intentions for the generall good of the Church. They made a priuate requeſt vnto the Pope, that if hee would be pleaſed to giue the inueſtiture of the Realmes of Naples and Sicile to King *Rene*, who had beene wrongfully diſpoſſeſt againſt the hereditary rightes of the houſe of Aniou, the which the King deſired the more earneſtly, for that beſides the affection of blood which bound him to loue his kinſman and brother in Law, he ſaw that the generall cauſe of Chriſtendome would bee much fortefied againſt the common enemy, for the Duke of Calabria (the ſonne of *Rene*) entring into the inheritance of his predeceſſors propounded to aduance his armes, and to expell the *Ottomans* out of the Empire of Conſtantinople, when as they thought that

Pius 2. preſſeth the abolition of the Pragmatike Sanction.

cunque matris reuerentia tardauerat. Seianus *did ſo keep* Tiberius *in awe and the ſame author ſaith, that hee gaue himſelfe to wicked and vnſeemely things,* poſtquam remoto pudore, et metu ſuo tantum ingenio vtebatur, *when as hauing baniſhed ſhame and feare, hee followed his own wit.* n *They demanded of* Liuia, Auguſtus *wife, how ſhee had done to win and enioy* Augnſtus. *To whom ſhe anſwered, in doing willingly whatſoeuer pleaſed him, & diſſembling the pleſures which he tooke in ſecret.* Dion.

o *Men are more diſcontented to ſee themſelues fruſtrated of thinges promiſed then of thoſe which are but hoped for. In the one there is but miſnap, and they complaine only of fortune: In the other contempt and they challenge him that hath broken his promiſe.*

p Pius 2. *called a Councile at Mantoua in the yeare* 1459. *to conſult of the meanes to reſiſt* Mahomet 2. *who had made great ruines in Hungary, Albania, & Conſtantinople.* q Eugenius *the* 4. *in the yeare* 1443. *gaue the Inueſtiture of the Realme of Naples to* Alphonſo *King of Aragon, with the two Sicilies* Bartho. Flaccius *in the life of* Alphonſe *the* 5. Pius 2. *gaue the inueſtiture of the Crowne of Naples to* Ferdinand *baſtard to* Alphonſo *King of Arragon,* Alexander 6. *confirmed it to* Alphonſo 2. *who left it to* Ferdinand *of*

the

the Chriſtian Religion was at her period, and could go no farther. [r] An enterpriſe whereof they had great hope, as well for the generoſity of this Princes courage, as for that he was in an age fit and capable of ſuch actions whereby the holy Sea might reape great profit, the poſſeſſions depending of his patrimony being by this meanesreſtored vnto him.

The Pope vpon this propoſition [s] hauing made a long diſcourſe in commendation of the French, hee added many things touching baſtards, fauoring couertly thoſe which vſurped the rights of the houſe of Aniou, and then falling vpon the decrees of the councile of Baſill and of the Pragimatike ſanction, he ſaid, that it was a ſpot which did blemiſh the beauty of the face of France, and vnder pretext whereof the Authority of the Apoſtolik Sea was diſgrac'd, the forces of Chriſtian Relligion were weakened, the vnity and liberty of the Church violated and troden downe, and therefore hee was forced to ſpeake, leaſt his ſilence ſhould bee reputed a conniuence or careleſneſſe, and that the wound which might bee cured grew not incurable, and hee ſhould be forced to abſtaine from all intelligence and communication with the French, alledging this paſſage of Scripture. [t] The high Prieſt ſhall not ſee a dead ſoule, and ſhall not bee whereas there is ſinne, or a perſeuerance or obſtinacy in ſinne.

The Popes affection to the houſe of Arragon

Popes threat againſt France.

At the ſame time the Pope made a Bull by the which he declared all appellations to the Councile an execrable abuſe, and neuer before heard of, [u] invented by ſpirits of rebellion, not for any deſier of abetter iudgement, but to eſcape for ſinnes committed, being a ridiculous thing [x] to frame an appellation to a Concile which was not yet aſſembled, neither knew they when it would bee, and that by this abuſe the exceſſe remained vnpuniſhed, rebellion againſt the firſt Sea was ſupported and all Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline in confuſion, wherefore by the aduice of the Cardinalls and Prelates, which were then at Mantoua, he did forbid ſuch appellations, as erronius, deteſtable and peſtilent, and charged them with cenſures which receiued the Acts, or did fauour them.

His Bull againſt appellations to a councell.

The Kings Ambaſſadors tooke theſe words for cracks of thunder and infalliable threats of excommunication, and hauing reported them vnto King *Charles* the ſeauenth, his councell did beleeue that he had reſolued to curſe both the King and his realme, and all thoſe that ſhould cauſe the decrees of the Councile of Baſill to bee obſerued, wherefore it was concluded that *Iohn Dauvet* his Attorney generall in the Court of Parlament, ſhould proteſt againſt his threats, to auoyde the ſcandales which the Church and Chriſtendome might receiue, reſeruing in all things a reſpect vnto the holy Sea, and the obedience which is due vnto the Pope, conformable to the holy decrees.

Aragon, and he held it when as Charles *the eight conquered the Realme.*

[r] Albunaſar *ſaid that the Chriſtian Relligion ſhould laſt vnto the yeare,* 1460. Abraham *the Iewe ſaid that in the yeare,* 1464. *the Iewiſh religion ſhould bee in her glory & liberty, when as it was moſt afflicted.*

[s] *This Act was imparted vnto mee by* Gaſpar Dauvet *Siegneur of Marets Stuard of the kings houſe. The chiefe clauſes are reported here in the margent* Poſt quã plurima de laudibus Francorum. S. D. N. præclare dixerat, adiecit etiam loqui in fauorem partis aduerſæ antedicti. D. Regis *Renati*, de grãdi exaltatione ille gitime natorum aliqua in ijs interſerendo quæ potius tacenda fuiſſe videntur.

[t] *Alledging, that it is written in the old law :* Surper omnem animã quæ mortua eſt non ingredietur Pontifex.

[u] *This conſtitution begins thus* Execrabilis & priſtinis temporibus inauditus tempeſtate noſtra inoleuit abuſus, vt a Romano Pontifice Ieſu Chriſti Vicario, cui dictum eſt in perſona B. Petri. *Paſce oues meas, &c. & quodcunq;* nonnulli ſpiritu rebellionis imbuti non ſanioris cupiditate iudicii ſed commiſsi cuationc peccati ad futurum Concilium prouocare preſumut. [x] *Quis illud ridiculum iudicauerit quod ad concilium apellatur quod nuſquam eſt neque ſcitur quando futurum ſit ? Pius* II, *Conſt, execrabilis.*

That the Pope should bee intreated [y] *and exhorted to consider duly of the importance of this resolution, before hee did proceed to cut off such a member from the body of Christendome, and how much it did import him to keepe peace with the Councils, and not to suffer the vnity of the Church to be violated at such a time when as all the forces of the infidells were banded and vnited against her concord.*

Turkes make their profit of the diuisions of Christendome.

That as the King [z] *had labored, more then all Christian Princes, with much paine and great expence, to mayntaine a peace, and vnity betwixt the councils and Popes,* Eugenius *and* Nicholas, *to the end they might remaine quiet in their seats. In like manner hee desired that the Pope should confirme this peace and good vnion, causing those lets to cease which were against the Cannons of the Pragmatike Sanction, made by a generall consent, and to consider that such lets came onely from those that affected more their owne priuat commodities, then the health of soules, and could not endure that the Popes should march with the Councils in the vnity of Spirit, as they had in former times done, when as their temporall care was not so great as it is now, and that they did zealously seeke the Kingdome of God before all things.* [1a]

Mony leuied vnder the pretext of warre & ill imployed.

That the King desyred the Pope would call a Council in a place of safty and liberty, whereas the Prelats of the Church, and learned men fearing God, hauing charge to be there, might speake their opinions brotherly and charitably in tranquility of mind, vpon the occasions which should be presented, such assemblies being necessary to preuide for meanes to resist the desseins of the enemies and persecutors of Christian Religion. For although that vnder this pretext they had leuied great summes of mony after diuers manners; [b] *yet Christendome had receyued no ease. Besides the tenne yeares in the which the Councel of* Constans *had ordayned that they should hould a councell were expired.*

That the King propounded to submit him-selfe to all that should bee determined and ordayned by the councell, to the end that so good an order might be setled in the Church, as God might bee better serued and christian people more edified; And to the end the council might be in all liberty, it was necessary to chuse a place of easie accesse for all that would come. That it was not credible (as many haue pretended) that the Pope was resolued to haue it held in the church of S[t]. Iohn *Lateran* [c] *seeing that the citty of Rome was of hard accesse, in a manner, for all the nations of christendome, and many times subiect to great plagues, besides that, the chiefe question being touching the contradiction which was made to the Cannons of councells, their opinions could not be free, and the King was well aduertised of the league which was made against* Rene *King of Sicile*

The Pope a party.

[y] Summis desiderijs optat regia Maiestas vt idem, S. D. N. cū sacris generalibus concilijs pacē foueat & suis tēporibus Ecclesiā Dei salubriter regere & dirigere curet, sicuti sancti sui predecessores facere studuerūt, & pacē et vnitatē ōnimodā seruare quærat.

[z] Ipse enim D.N. Rex qui semper pacis vniuersæ Ecclesiæ desideratissimus est, sicut magnis laboribus et sumptibus pacem et vnitatem inter sacra Concilia & fel. rec. D. Papam *Eugeniū* ac consequenter D. *Nicolaū* successoré eius prosecutus est vt illi in sede Apostolica pacifici maner ēt sic nunc vehemēter cupit vt sāctissimus D. N. modernus succedēs præfatis Pontificibus pacē manu tenere & conseruare laboret. [a] Tollat differētias quæ aduersus Cānones vniuersali cōsensu editos per non nullorū affectus quæ rentium plus priuata commoda quam salutem animarum suscitantur, impediuntque ne summi Pontifices cum generalibus cōciliis in vnitate spiritus ambulent, eorumque decreta seruent, sequantur ac predicent sicut olim profitebātur ac promptissime facere solebant, dum non erat tanta commodorum temporalium sollicitudo & ante omnia regnum Dei attentius quærebatur. [b] Diuersæ pecuniarum summæ modis variis huius rei pretexta hactenus petitæ et collatæ sunt. [c] Vt aut em prefatum concilium rite celebrari possit necessarium est ipsum in tali loco constitui vt omibus pateat plena libertas. Nec credendum est in veritate subsistere quod nonnulli ferunt S. D.N. velle in Laterano vniuersale concilium celebrare, cum locus ille fere omnibus nationibus Christianorum accessu difficilis sit & frequenter pestibus subditus, Stanteque contradictione quam summus Pontifex aduersus canones conciliorum agere videtur, non ibi esset plena deliberandi libertas, attenta etiam certa Liga quæ aduersus Illustrissimum D. *Renatum* Regnum Siciliæ & suos hæredes & successores facta refertur quam & ipse S.D.N. vt dicitur aperte fouet & sustinet & Liga eiusdem caput & principalis notorie asseritur.

and

and his children, whreof they made the Pope the head.

That when as a place of liberty and ſafety ſhould be choſen in ſome other Prouince, *the Pope, if hee thought good, might tranſport himſelfe thither with leſſe pain then he ſhould receiue if he continued his deſigne to go in perſon into the Eaſt for the good of Chriſtendome, or elce hee might ſend his Legates as his predeceſſors had formerly done. That the laſt Counſells hauing been held in the townes of Italy and Germany,* [d] *reaſon would that now it ſhould be held in France, as* Pope Nicholas *the fift had promiſed, and therefore the King offered to prouide amply for all that ſhould be neceſſary.*

That his Maieſty could not imagine that the Pope by his new Bull againſt appellations to the Councill had any thought to interdict the vſe in ſuch ſort, as in no caſe, no not when there was queſtion to maintaine the Orthodoxall faith, or for the extirpation of Schiſme, or the reformation of the vniuerſall Church, in the head and members, for the wrongs which Popes might doe vnto Princes and there eſtates, it might not bee lawfull to flie vnto this remedy [e], *ſeeing that vnder generall prohibitions they could not comprehend matters which required a more ſpeciall and perticular expreſſion, and principally thoſe which did regard the offences of Religion and the vnity of the Church, and which fauoured Sciſmes and troubled the vniuerſall eſtate of the Church.*

Proteſtation of the King to fly vnto a Councel.

Wherefore if the Pope attempted any thing againſt the obſeruation of the holy decrees of the pragmatick Sanction, the King ment to flye to a Councill, [f] *and vntill it had determined thereof, he proteſted of the nullity of all cenſures, according to the forme of the Canonicall Sanctions, the which in many caſes declared the ſentences and cenſures of Iudges and* Paſtors *void, yet ſubmitting themſelues to the iudgement of the vniuerſall Church.*

That if the Pope ſhould refuſe, and would deferre the calling of the Councill, the King declared that he would exhort all Chriſtian Princes, *to labour iointly for this Conuocation, yet hoping that the* Pope *hauing duly conſidered of this iuſt and neceſſary inſtance, would not put him to that paine.*

France the Sanctuary of Popes

To make this proteſtation more ſollemne, and to ſhew that the King did affect it, and that the Pope ſhould haue a care not to incenſe a realme which had alwaies beene the ſanctuary and refuge of Popes, [g] who had neuer found more ſpeedy and better ſuccors

[d] Many generall Councels haue beene held in France and we find in the Hiſtory of the Church the Councell of *Lyon* 2. Orleans 4. & 5. *Tours, Paris, Auuergne.*

[e] Neque etiam exiſtimandum eſt eundem *S N D.* per litteras quas Mantuæ publicaſſe fertur que incipiunt Execrabilis et Inauditus &c. voluiſſe prohibere vt in nullo caſu ſiue tangat conſeruationem Orthodoxæ fidei ſiue extirpationem Sciſmatis, ſiue vniuerſalem reformationem Eccleſiæ in capite et in membris ſuper grauaminibus quæ per aliquem ſummorum Pontificum inferri contingeret Principibus liciat quouiſmodo habere recurſum ad iudicium plenarii concilii; cum ſub generali prohibitione non veneant ea quæ ſpeciali expreſſione indigerent.

[f] vbi vero idem *D.N.S.* cui poteſtas data eſt in ædificationem non in deſtructionem eam conuertere vellet contra ipſum *D.N.* Regem aut viros eccleſiaſticos vel etiam ſeculares ipſius dominii conſtitutos & ſibi ſubditos & adhærentes propter obſeruationem Cannonum grauare et moleſtare. Proteſtor ego *Iohannes Dauuet* Procurator Regius generalis & in parte ſpecialis nomine antedicto & per notarios ſubſcriptis de talium ſententiarum ac cenſurarum nullitate iuxta canonicas Sanctiones, &c. [g] Gregory 3. *demanded ſuccors of* Charles Martel *againſt* Luytprand *King of Lombards who was forced to yeeld the lands which hee had vſurped of the Church* Carol. Sigonius lib. 3. de Regno Italie An. 739. Plat. Pepin *his ſonne forced* Aſtolpho *King of Lombards to reſtore the ſixe gouerments of Rauenna to Pope* Stephen 2. *and hee made warre againſt* Guaifier *Duke of Aquitanie who vſurped the goods of the Church.* Regin. Sigebertus. Charlemaine *defended* Adrian *againſt* Didier *King of the Lombards, and reſtored Pope* Leon. C. Volumus 2. Q. i. Adrianus diſt. 63. Lewis *the gentill and* Charles *the bald gaue great ſuccors to Pope* Iohn 8. *Paul Emilius, Pope* Gelatius 2. *went into France to demand ſuccors of* Lewis 8. *againſt* Henry *the Emperor,* Platina in Gelatio 2. Innocent 2. *and*

againſt

against their enemies then the ſword of France, and who haue with reaſon called this Realme the admirable quiuer bound to Gods ſide, out of the which he drawes his choſen arrowes to ſhoot them with the Bow of his mighty arme against Infidells: His maieſty would that *Andrew de Laual*, Lord of Loheac Mareſchall of France, ſhould be preſent with many other men of quality, *Stephen Cheualier* Treaſurer generall of France, and *Iohn Barbin* Aduocate generall in Parliament. It was made in the preſence of *Iohn*, Abbot of the Monaſterie of S^t. *Enoy de braue*, of the order of *Premontre*, and of Peter *Queſnot*, pryor of the priory of S^t. Sauiour, neere vnto Bray vpon Seyne.

Eugenius *the third, being driuen out of Rome came into France, and the Kings of Frãce haue the honor to haue reſtored ſeuen Popes to their ſeates. And France hath lodged the 70. yeares in Auignon.* Paloti de rubros Nauarra.

Soone after the new raigne of *Lewis* the eleuenth made it knowne that things maintained ſo religiouſly by King *Charles*[h], were not religiouſly reſpected by him. The Pope hauing well obſerued it, cauſed him to be exhorted to reſpect the holy Sea, & to apprehend the danger of excommunication. He ſent his Nuncio vnto him to perſwade him, and to put him in minde of the name of moſt Chriſtian, which his predeceſſors had carried, and which the Councill of Mantua had newly confirmed to King *Charles* his Father.

Pope *Pius* the ſecond, exhorts K. *Lewis* to aboliſh the pragmatick Sanction.

[h] Charles *the ſeuenth was made Lord of the obſeruation of the Pragmaticke Sanction, & if death had not preuented him, Lewis reſolued to call an Nationall Councel to haue it better obſerued.*

They found the purſuite of this reuocation more vnfit for Pope *Pius* the ſecond, then for his predeceſſors, for he himſelfe had been the inſtrument of theſe Decrees, he had beene preſent at the reſolutions, hee had written them, and vndertaken the defence of the Councell of Baſill, againſt that of *Eugenius*. They did alwaies obiect vnto his Nuncios that it was a ſhame to gainesay himſelfe, to ouerthrow the worke of his owne hands, and that Dignities had changed the Maximes of conſcience. Wherefore in the end of Aprill 1463. he made a declaration containing a great repentance of that which hee had done in the Councell of Baſill againſt the Pope[i], and directed it to the Vniuerſitie of Collin. He excuſed himſelfe by his youth, comming but newly from the Schooles, the force of the perſwaſions of ſo many great prelates whom hee ſaw banded againſt *Eugenius*, the example which had ſeduced him, and ignorance which ſhould excuſe him, thinking not to erre after ſo many great Doctors, and eſpecially of the Schoole of Paris, whoſe reputation was then very famous, and of the vniuerſities of Germany [k] Who declared *Eugenius* vnworthy of *Peters* chayre, for that he had broken and hindered the courſe of the counſell which he himſelfe had called, and refuſed to approue and effect their decrees. But that now knowing this Error, he coniured all the world to note the diſtinction betwixt *Æneas Siluius*, and *Pius* the ſecond, betwixt a priuate man and the great Vicar of Ieſus Chriſt, betwixt

Pius the ſecond diſauowes his owne writings.

[i] *This Bull was directed to the vniuerſitie of Collin, to the which he wrot many things againſt* Eugenius, *ending with theſe wordes,* Hæc eſt noſtra ſententia filii: hæc credimus, & profitemur: hæc iam ſenes, et in Apoſtolatus æque conſtituti, pro veritate aſſerimus ſi qua vel nobis, vel aliis conſcripſimus aliquando, quæ huic doctrinæ repugnent, illa tanquam erronea, & iuueneli animo parum penſata iudicia reuocamus, atque omnino reſpuimus.

[k] Nos homines, & vt homines errauimus, neque imus inficias, multa quæ diximus, ſcripſimus, egimus damnari poſſe, verum non vt Arrius, Eutbyces, Macedonius, aut Neſtorius, & alia blaſphemorum turba, ex animo damnatum viam eligimus, ſeducti peccauimus, vt Paulus, & ignoranter perſecuti fuimus Eccleſiam Dei, & Romanam primamque ſedem, propter quod proſtrati ante oculos diuinæ pietatis, ſupplices oramus, Delicta iuuentutis mea, & ignorantias ne memineris, & pudet erroris, pœnitet feciſſe vt maledictorum ſcriptorumque vehementer pœnitet, plus ſcripto quam facto nocuimus.

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the errors of a youth without experience and the thoughts of an age touched with the Spirit of God: Then hauing made a great repentance of his opinions, he publiſhed his beliefe of the Popes, Authoritie, and ſaid of the perſon of *Eugenius* the fourth, that which S. *Bernard* had ſaid of *Eugenius* [l] the third, *Thou art the great Prieſt, the Soueraigne paſtor, the prince of Biſhops, the Heyre of the Apoſtles, thou art* Abel *in primacie*, Noah *in gouernment*, Abraham *in the Patriarchat*, *Melchiſedech in Order*, Aaron *in Dignitie*, Moſes *in Authoritie*, Samuel *in Iuſtice*, Peter *in Power, and Chriſt in vnction.*

Words of S. *Bernard.*

The Italians called the Councel of Baſill a conuenticle

Notwithſtanding all theſe goodly words and the great reaſons wherewith the Nuncios were armed to let the King know the great wrongs he did vnto himſelfe, to breake with the Pope, in fauouring the Decrees of a Councell, which Rome held to be but a Conuenticle, a monopole, and Schiſme: They found not any one in his Councell, which thought it fit to breake ſuch holſome Decrees, and the King, who had been with King *Charles* his Father at the aſſembly at Bourges, remembred how carefully they had beene examined, ſolemnely publiſhed, and profitably obſerued fiue and twenty whole yeeres. The Pragmatick Sanction was a law alſo for all the accidents of the policie of the Church, a ſoueraigne balme for all the vlcers, which auarice, diſſolution and ignorance might cauſe in her members. [m] And for that they labour in vaine to keepe the body in health if the head bee ſicke, it did ſomewhat reſtraine the Popes authoritie, binding him to hold a Councell euery ten yeares, and to obſerue the Decrees which ſhould be made, yea that which the councell of Baſill had made touching the Elections, Reſeruations, and Collations of benefices. It did forbid expectatiue graces, and citations to the Court of Rome, but in certaine great cauſes, and as for Appellations they did no more paſſe the mountaines, the Pope did appoint Iudges vpon the places for Appellants which depended immediately vpon the ſea of Rome, and as for others they might appeale to the next ſuperiour.

The ſumme of the Pragmaticke Sanction.

It tooke from the Pope a great part of the profits of his Chancerie, forbidding the payments of vacances and Anuates, and reſeruing onely the iuſt fees for expedition of Buls. Pope *Eugenius* conſidering the conſequence of this Decree, ſent his Nuncios to the Councell of Baſill, to haue it ſuſpended; but the fathers intreated him not to ſuffer ſuch an abuſe any longer, then declaring ſuch as ſhould pay them Simoniacall: it added, that if the Pope did ſcandalize the Church, in contemning the obſeruation, it ſhould be referred to a Councell [n]. It would not allow the Pope to make Cardinals

[l] Tu es ſacerdos magnus, ſummus pontifex, tu princeps Epiſcorũ, tu hæres Apoſtolorum, tu primatu Abel, gubernatu Noe, Patriarchatu Abrahã, ordine Melchiſedech, dignitate Aaron, auctoritate Moyſes, iudicatu Samuel, poteſtate Petrus, Vnctione Chriſtus. Tu es cui claues traditæ, cui oues creditæ ſunt. Sunt & alijquidẽ cœli ianitores, & gregum paſtores, ſed tu tanto dignius quanto & differentius vtrumque præ illis nomẽ hæreditaſti. Habent illi ſignatos ſibi greges ſinguli ſingulos, tibi vniuerſi crediti vni ſumus. Nec modo ouium, ſed et paſtorũ, tu vnus omniũ paſtor. *Hæc Bernardus ad Eugenium* 3. ſcribit, cui ſupremã & omnimodam in eccleſia poteſtatem concedit, quod ille in tertio teſtatur Eugenio, hoc nos de quarto, & omnibus aliis Romanis Pontificibus profitemur.

[m] Fruſtra inhiberetur inferioribus, ſi ipſe qui aliis debet eſſe omnium bonorum & virtutum exemplar, non abſtineret. Vt enim ille ſanctiſsimus & doctiſsimus Leo Papa, inquit, totius familia domini ſtatus & ordo nutabit, ſi quod inquiritur in corpore non inuenitur in capite. Integritas enim præſidentium, ſalus dignoſcitur eſſe inferiorum. Pragm. Sanct. tit. de collatib. ¶ fruſtr. [n] Etſi quod abſit Romanus Pontifex, qui præ cæteris vniuerſalium conciliorum exequi & cuſtodire debet canones, aduerſus hanc ſanctionem aliquid faciendo eccleſiam ſcandalizet, vt generali concilio deferatur. Cæteri vero pro modo culpa iuxta canonicas ſanctiones per ſuas ſuperiores digna vltione puniantur. Prag. Sanct. tit. de Annat. ¶ Non fiant.

dinals after his owne phantaſie, but with aduiſe of the other Cardinals, that there ſhould not be aboue foure and twenty choſen out of all the churches of Chriſtendome, to the end the number ſhould not abaſe the eſteeme of ſo great a dignitie, which made them which were aduanced companions to the Pope; and the hinges whereon the gates of the church were ſet [o].

The quality of Cardinals.

It would haue them alſo thirtie yeares of age, lawfull and not deformed in bodie nor defamed in manners, Doctors, or Licentiates, in the one or the other lawe, with a rigorous examination, and that the third, or at the leaſt a fourth part ſhould bee Diuines; not ſuffering them to receiue the Nephewes of Popes, or of Cardinals that were liuing. The congregation of the French Church being aſſembled at Bourges found this Article too rigorous. It did alſo ordaine due recompences for learning and merit. And that there ſhould be Prebends in Cathedrall and Metropolitane churches for Diuines to read and preach, and that graduates ſhould be preferred to prouiſions of benefices. It did not allow that commonalties or prouinces ſhould bee interdicted for the offences of priuate men, or of Magiſtrates, nor that excommunications ſhould be of force, before the ſentence had beene pronounced and publiſhed. It diſpoſed of that which was neceſſarie for the ornament, policie, and direction of Diuine ſeruice, it did puniſh (but gently) publike concubinaries, hauing been firſt aduertiſed to reform themſelues [p]. They were freed for the priuation of the fruits of their benefices during three monthes. Pope *Pius* the ſecond was not to be blamed if he did ſo earneſtly preſſe this reuocation, and his Miniſters did often ſolicite the King, filling his conſcience with feare of excommunication, and telling him continually that there was neither Iuſtice, neceſſitie, nor profit, that could giue the title of a lawe to that which was ordained without authoritie, and that it was a ſinne to ſubiect his ſubiects thereunto. The Cardinall of Albie managed this purſuite: *La Balue* [q] who had great credit with the King, interpoſed great difficulties, to make the Pope know that the effect of his intenſions depended of him. But as ſoone as he had promiſed to make him a Cardinall, hee did fit his head to that hat.

The Biſhop of Eureux vndertakes to ſatisfie the Pope.

La Balue being of a turbulent Spirit, being deſirous to trouble the affayres, and to excell rather in Authoritie then merit, went to the parliament to haue this reuocation paſſe, S. *Roman* the Kings Attourney Generall oppoſed himſelfe, whom they threatned with the loſſe of his eſtate, and to make him repent it. He who deſired that all things ſhould faile him rather then to faile of his dutie and the dignitie of his charge, ſaid vnto *Balue*, *I had rather*

[o] Statuit ſancta ſynodus vt deinceps Cardinalium numerus adeo ſit moderatus, vt ne ſit grauis eccleſia nec ſuperflua numeroſitate vileſcat, qui de omnibus Chriſtianitatis partibus, quantum fieri commodè poterit, aſſumantur, vt notitia rerum in eccleſia emergentium facilius haberi & ſuper his maturius deliberari poſsit, ſic tamen quod numerum 24. inter eos qui nunc ſunt, & ad aſſumēdos, non excedat. Ita quod de vna natione vltra tertiā partem reſpectu Cardinalium pro tempore exiſtentium, ac de vna ciuitate et diœceſi vltra vnum inde oriundum & de ea natione quæ aune vltra tertiā partem habet vſque ad ipſius tertiæ pattis reductionem eſſe nequeant.

[p] Publici concubinarii, *ſaith the Councell of Baſill*, intelligēdi ſunt non ſolum hi quorum concubinatus per ſententiam aut confeſsionem in iure factam ſeu per rei euidentiam quæ nulla poſsit tergiuerſatione celari notorius eſt, ſed qui mulierem de incontinentia ſuſpectam tenet & per ſuperiorem admonitus eam non admittit. Prag. Sanct. ¶ Publici. tit. de concubinariis.

[q] Hierom Garimbert *Biſhop of Galicia hath written theſe words of* Balue, eſſendoſi infignorito dell animo del Re, ſimulamente loteneua in continuo diſparer con la ſede Apoſtolica per vligar poi il Papa a riconoſcer la Reconciliatione dall opera, & dall autorità ſua, per conſequente a gratificar lo del capel roſſo, come fece.

looſe

looſe my eſtate, my goods and my life, then to doe a thing contrary to my dutie and the good of the Realme. What *Priſcus Heluidius*[r] could haue anſwered more generouſly?

The Vniuerſitie of Paris made her Remonſtrances vnto the king not to ſuffer the decrees, conformable to the pureſt conſtitutions of the Church for diſcipline, pollicie, and libertie, to be broken. In this great agitation of minde, the Popes Miniſters promiſed the king that the reuocation of the Pragmatick Sanction ſhould bee made without preiudice of the ancient liberties of the French Church, and that the Pope would ſend a Legate into France, to conferre the prouiſions of Benefices, ſo as the French ſhould not be bound to ſend money to Rome.

Pragmatick Sanction aboliſhed & dragged through the ſtreets of Rome.

The king vpon this aſſurance conſented to the abbrogation. The Cardinall of Alby was ſent to Rome with charge to tell the Pope, *that the King ſubmitted all the buſines of the Church, and the goods thereof to the Holy Father, to vſe in this Realme*, prout vellet, *as he pleaſed, without any regard of the liberties of the French Church.* But being ſatisfied, he had no care to giue the king that contentment which hee promiſed and ſuffered the patents to bee ſhamefully drawne through the ſtreetes of Rome: Behold how choller ſpares not euen inſenſible things. They ſhaddowed this choller with a reaſon that the Pragmatick Sanction was bred in a time of Schiſme and Sedition. The courts of Parliament of France, which haue the rights of the church as it were in protection, did not allow of this reuocation, ſo as it was neuer obſerued, and the Clergie did not obſerue the Popes command vpon this ſubiect[s]. The Buls of *Sixtus*, the third: *Innocent*, the eight: *Alexander*, the ſixt: and *Iulio* the ſecond were fruitleſſe. The Decre of the Councell of Lateran ſerued to no purpoſe, and this Pragmatick Sanction ended not before the Concordants were paſt at Bolonia, betwixt Pope *Leo* the tenth, and king *Francis* the firſt.

1461. The King diſcontents the Nobilitie.

They did iudge by the kings firſt actions, what the manner of his gouernment would be, and that he would beautifie the diuinations of his raigne with other trophies then of clemencie[t]. Hee diſappointed in a manner all the officers and ſeruants of king *Charles* his Father, taking a great delight to vndoe that which hee had raiſed, and to raiſe that which hee had puld downe. He gaue Berry onely to his brother for his portion, vpon condition that it ſhould returne vnto the Crowne if he dyed without iſſue male. [u] Hee tooke the Seales from *Iuuenall* of Vrſins, and gaue them to *Peter* of Moruilliers. The Duke of Alençon was a priſoner in the

[r] Priſcus Heluidius *was adviſed not to come vnto the Senate, hee anſwered,* It is in the Emperors power not to make mee of the Senate, but whiles I am a Senator hee ſhal not let me from going to the Pallace, *You ſhal be ſuffered, ſaid the other, to goe, ſo as you ſpeake not. Helu.* I wil not ſpeake a word if they demand nothing of mee. *But they will aske you. Helu.* And I will anſwere what I ſhal thinke fit. *If you ſpeake, they will put you to death. Heluid.* And whē did I brag that I was immortall? You ſhall doe your duty & I mine. It is in you to kill me, and in mee to die without feare, it is in you to baniſh me and in mee to goe vnto it cheerefully.

[s] *In the beginning of Pope* Leo *his Bull, wee read this.* Licet *Pius. 2.* Nunciis ad claræ memoriæ Ludouicũ 11. Franciæ Regem Chriſtianiſsimum deſtinatis, tantis eiſdem perſuaſerit rationibus rationibus, vt Rex ipſe Pragmaticam Sanctionem tanquam in ſeditione & Sciſmatis tempore natam ſuis patentibus literis abrogauerit, tamen huiuſmodi abrogatio nec etiam literæ expeditæ per Prælatos & perſonas Eccleſiaſticas dicti regni receptæ non fuerunt, nec ipſi Prælati & perſonæ Eccleſiaſticæ illis parere, nec monitis Sixti, Innocentii & Iulii aures præbere, ſed eidem Pragmaticæ conſtitutioni inhærere voluerint.

[t] *Clemencie is the Ornament of the raigne of Kings, they ſhould begin with it.* Nouum imperium occupantibus vtilis clementiæ fama. *Tacit. lib. 4. Hiſt.*

[u] *There was a time when as the Kings of France left vnto the Princes of their bloud the proprieties of their portions,* Philip *of Valois left the Countie of Valois to* Charles *his yonger brother.* Philip *the Faire was the firſt that ordained by his Codicill that the County of Poictou, giuen by him with other lands to his yonger ſonne* Philip *of France, who afterwards was* K. Philip

Caſtle of Loches, whom he ſet at libertie. Hee cauſed the Earle of Dammartins proceſſe to be made, and after that the Court of Parliament had condemned him to dye, hee gaue him his life, vpon cõdition that he ſhould imploy the remainder in the Ile of Rhodes for the ſeruice of Chriſtendome, and ſhould put in caution: but not able to find any, hee had the Baſtil for his priſon, from whence he eſcaped in the night by a hole which he had made in the wall, at the ſame time when as the Duke of Berry paſſed into Brittanny. *Taneguy* of Chaſtell [x] being diſcontented for that he was not ſatisfied the money which he had aduanced for the funerals of *Charles* the ſeuenth retired himſelfe to *Francis* Duke of Brittany.

This Prince had ſucceeded to *Arthur* of Brittany Earle of Richmond his Vncle, and was well informed of the humor and deſignes of *Lewis*, and therefore in the beginning hee ſent his ſeruants throughout the Realme diſguiſed in the habites of *Iacobins* and *Franciſcans*, to moue the people to looke vnto the beginning of this Raigne, and to coniure them to defend their libertie with tooth and nayle [y], aduiſing them that this King entered into the Realme, as into a countrey of Conqueſt: that he held all that pleaſed him to be lawfull: That he forced great men not to obey but to ſerue: The people not to bee gouerned but tiranized, and to prepare themſelues to liue in ſuch ſort as they might ſay they had not any thing.

Francis the ſecond Du: of Brittany.

Being aduertiſed of the Duke of Brittaines practiſes, he went to ſee him, vnder coulour to viſit the Church of S. Sauiour of Redon. Deuotion was the pretext, and a deſire to know the Dukes country and forces the cauſe of this Pilgrimage [z]. He was not reſolued to leaue him in peace. He knew well that, three or foure yeares before, hee had ſought to make himſelfe a companion to King *Charles* the ſeuenth, hauing refuſed to doe him homage vpon his knee, and without his ſword for the Dutchie of Brittanie [a]: hee had alſo diſcouered that hee and the Earle of Charolois had giuen their faith, to runne the ſelfe ſame fortune, although that the remembrance of the Death of the Duke of Orleans his grandfather by the mothers ſide, had beene able to diſſwade him from the houſe of Bourgundy, and that it had beene better for him to ioyne with his Cozens, the Dukes of Orleans, and Angoleſme, and to continue his deſigne vpon the Duchie of Milan, to recouer his grandmothers inheritance, whereof *Francis Sforce* had ceazed [b]. The Venetians and *Borſo* of Eſte Duke of Ferrara gaue eare to the propoſitions which they made, giuing hope to aſſiſt the rights of the houſe of Orleans.

The Kings voyage into Brittany.

Theſe firſt yeares of the Raigne of *Lewis* were very ſharpe, and thoſe which followed altogether inſupportable. Great men were

the Long ſhould returne to the crowne for want of Heyres male, vpon condition the King which ſhoud then raigne ſhould marrie his Daughter.

[x] *Taneguy of Coaſtel Nephew to him that ſlew the Duke of Bourgunay was maſter of the horſe to K. Charles the ſeuenth, hee retired into Brittany where the Duke made him his high ſteward & Chamberlaine.*

[y] *The Embaſſadors of Sparta, beeing ſent to Xerxes, ſaid vnto* Gidarne *who commended the felicity of ſuch as ſerued the King. If thou didſt know* Gidarne *what libertie were thou wouldeſt counſell vs to defend it, not with the launce and target onely, but with our teeth and nayles.*

[z] *It is a great aduantage to know the forces of an eſtate which one meanes to aſſaile, and to meaſure them with his. It was the aduiſe of* Xenophon. Chabrias *ſaid that theron conſiſts a part of the Generals dutie.*

[a] *In the homage which* Francis *the ſecond Duke of Brittany did vnto King* Charles *the ſeuenth at Monbaſon in February* 1458. Iohn *of Eſtoteuille ſaid vnto him.* My Lord of Brittanie you ſhould put off your girdle, *And* Chauuyn *Chancellor of Brittany anſwered,* He ought not, It were an innouation, he is as he ſhould be. [b] Francis *Duke of Brittanie, ſonne to* Richard *of Brittanie, and* Margaret *of Orleans, Daughter to* Lewis *D. of Orleans, and* Valantyn *of Milan had vndertaken to make warre againſt* Francis Sforce. *Annal of Brittanie.*

depriued

Rigor in the beginning of *Lewis* raigne.

depriued of their Dignities, and the meaner oppreſt with great charges. There was couetouſnes for men of merite, and prodigalitie for the reſt. [c] He ſaid he would gather money together to redeeme the townes vpon the Riuer of Some. He had knowne what a crowne was worth, and how many peeces would make one: They that haue paſt by the indiſcretions of neceſſitie, proceed very diſcreetely in their expences. If all the time that hee had beene baniſhed from the Court, he had no want of neceſſarie things, ſo had he no great abundance ſuperfluous.

His ſparing was the lights which ſwelled by the leanneſſe of all the other members. The complaints of the Rigor [d] of the time, became murmurings againſt the ſeueritie of the Prince. Euery one lamented the Raigne of *Charles*, and deſired rather the end then the continuance of that of *Lewis*: Great men beganne to make it knowne that they could not liue long in that ſeruitude, & ſhewing themſelues more ſencible of the contempt [e] which was done them, then of the miſeries which the meaner ſort ſuffered, yet they found no better pretext of their priuate intereſt, then that of the publike.

The King did not attend the conſent of the Realme to haue money, hee tooke it without asking. They were not tributes of Loue, [f] but of Rigour and conſtraint, thinking that France was a meadow which he might mowe at all ſeaſons. A great ſedition troubled the citie of Rheimes, againſt thoſe which had raiſed cuſtomes. The Commiſſaries were ſlaine and their Commiſſions caſt into the fire. The King ſent Souldiers, diſguiſed like Marchants and labourers, who entring by diuers ports, ioined with the Lord of Mouy their commander, who cauſed a hundreth of the moſt ſeditious to bee hanged, ſuppreſſed the ſedition [g], reuenged the Kings ſeruice, and ſetled his authoritie there, the which had not beene impugned but for the naturall impatiencie of the people, to endure that whereunto they were not accuſtomed.

Combuſtions in England.

All France was quiet, and beheld as from the ſhore the tempeſts which were in England and Arragon. The King was glad to entertaine the warre farre from him, and to aſſiſt the houſe of Lancaſter in England, and the houſe of Arragon in Spaine, whiles that the clouds and windes prepared to draw the ſtorme vpon his owne head. England for the diuiſion of the houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter, ſaw at that time ſuch terrible changes and accidents, as it is a wonder the Realme did not paſſe vnder ſome forraine command, and that they did not cry quittance with him, ſeeing there is no ſurer meanes to ruine an eſtate then ciuill diſcord [h].

But France had yet ſo many bad humors in her body as her diſ-

[c] *It is good after a prodigall Prince to haue one that is couetous, who may reſtraine thoſe exceſſiue profuſions, he that findes not any thing to giue cannot be liberall.*

[d] *When as the people are oppreſt they dare not accuſe the Princes rigor but caſt their complaints vpõ that of the time*

[e] *The nature of man is more ſencible of contempt then of loſſe. The Senators of Rome were more diſcontented for that Cæſar entred into the Senate without ſaluting them, then for the enterpriſe which hee made vpon their liberties.*

[f] *Princes finde pleaſing names for things which are bitter and hard.* Edward *the fourth impoſed vpõ the Realme of England a tribute which hee called a Benevolence. Euerie one did contribute as hee pleaſed, and according to his gifts they did iudge of his Loue to the King. He that gaue much loued much.* Edward *made vſe of this tribute againſt the French & found great ſuccors,* Polid. lib. 24. & 26.

[g] *The moſt frequent and knowne cauſes of ſedition and mutiny grow from new charges and exceſſiue impoſitions.*

[h] *Ciuill Diuiſions tranſport and change eſtates. Spaine vnder the raigne of fourteſcore and twelue Kings hath beene torne in as many peeces as it hath had Realmes. France hath changed thrice. England hath been commanded by the Engliſh, Danes, Saxons, and in the end by the Normans. The Empire hath been paſt from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt; Naples hath been vnder the power of the French, Germans, Arragonois, and ſince of Caſtilians.*

poſition was more dying then liuing. When as the Engliſh ceaſt to afflict her, they began to quarrell and to ruine one another. The end of forraine warres was the ſpring and renewing of ciuil, *Henry* of Lancaſter, ſonne to *Henry* the ſift, found himſelfe without a crowne, notwithſtanding that in his infancie he had been crowned with that of France and England. *Richard* Duke of Yorke, an Ambitious Prince, and who had both credit, courage, [i] induſtrie and vigilancie, qualities to bee ſuſpected in an Ambitious ſpirit, became head of a great faction, the intentions whereof he couloured with the onely zeale of the publicke good, to change the bad gouernement of the Realme, & to deliuer England from the inſolencie of the Duke of Somerſet, who alone gouerned the helme of the affaires, whileſt that the King ſuffered his ſpirits to be tranſported, not to delights and voluptuouſnes but to careleſnes [k]. His careleſſe life incenſed his ſubiects hearts, and his idlenes diſtaſted all men of his raigne. The eſtate was like vnto a ſicke body which is ſo preſt with his infirmitie, as he is forced to truſt him that comes to let him bloud, and cannot attend the Phiſitions which are farre off, [l] although they anſwere him that they will come and cure him.

Such as were diſcontented with the preſent, and deſired to ſee ſome change applyed them-ſelues to the Duke of Yorks deſſeigns and intentions, and among others *Richard Neuell* Earle of Salisbury, and *Richard Neuill* Earle of Warwick his brother, who had wiſdome and courrage, rare parties for a great deſſeigne, and therewith ſuch great credit among the people, as it was thought that not any one in England durſt doe that which theſe would vndertake. The Duke of Yorke hauing caſt his bell made the ſound thereof to be generally heard, hee ſtrake ſuch a terror into the Court, and made the wicked ſo audacious, as the King (who had neuer taſted of Domeſticke troubles; his ſpirit beeing like vnto a ſhip [m] which had neuer ſailed but in a calme) was amazed and confounded, and not holding himſelfe ſafe in the Citie of London, by reaſon of the inconſtancie of the people, and the great credit which this faction had gotten, reſolued to leaue it. The Duke of Yorke beſieged S[t]. Albons [n], the two armies meet, and the Kings is put to rout with the loſſe of their chiefe commanders. Hee lamented greatly for the Death of the Duke of Sommerſet.

Conſpiracy againſt King *Henry* the ſixt.

Henry the ſixt defeated

After this victorie the Duke of Yorke, who had made declaration that hee had no other intention then the publicke good of the Realme, and that his armes were not to offend the Prince, accompanies King *Henry* to London as a Conqueror, and freed from the Rule of the Duke of Sommerſet, which ſhewes that he had not taken armes but to free the King and the Realme, who was ready to ſubmit himſelfe to the mildeſt yoake, ſeeing that hee could not remaine free [o]. Hee left vnto *Henry* the name of King onely, for all the authoritie was in his hands, he gaue to the Earle of Salisbury the Office of Lord Chancellor of England, and to *Richard Neuell* his

[i] *Good things and which are commendable of themſelues applied to ill are pernitious* Sepius induſtria acvigilancia noxiæ quoties parando Regno ſingatur. Tac. lib. An. lib. 2.

[k] *An idle Prince is a waies contemned. Three things ſaith Zenophon make him excell ouer his ſubiects.* σωφροσύνη καὶ φιλοπονίαν.

[l] *In violent diſeaſes wee may not attend far fetcht remedies.*

[m] *Courages tried in dangers are to bee commended. A ſhip is neuer eſteemed whichhath neuer felt of a ſtorme.*

[n] *The battell of S[t]. Albons began early in the morning and continued vntil 9. of the clock, in the yere 1556* Edmund *D. of Sommerſet, and* Henry *Earle of Northumberlād were ſlaine.*

[o] *The miſeries of ciuill diuiſion reduced Rome to that eſtate as hauing no hope euer to recouer her liberty, ſhe ſought for nothing but for the mildeſt ſeruitude.*

that

his Sonne the gouernment of Callis. He diſpoſed of publike charges as he pleaſed, ſtill giuing them vnto thoſe of his faction. In the end the king diſcouers the Duke of Yorkes deſigne. Queene *Margaret* his wife, who had been aduertiſed thereof, lets him vnderſtand that he did temporiſe but vntill the partie were made to ceaze both of the king and Realme, and among his partiſans the king was held but for a Tyrant: As if his Raigne had been by vſurpation or conſtraint [p].

D. of Yorke retires from the Court of England.

The king imparted this to his principall ſeruants, who were of aduiſe to reſtraine this great authoritie which the Duke of Yorke had within the Realme; The Duke beeing ſuddenly aduertiſed thereof retired ſecretly to Wigmore in Wales, *Richard Neuell* to his Caſtle of Midleham in the North Countie, and *Richard* Earle of Warwicke to Callis, ſo as the cruell ſeditions in England grew more violent then before, during the which the French ſpoiled the coaſts of Kent, and *Iames* king of Scotland, inuited by the ſame occaſion, entred by Roxborge. The ſame cauſe which made this warre ended it [q]. The king of England let the Duke of Yorke vnderſtand that the ciuill diſcord and the bad intelligence which was betwixt them, had opened a gate to the enemies to inuade England; that the common danger did binde them to vnite their forces to defend it, and that hee was contented to forget all matters paſt, vpon hope of a better conduct hereafter, excuſing himſelfe that matters had not alwaies gone directly, being impoſſible for a Prince to obſerue all the kinds of Iuſtice and equitie [r].

Engliſh ceaſe their ciuill diſcords to war againſt the French.

The Kings intention was allowed by all men; the Duke of Yorke being loth to be the author of the ruines of the Realme, declared that all his affections tended to his greatnes and quiet, and to take away all occaſions of doubt, He came vnto the King to London with the chiefe of his faction. The feare of a forraine warre quenched the ciuill [s]. Mens mindes, altered with things paſt, grew milder, and all their wills were vnited in one accord for the defence of the Realme, deteſting the diſcord which had drawne them into a warre which was not neceſſarie, nor could bee happie, and made them a prey and triumph to their auncient enemie.

Troubles renewed in England.

But as the fire of ſedition is neuer ſo well quenched, but there remaines ſome ſparks in the aſhes, which kindle again if they be a little blowne, & that there be alwaies ſome which delights in troubles (for that it is their reſt, [t]) and in danger for that they come not neere them, being like vnto thoſe riuers which enter into the ſea and doe not mingle their ſtreames, the Duke of Yorke and the Earle of Salisburie being retired to their houſes after this accord, were preſently forced to leaue them, to reuenge an affront done to the Earle of Warwick at VVeſtminſter, where he had been ſet vpon by the kings guard, and forced to ſaue himſelfe by the Riuer of

[p] *Among many differences betwixt a King and a Tyrant they put this, that a King raigns with the loue and conſent of the people, and a Tyrant rules by conſtraint.*

[q] *The ſharpeſt ciuill wars are pacified when as ſtrangers meddle to gaine by them. The two parties agree againſt the third, and although the Prince be offended, yet it is better to remit the puniſhment.*

[r] *Many things vniuſt of themſelues are made iuſt when they are countenanced by neceſſitie or profit, wherefore* Plutark *obſerues*, That if there were queſtion to accompliſh all the kindes of iuſtice, *Iupiter* himſelf might not in that caſe bee a Prince.

[s] *There is no ſuch indiſcretion as to hazard ones owne to get another mans, and to draw forth the bloud which is needfull for the life of the bodie. It is more glorie for a Prince to maintaine himſelfe then to grow great. Preſeruation & ſafety is the eſſence of an eſtate, profit is but an acceſſary*

[t] *Seditions commonly are fed & ſupported by three ſorts of men; Firſt, the heads of factions; Secondly, they that cannot liue in ſafety in the time of peace; Thirdly, they which are out of the preſſe & find themſelues free from dangers.*

Thames

Thames with the hazard of his life. They ſaid that Queene *Margret* was the author thereof, being very deſirous to ruine the Nobility of England, and to ouerthrow the cheefe howſes [u] who were the pillers of the Realme.

[u] *A King ſhould maintaine great families, neither can hee ſuffer the to be wronged, but hee ſhal weaken the greatnes of his maieſty, whereof the Nobility is the cheeſe piller. In all eſtates the Nobles haue beene reſpected and diſtinguiſhed from others euen amongſt the Thracians; the gentlemen went only vpon horſeback and at Rome Noblemens wiues went in Littors.*

The warre began as ſoone as it was declared. The three *Richards* are in field, King *Henry* hauing leuied great forces comes to York. *Andrew Trollop*, who was come from Calleis with the Earle of Warwick, thinking to ſerue the King, when as he ſaw their armes turned againſt him, left the Earle of Warwick to follow the King, who in moment ſcattered his enemies and forced the Duke of York to paſſe into Holland, there to attend vntill his Partiſans had raiſed the ruines of that party. Preſently after the three heads of the faction returne into England, with an intent to vanquiſh or to dye, they preſent themſelues at the gates of London, they giue and winne a great Battell whereas the Victors ſaw tenne thouſand men ſlaine, and as many priſoners. King *Henry*, who ſeemed to haue beene raiſed vp to ſhow the inconſtancy of Fortune and the miſery and vanity of man, remained at the Victors diſcretion. The Engliſh remembring that his grandfather had cauſed King *Richard* to dye in priſon, began to acknowledge the iudgements of Gods iuſtice, who puniſheth the Children for the offences of their fathers [x].

Battaile before London whereas K. *Henry* was defeated.

In this great proſperity the make falls from the Dukes face. He ſpeakes plainely, that whatſoeuer he had done was grounded vpon the rightes of the houſe of Yorke, the which belonged vnto him: The Parlament did then conſider the iuſtice not the fortune, and reſpected the Maieſty of the King though hee were a priſoner, intreating the King to reſt ſatiſfyed with the Regency of the Realm and to aſſure the ſucceſſion to his houſe after the death of *Henry*. He accepted the declaration of the Parlament, but conſidering that Queene *Margaret* had a great Army on foot, to ſet her huſband at liberty, he reſolued to fight with her. He gaue her battell at Wakefield, againſt the aduiſe of his Councell, who intreated him to ſtay vntill the troupes, which his ſonne *Edward*, Earle of March, brought him were arriued. Preſumption troubleth his ſpirits, with a motion contrary to that of Reaſon, which ſhould haue diſwaded him from fighting [y]: for their forces were not equall, although in the courage of the Commanders there was no other difference but that of ſexe. *No, no; it ſhall not be ſaid that the Duke of York, who had ſo often fought in France without any other trench or defence then his owne armes, is ſhut vp, that he attends a woman and doth not go forth to fight with her.* He ſpake this and went forth with 5000. men, and met her. The Combate in the beginning was terrible and furious. The Queene ſhewed her ſelfe among the troupes, exhorting the Souldiers to honour & glory. *Richard* Duke of York was ſlaine, & *Richard* Earle of Saliſbury, whoſe head ſoon after the Commons, who hated him, cut off, the which with many others of

Duke of York declared Regent.

Battell at Wakefield.

The Queen cuts off the Earle of Saliſburies head.

[x] Henry Earle of Harford and Duke of Lancaſtre tooke armes againſt Richard the 2. ſeazed on him, puts him into the Tower of London and cauſed himſelfe to bee crowned King, and after that he had forced him to reſigne the Crowne hee ſent him to Langley, where hee was murthered.

[y] *The violence of courage is dangerous vpon the point of a battell, for it darkens the clearenes of Iudgement, & doth eaſily change it to the trouble of reaſon and to that perturbation which the Philoſoph. call* Κίνησιν ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς

[z] *Some haue written that the Queene cauſed the head of the Duke of York to bee cut off carrying a Crowne of paper: others ſay it was the Lord Cliffords deed.*

the

the ſame faction was ſet vpon the walles of York, to bee a terror and an example to other Rebells.

2. Battell at St. Albons.

After this victory, the Queene, whoſe courage was eleuated vpon the apprehenſion of all ſorts of dangers, and who held them leſſe then the captiuity of her husband, reſolues to looſe her life or to reſtore him to liberty. She goes directly to London, and comming to S. Albons ſhe encounters the Earle of Warwick, who aduanced to ſuccour his generall, with the ſame courage that ſhe had defeated the Duke of Yorke, ſhee chargeth the Earle of Warwick, puts him to rout, and frees the King. [a]

Edward Earle of March ſucceeds the Duke of York his father in his authority.

Edward Earle of March being aduertiſed of the death of the Duke of York his father, refuſed not to tread in his ſteppes, and to imbrace the toile, from whence he expected his greatnes and glory. He ſtaid in the Prouince of Wales and expelled *Iaſper* Earle of Pembrooke. The Earle of Warwick ioyned with him, and with all their forces he came to London, where he was receiued with incredible ioy and acclamations. He was one of the goodlieſt Princes of his time, and in great reputation, his bounty, courage and liberality, were powerfull charmes to winne mens hearts, the Engliſh thinking that hauing him they had all, and that their felicity was tyed to the long continuance of his Raigne. [b] He is proclaimed King, and for that hee would haue no companion in his royalty, hee reſolues to fight with King *Henry*, and marched directly to York, lodging in a little village called Touton. *Henry* being prepared to receiue him would not ſhew himſelfe for that it was Palme ſunday, deſiring to ſpend that day in the ſeruice of God, but the ſouldiers ſeeing themſelues ſo neere would not referre the partie vntill the next day. They come to hands, the combat continued tenne howers, and the victory, hauing beene long doubtfull and in ballance betwixt both Armies, ſodainely inclined to *Edward*, The King and Queene ſeeing all their troopes put to flight they ſaued themſelues in Scotland with their ſeruants [c] and from thence *Margaret* paſſed into France to her father to demand ſuccors.

Henry the 6. flies into Scotland.

Edward returned triumphing to London, and cauſed himſelfe to be crowned King at Weſtminſter the 28. of Iune 1461. he called a Parlement, where all that had bene decreed by King *Henry* the ſixt was reuoked. After that *Henry* had gathered together ſome forces in Scotland, he returnes into England, being followed by a great number of his ould ſeruants. The Iuſtice of his cauſe gaue him good hope [d] but he was repulſed with great diſhonor by *Iohn* Marques of Mountague.

King *Edward* beeing aduertiſed of the practiſes of *Margaret*, both in France, Scotland and England, to reſtore her huſband to his crowne, he ſets guards vpon the Ports and paſſa-

[a] *The excellency of courage ſhewes it ſelfe when as the ſoule is carried beyond all ſhowes and apprehenſions of dangers,* fortitudo contemptrix eſt timendorum. *Senec. Epi. 89.*

[b] *A Prince can deſire no greater prooues of the affection of his people, then when hee beleeues that nothing can faile him, ſo as hee faile not them. From thence are come theſe goodly acclamations,* Auguſto Conſtantine Dii te nobis ſeruent, veſtra ſalus noſtra ſalus, Cod. Theod lib. 7. tit. 20. In te omnia, per te omnia Antonine habemus A El. Lamprid Dion. *reports an excellent one* τὸν ἔχοντες πάντα ἔχομεν, *we haue all in hauing you.*

[c] *The Regent of Scotland led K. Iames the third. to meet with King.* Henry *the 6. and Q.* Margaret. *The good reception with the ſuccor which he receiued, cauſed him to reſtore Barwick to the Realm of Scotland.*

[d] *Hee that hath reaſon on his ſide is alwaies accompanied with good hope, hee purſues his quarrell with more courage and aſſurance, he expoſeth himſelfe to all dangers, and his ſubiects ſerue and ſuccour him more willingly, and in all accidents the iuſtice of his cauſe doth comfort him.*

ges of Scotland to ſtop her entrie, but as there is no miſerie more inſupportable then the remembrance of what we haue been, King *Henry* bare this change of condition ſo impatiently, as not apprehending the danger neither of his life nor of his firſt captiuitie, and not conſidering that fortune had neuer done him ſo much good but might doe him more harme [e], he returned into England in a diſguiſed habite, where hee was diſcouered, taken, and preſented to *Edward*, who lodged him in the Tower of London. If he had thought that he had gone forth as hee did to get the crowne, hee would haue giuen him one of copper made faſt to his head with foure nayles [f].

Hen. the ſixt put into the Tower of London.

Queene *Margaret*, to effect her deſigne, had drawne ſome ſuccours from *Rene* King of Cicile her Father. The King lent her ſonne two thouſand pound ſterling at Chinon, vpon condition that as ſoone as King *Henry* ſhould recouer Callice, hee ſhould deliuer the gouernment thereof to *Iaſper* Earle of Pembroke, or to *Iohn* of Foys Earle of Candalles, paying him moreouer fortie thouſand crownes. But all this preuailed nothing, the King remained a priſoner, and the Queene had much adoe to ſaue her ſelfe with the Prince of Wales her Sonne [g]. The Princes of the houſe of Lancaſter retired themſelues whether their feete and diſpaire carried them. Some were ſeene in the Duke of Burgundies Court in miſerie, begging their bread. Fortune how cruell ſoeuer can doe no worſe vnto a Prince, then to reduce him to the apprehenſions of hunger, [h] The beaſts are freed from it, The fiſhes pay no tribute to paſſe from Riuers into the ſea. Swallowes flying through ſo many regions dyed not of Hunger. It is a pittifull thing that men, and the chiefe among men, haue difficultie to liue, and to finde what to eate and drinke, and wherewith to cloth themſelues [i].

Miſery of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Edward in this great proſperitie of affayres troubles not his iudgement, but conſiders that the houſe of Lancaſter was ruined without hope of recouerie, and the Red Roſe withered: That it was impoſſible euer to riſe againe, if it were not aſſiſted with the forces of France. Wherefore he deſired to make his alliance with the king, and ſent the Earle of Warwicke to demand *Bonna* of Sauoye the Queenes ſiſter in marriage. But during this negotiation, Loue, which may be held a kinde of furie, [k] for that it troubles the iudgement, carried the affections of this Prince to the ſeruice of a Ladie who would haue held her ſelfe much honoured to haue ſerued the Queene of England, and yet ſhe had the ambition to be ſo. Fortune agreed with her beauty. Being widdow to Sir *Iohn Grey*, her age bound her to follow rather the life of the Doue then of the Turtle, [l] for her firſt marriage had ſcarce touched the flowers of her beauty, nor of her youth. *Edward* did not liue but for her, his

Edward falls in loue with a Widdow.

heart

* *Miſeries doe but begin when as they ſeeme to end. There is not any man but may haue more harme then hee hath had good.* Neminem eo Fortuna protexit vt non tantum illi minaretur quantum permiſerat. *Sen. Epi.* 4.

[e] *The Emperor* Henry *the ſixt beeing in Sicile diſcouered ſome conſpiracie againſt him and his eſtate. He cauſed the chief of them to bee apprehended & to puniſh his ambition, he ſet a crowne of copper vpon his head, & cauſed it to be faſtened with foure nayles.* Nic. li. 2.

[f] Monſtrellet *ſaith, that Queene* Margaret, *her Son, & La Varenne were met by theeues, that ſhe ſaid vnto a theefe that met her, hold my friend ſaue the ſon of thy King, that ſhee went to Sciuce and from thence to Bourges, and that the Duke of Bourgundy cauſed her to be cõducted to her Father.*

[g] Ph. de Commines *ſaith, hee had ſeene a Prince of this houſe of Lancaſter follow the D. of Bourgundyes traine and without hoſe, begging his bread from houſe to houſe, and that being knowne they gaue him a ſmall pention to liue on.*

[i] *Nature comprehends all the neceſsities of the world in theſe three words:* Non eſurire, Non ſitire, Non algere, *not to be hungry, thirſtie, and cold, all the reſt is ſuperfluous.*

[k] *Loue is put in the ranke of Melancholly diſeaſes and kindes of fury, it peruerts the iudgement, and confounds the good with the euill.*

[l] *The Empreſſe* Barba, *wife to*

heart receiued no law but from her eyes, to whom he did submit the full disposition of his fortunes. She being powerfull in the charmes of loue let him presently vnderstand that she did not accept of the sacrifice of the hearts of Kings, but of the Altar of honour, that he might not hope to haue her for a Mistris, if he would not assure her to make her his Queene.

They that loue ardently are easie and tractable, [m] they spare neither wordes nor oathes. *Edward* transported with this fury, forgets the sute which he made in France, and changeth all his wills into the obedience of this Lady, who seeing her selfe to command ouer the Kinges heart, assures her selfe to raigne soone in his Realme. He is not capable to refuse her any thing. The wind of her disdaines, and the couldnes of so faire a mistris may well quence the fire in the beginning, but being once kindled it giues it nourishment and increase. In the end *Edward* promised to make her Queene, and his promise was presently followed with the consumation of the marriage, to the great amazement of the Nobility of England, who thought the King was bewitcht, [n] and wisht him a more honorable alliance. *Lewis* tooke it ill, and the Earle of Warwick was so greeued, as from that time he was wholly the French Kings, who by his counsell plotted a reuenge which shall shew it selfe in the yeare one thousand foure hundred seauenty one.

Marriages and alliances, vnworthy of the greatnes of Princes, cause murmurings and discontentments in the people. [o] Rome did mourne generally when as *Iulia*, daughter to *Drusus* the sonne of Tiberius, and widdow to *Nero* son of *Germanicus*, married with *Rubellius Blandus* whose Grandfather had carried no other title then of a Knight.

King Lewis goes into Guienne.

The great Calme which was in France, did notwithstanding presage a great storme, and gaue the King meanes to visit some of the prouinces of his realme; he went to Burdeaux, whereas he treated of a marriage betweene the Lady *Margret* his sister and *Gaston* of Foix, who was sonne to *Elenor* of Aragon, daughter to *Iohn* King of Aragon and *Blanch* Queene of Nauarre. He accepted this Alliance for that this yong Prince was valiant and coragious, and that the successions of the Crowne of Nauarre, Foyx, Berne, Bygorre, and other Lands lying in France did belong vnto him. The Earle of Foyx sent his Ambassadors and Deputies to the King being at Bordeaux to conclude the treaty. [p]

1462. He past to Bayonne to end a controuersie betweene the 2. Kinges of Nauarre and Aragon, and *Henry* King of Castile his Nephew. A controuersie begun with great spleene, and was continued with the like, and had not ended without excesse if he had not dealt in it, for the parties flattered themselues in their pretentions,

Sigismond *the Emperor being told after the death of her husband, that she should imitate the Turtle* If I must said shee imitate beasts why rather the Turtle then the Doue or the sparrow. *AEneas Sil. de dict. Sigismondi et Frederici Imper.*

[m] *Hee that loues refuseth not any thing. In loue there is force and pleasure, force constraines the will, and pleasure deceiues the iudgement.*

[n] *Beauty and grace are the mighty charmes of loue said Olimpias the mother of Alexander. Loue which growes from amorous drinckes continues not.* Plutarch *giueth these Epithites* ἐφήμερος, ἀλιτοεργος, ἀβέβαιος. *short, troublesome, & changeable. And he saith it doth easily change into hatred and disdaine.*

[o] *The people which loue their Princes reioyce at their victories and prosperities, They are afflicted at their losses especially if they do any thing which may impaire their honor, as when they treat of alliances vnworthy the greatnes of their houses.* Tot luctibus funesta ciuitate pars mœroris fuit: quod Iulia Drusi filia quondam Neronis vxor, dempsit in domum Rubellii Blandi, cuius auum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique meminerant.

[p] *The cheife condition of the Marriage was that the*

were blind in their intereſts, and found that the obſcurenes proceeded rather from the thing then their owne blindnes. But behold the cauſes and the effects. After the death of *Charles* the third [q] King of Nauarre, the Crowne paſt from the houſe of France and Eureaux into that of Caſtile and Aragon, not without trouble and diſcord. *Iohn*, ſecond ſonne to *Ferdinand* of Aragon, married *Blanch*, Infanta of Nauarre, preſumptiue heire of the Realme of Nauarre, and widdow to *Martin* King of Sicilie, and it was agreed by a treaty of marriage, that in caſe ſhe ſhould die before her huſband, hee ſhould raigne the reſt of his life in Nauarre after king *Charles* the third his father in law.

Of this marriage was borne at Pegna, *Charles* Prince of Vianna, a title belonging to the eldeſt Sonne of the King of Nauarre [r], as Dauphin to that of France, The Aſturiez in Caſtille, and Wales in England. *Charles* the third, his grandfather, made him to bee ſworne heyre of the Realme by the Eſtates after the death of *Iohn* his Father. *Charles* being dead, *Iohn* was declared King of Nauarre by ſome, and *Blanch* his wife was acknowledged Queene by others, yet both were crowned at Pampeluna.

Charles Prince of Viana born.

Iohn had great warres with his brother the King of Caſtille, who did confiſcate the lands which he held in Caſtille, *Iohn* Earle of Foyx reconciled them, by a marriage betwixt *Henry* Prince of the Aſturies, ſonne to *Iohn* King of Caſtille, and *Blanch* Daughter to *Iohn* king of Nauarre [s]: The marriage was celebrated with great pompe and ſolemnitie, but the Prince was vnable to conſummate it; The which the Princeſſe did long diſſemble. Shee had great cauſe to complaine of this want, and to wiſh her ſelfe to be a widdow or her husband vnmarried [t], but like an other *Euſebia* ſhee did long ſuffer for the diſabilitie of *Conſtans*, deſiring rather to wrong her youth and beautie, then her modeſtie.

Marriage betwixt the Prince of the Aſturies and *Blanch* of Nauarre.

A while after *Blanch* Queene of Nauarre died, and king *Iohn* married againe with *Ione Henriques*. *Charles* Prince of Viana, fearing that his alliance would keep him back from the hope of raigning, and from the inheritance of the Queene his Mother, did not diſſemble his diſcontent [u], pretending that by the lawes of the Realme his Father by marrying againe had loſt the fruit of the Crowne. Behold all naturall affection is altered betwixt the Father and the Sonne. The deſire of rule makes them enemies, the Father growes iealous, and would not ſuffer his Sonne to come neere him armed. On the other ſide, this ſecond wife, ſeeing her ſelfe mother to *Ferdinand*, did what ſhe could to ſhow that ſhe was mother in law to *Charles* [x], and neuer ceaſt vntill this young plant were q[illegible]ht by the nipping cold of her bad intentions, ſeeking to haue a ſhare in the regencie of the Realme in the abſence of the

king

children which ſhould be borne without diſtinction of male or female ſhould ſucceed in the counties of Foix and Bygorre.

[q] Charles *the third King of Nauarre taking delight to build at Olita died ſuddenly in September* 1425. *the threeſcore and foure yeare of his age, and the thirty nine of his raigne, he was buryed at Pampeluna.*

[r] Charles *the the third King of Nauarre erected Viana into a principalitie, and did affect it to the eldeſt ſon of Nauarre in the yeere* 1421.

[s] *By the conſtitution of the marriage of this Princeſſe which was of* 42112. *Florens of gold, wee may iudge in what eſtate* K. Charles *the third had left the Realme of Nauarre.*

[t] *The diſſembling of conuugall imperfections is very ſeemly & eſpecially in a woman.* Tullia *a great Romane Lady is blamed for her ordinarie complaints & murmuring at her husbands diſabilitie* De viro ad fratrem de ſorore ad virũ, ſe rectius viduam & illũ cælibem futurum. *Tit. Liu.*

[u] *A deſire to raigne makes the father iealous of the ſonne,* Plutarc *ſaith in the life of* Demetrius, *that the greateſt and moſt ancient of all* Alexanders *ſucceſſors did glorie that he feared not his ſonne, but ſuffered him to approch neere his perſon holding a Iauelin in his hand.*

[x] *What will not an ambitious mother doe and vndoe for her children.* D. Ioane *lying in the bed of death by reaſon of a Cankar which did conſume her, remembring what ſh. had done to aſſure the Realme vnto her Sonne, ſpake often theſe words with ſighes, which are reported*

king who had reuiued the warre in Caſtille. Hence ſprung thoſe two great factions, that of *Beaumont* which followed the intent of of the Prince againſt the King, and that of *Grandmont* which was for the father againſt the ſonne, ſo as preſently the Realme was diuided into two kings, & two conſtables, *Lewis* of Beaumont Earle of Lerin was Conſtable to the Prince, and *Peter* of Perault was Conſtable to the king.

Factions of *Beaumont* and *Grandmont.*

The kings cauſe, as the better and more iuſt, remained victorious, the Prince beeing twice ouerthrowne is forced to flye to *Alfonſo* king of Arragon, Valencia, Sardinia, Maiorca, Minorca, and Sicile, hee had recourſe vnto his clemencie, and beſought him to pardon him. The king, who could not forget the loue of a Father vnto him who ſhewed the dutie of a Sonne, receiues him, but hee had new aduertiſments that hee made ſecret practiſes to trouble him, wherefore he ſent him priſoner vnto the Alferie of Saragoſſa, from whence hee was drawne by the Cattallans who tooke armes for his libertie, but he went out of the priſon to enter into a graue. [y] For the very day of his deliuerie he was poiſoned and dyed with much repentance for that hee had rebelled againſt the king his father.

Charles of Nuarre poiſoned by his mother in law.

The Infant *Don Ferdinand* was acknowledged heyre of the crowne of Arragon. They of Cattellonia tooke armes to reuenge the death of Prince *Charles.* The ſeditious, who blow the cole of this defection, ſaid that his ſoule walked in the night through the ſtreetes of Barcellona complaining that the Queene his mother in law had ſeparated it from his bodie, by the violence of poiſon. The Queene who was come to *Girona* ſaw her ſelfe beſieged with Prince *Ferdinand* her Sonne, and the Tower wherein ſhe was retyred furiouſly battered. The king ſeeing this great reuolt of his ſubiects, entreates *Lewis* the eleuenth to ſuccour him with men and money, hee ingageth the Counties of Rouſſillion and Sardaigne vnto him for three hundred thouſand crownes. The king ſent vnto him *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, Prince of Berne [z], and ſonne in law to the king of Nauarre, who freed the Queene and raiſed the ſiege of Gironna.

King of Nauarre demaunds ſuccors frō the French King.

The Cattellanes, nothing tractable to endure the humors of their Prince, made a proclamation againſt the king, declaring him falne from all the authoritie which he might haue ouer them, and a murtherer of his owne ſonne, and violating the lawes of the country, [a] They ſent to *Henry* King of Caſtile to embrace their defence and protection, ſubmitting themſelues vnder his obedience, and offering him the crowne of Arragon, beſeeching him to adde vnto the iuſt title, which their election gaue him vnto the Realme, the right of Armes, they alone doe purchaſe Empires, [b] and being gotten defend and preſerue them.

The K. of Caſtill aides the Cattellans.

He gaue them for ſuccors two thouſand and fiue hundred horſe vnder the command of *Iohn* of Beaumont Prior of S[t]. *Iohn* of Nauarre, when the French and the Caſtillians met neere vnto Ixar, they

in the 21. booke of the hiſtory of Spaine. O my Son thou haſt coſt me deare. For him ſhe had cauſed Don Charles *to bee poyſoned.*

[y] Charles *Prince of Viana died being forty yeares old, a valiant Prince, a great Hiſtorian, a ſubtill Philoſopher, and a good Poet, hee tranſlated* Ariſtotles *Ethicks into the Caſtilain tongue, and hee wrote the Hiſtory of Nauarre vnto the time of King* Charles *his Grandfather.*

[z] Gaſton *Earl of Foix married the ſecond Daughter of* Iohn *King of Nauarre and of Queen* Blanch *his firſt wife.*

[a] *They of Cattellonia declared the K. an enemy vnto the countrey by diuers informations & proceedings againſt his actions, and the murther of his ſon, the which they ſent to Pope* Pius *the ſecond.*

[b] *There are fiue kindes of Titles to Realmes: the firſt by Armes ſo* Cyrus, Alexander *and* Cæſar, *made themſelues Monarches: ſecondly, by the grace of God, and in this manner raigned* Moſes & Dauid: *thirdly, by ſucceſſion: fourthly, by election: and the*

they would not fight [c], and the French intreated the king of Nauarre to take it in good part if they ſought rather to end then entertaine their quarrels.

The Earle of Foix, who was brother in law to the king of Caſtill, and ſonne in law to the king of Nauarre, diſpoſed the two Princes to referre themſelues to the iudgement of the French king. They yeelded, ſending their embaſſadors to Baiona, where the French king was, an honor pleaſing to the humor of *Lewis* who would be intereſſed in all things and very deere to the reputation of France, which was in poſſeſſion, not onely to iudge of the controuerſies of forraine crownes, but alſo to giue kings vnto thoſe which had not any [d].

Lewis the French K. made arbitrator betwixt the Kings of Caſtill and Arragon.

The king of Nauarre went not from Saragoſſa, nor king *Henry* from S[t]. Sebaſtians in the prouince of Guipuſcoa; relying vppon that which their Embaſſadors treated. The king hauing conferred of the controuerſie betwixt them, and of the cauſes which had moued the Cattellans to reuolt, did iudge in ſuch ſort as to reconcile the parties, it was neceſſarie they ſhould meete and ſpeake together vpon the frontier. The enterview was at Endaia, whereas the ſentence giuen at Bayona was read by *Aluaro Gomes*. The Cattellans were not content with this Iudgement, ſaying, that as the king of Caſtille had abandoned them, ſo his Embaſſadors had betrayed them. The king of Nauarre being offended for that hee was condemned to yeeld the towne of Eſtella to the king of Caſtille, to the preiudice of the reuenues of the crowne of Nauarre, made the eſtates of Nauarre proteſt of nullity.

Enterview of the Kings of France and Caſtill.

King *Lewis* reaped the greateſt profit of this action: for he practiſed and drew vnto his ſeruice ſome Miniſters of theſe two kings, and made them his penſioners [e]. This aſſembly did not confirme the affections which the crownes of France & Caſtill had had together. [f] The Caſtillians, who could not lodge at Bayona with the French without quarrelling, did not forbeare to ſcoffe at them at this enteruiew vpon the Riuer of Vidaſa. [g] The King of Caſtill paſt the Riuer and came vnto the king. The Caſtillians ſeeing him attired in cloth, and very ſhort, with a hat differing from the reſt and for a Iewell an image of lead, imputed it to miſerablenes. [h] There are Nations whereas they contemne the Prince, if hee bee not ſo gorgeouſly attired as if he ſhould ſhow himſelfe vpon a theater. It is impoſſible to abſtaine from laughter looking vpon the portraites of the Emperors of Greece, which are ſo couered with Pearle and precious ſtones, as they can not bee knowne but by their beards. The French finding alſo the habites of the Caſtillians vnpleaſing,

fiſt by the nomination of the Prince. Marc. Anthony *named* Lucius Verus *for his ſucceſſor:* Diocleſian Maximinian: *and* Gratian Theodoſius.

[c] *No man can diſpoſe as hee pleaſeth of Auxiliary troupes, they haue reſpects cõtrary to the deſigne of ſuch as imploy them.*

[d] *The realmes of Chriſtendome haue taken Princes out of the houſe of France to raign ouer them.* Alphonſo *ſon to the Earle of Tolouſa raigned in Spaine, the houſe of Eureux in Nauarre, the Dukes of Normandy in England, they of Aniou at Naples and Sicile. The Empire of Conſtantinople was held three yeres by the French. They haue raigned a hundred yeares in Soria Cipres & Paleſtina.* Charlemain & Lewis *the gentle haue added vnto the Empire of the Gaules all Italy, Bohemia, Hungarie and Germany. In a word the ſeat of Popes haue beene in France.*

[e] *The King of Caſtille ſuffered himſelfe to be gouerned by the great maſter of Caſtille and the Archbiſhop of Tolledo. King* Lewis *made much of them to be informed of the ſtate of Caſtille, or at the leaſt to draw them to his deuotion: It is the leaſt a Prince can attend of one that comes to ſee him.* [f] *The friendſhip and alliance betwixt the French and the Caſtillans haue continued long. Vpon which aſſurance K.* Charles *the ſixt ſent his Embaſſadors to* Iohn *King of Caſtill, in the yeare* 1418. *to haue ſuccors againſt the Engliſh.* [g] *The riuer of Vidaſo diuides the two realmes, the Spaniards hold it is all theirs.* [h] *Apparell doth often miniſter cauſe of laughter. The Sicilians did not eſteeme of* Gilippus *their generall ſeeing him ſimply apparelled in a poore cloake, wearing long hayre, yet* Synefius *ſaith, that the ancient Kings were knowne and diſtinguiſhed rather by the minde then the pompe and outward ſhow in* [illegible]

their

their king very hard fauoured, and their manners insolent and full of African pride. Of all this there could grow no great Alliance, for such enteruiewes are alwaies noted more by the alienation of mindes, then by alliances of estates. The two Princes are obserued by two Nations, that which pleaseth the one disliketh the other. [i] They are contemned sometimes euen by them that follow them, when as they obserue in the other something that is more gallant.

Thus France fortified and inlarged her frontier with the County of Rousillion, notwithstanding that it was sufficiently assured on that side both by the great rampiors which serue for bounds, and by the weakenesse and barrennesse of those prouinces, [k] But she lay open towards the Low-countries, The duke of Burgundy holding in Picardy, by ingagement, fiue important townes, Amiens, Abbeuille, S[t]. Quentin, Corbie, and Pontheau, for the summe of 400000. ovld crownes of gold and of 64. to the marke.

Redemption of the Townes vpon the Riuer of Some.

Although the King found not that in his coffers which prouident and wise Princes should leaue vnto there successors to maintaine and assure their estate, [l] yet hee disposeth himselfe to redeeme them. There was some difficulty on either side. For the king had no mony, and the Duke had no will to leaue these goodly places. The Earle of Charolois thinking that his father had beene perswaded therevnto by them of the house of *Croii*, held them for his enemies, and made an assembly against them at Cambrey. The father supports and countenanceth them, he murmures, and stormes, and quits them both court and credit, and so retires to Gaunt. The estates of the countrey depute men capable to restore him to his fathers fauour, for that this diuision could bring nothing but ruine to the state, and content to the enemie. [m]

Redeeming of the townes engaged.

The Earle of Charolois being accompanied by many Noblemen of the countrey came vnto the Duke being at Bruges & craued pardon. His repentance and humilitie would not suffer him to be refused. They of Croii felt the smart, which fals vppon those that sow diuision betwixt persons so neere allied. When the king had drawne out of many purses the money necessarie for this redemption, he sent it to Hedin, whereas the Duke was, and came thither presently after himselfe. The Duke intreated him to continue and confirme the officers which had beene preferred during the ingagement. The King promised it, but his intention was not to keepe promise, but so farre forth as the good of his affayres did permit, nor to assure himselfe in the affection of those which depended of him of whom he could not assure himselfe [o].

[i] *And we [illegible] Syn. Orat. de regno*
Frederick the first, and Valdemare King of Denmarke met neere vnto Lubec. The Noblemen of Germanie who followed the Emperor admiring the stature and behauiour of this King, said that hee deserued to be Emperor, and called the Emperor a little man & a little Prince. Sac. lib. 15.

[k] *An army cannot come out of Spain on this side the Pyrene mountaines but it will be hastie defaced, the Prouinces where it shall be lodged and by which it shall passe are so barren as they can hardly feed the inhabitants.*

[l] *As a body cannot move without sinewes, so a Realme cannot maintaine it self without treasure. Wise Princes haue alwaies had care to leaue vnto their successor. Cyrus left fifty millions of gold.* Tyberius 67. Occhus *King of Persia* 80. *millions, and* Dauid 120.

[m] *A diuision which grows among persons whom Nature hath vnited, giues subiect to their enemies to make their profit. Pisistratus being in bad termes with his children, knew that his enemies reioyced thereat, he assembled his Councell and spake after this manner.* I haue desired to reduce my children to reason and to their duties, but now seeing that they are wilfull and obstinate. I pardon & will doe what they will haue me. *Plut.* [n] Monstrelet *saith that the King gathered together a great masse of treasure comming from diuers places, for there was not any Abbey nor Chancerie, nor famous Marchant in France but he did either giue or lend.* [o] *They that commanded for the D. in the townes redeemed, were put from their places, the Captainesship of Amiens and Dourlans which* Saueuse *held, and that of Mortague which* Hault Bourdin *was giuen to* Lanoy *nephew to Croy.*

Many

Many things paſt which the Duke of Bourgundy, beeing impatient, could not diſſemble. He ſent *Chimay* to complaine and to let the King vnderſtand that hee was neither of age nor humor to be exerciſed by the continuance of iniuries in the ſchoole of Patience. *Chimay* let the King know that the Duke his maſter was not inſencible of his actions, and ſpake of his vertues and courage, as of a Prince that was inuincible and incomparable, borne of another faſhion then other men, like vnto the Lunarie women of *Herodotus*. [p] The which made the King to aske him if hee were of harder ſteele then other men? *Yea Sir, anſwered* Chimay, *for if he were not harder, hee neuer durſt haue attempted to haue nouriſhed you fiue whole yeares againſt the threates of a great King ſuch as your father was.*

The Earle of Charolois did not beare this reſtitution ſo patiently as his Father, hee cannot diuert his thoughts. *Amiens* is the obiect of his eyes; in his Feaſts and Bankets his heart is ſtill vppon Peleponeſus. [q] After the King had redeemed the Townes ingaged, and changed the officers and Gouernours, which the Duke had placed there, not being able to truſt them, who had bene made by one, who had giuen ſo many croſſes to France, [r] he would ſee Arras, and lighted at the towne gate, going on foot to our Ladies Church: He remained eight dayes in the Citty, and had ſome cauſe of diſcontentment, for that they had refuſed lodging to his Harbingers, ſaying that they were not bound by their priuiledges before that all the Innes were full. Entering, there were many baniſhed men preſented themſelues to haue Pardon, but he told them, that it depended vpon the will of the Duke his Vncle, wherein hee would not attempt any thing.

He viſited the Church and Abbey of St. Vaſte: in thoſe times Kings went to ſee religious men, for religious men went not out of their Cloiſters to ſee Kings, without the Towne hee alſo ſaw the place whereas king *Charles* the ſixth his Grandfather had incamped and lodged when as he beſieged Arras in the yeare 1414. They obſerue that hee would not lodge in the Biſhops Pallace, but in the Officialls houſe, taking more delight in ſmall lodgings then in great. The King goes to Arras. 1463.

From Arras he went to Tournay where he was met by 3000. men euery one carrying a Flowerdeluce embroydered, as a ſigne that their heartes were all French: This Towne bragging that they had neuer knowne any other command then French. There the Lord of Crouy came vnto the King, who made him Lord Steward of his howſe and gaue him the County of Guiſnes. In the beginning of Lent, and at the end of the yeare, whoſe beginning was then accompted from the reſurrection, the King went to Liſle, whether the Duke of Bourgondy came to conferre with him of his voyage to the holy land. Pope *Pius* the ſecond, continuing the deſignes of *Calixtus* the third, had publiſhed a Croyſado to releiue the Chriſtians of the Eaſt. [t] Hee inuited all the Princes who imbraced his deſigne He is receiued with great pomp into Tournay. Croyſado publiſhed againſt the Turke.

[p] Herodotus *ſpeakes of certaine Lunaria and extraordinary women who layd egges which brought forth men fifteen times bigger then thoſe of the ordinary ſtature.*

[q] Cleomenes *King of Lacedemonia being at a feaſt where there were two Orators, one demanded of him which of the two had diſcourſed beſt: for my part ſaid hee my mind was vpon Peloponeſus.*

[r] *There is no treaty of accord or alliance that can free the hearts of Princes frō the diſtruſt they haue one of onother.*

[s] Charles *the 6. beſieged Arras in July 1414. Lewis Dauphin of Vienne his firſt ſon was there with the Earles of Orleance, Bourbon, Barre, Bauaria and* Charles *of Albret Conſtable of France. The Towne was yeelded by a treaty of peace publiſhed on tweſday the fourth of Sept. following.*

[t] Calixtus *the 3. perſwaded all Chriſtian Princes to make warre againſt the Turke, he ſent Lewis of Bulleine a Frier to* Vſum Caſſan

Croysado published against the Turke.

designe with such resolution as *Mahomet* was terrified with the great preparation. [u] The Pope declared that he would go thither in person. But great *Cosmo de Medicis* said that it was the designe of a yong man in a great age. The Kinges of Naples and Hungary were resolued to accompany him. The Duke of Bourgondy promised also to be of that party, and demanded aduise and leaue of the King, who represented vnto him the discommodities both of his age and voyage, finding him much broken to beginne such a building. [x] But the Duke carried his courage beyond all these difficulties. The king propounded so many vnto him as hee diswaded him for a yeare, assuring him that after that yeare hee would giue him 10000. men entertained for foure monthes, to accompany him. The Duke of Bourgondy, for that hee would not giue the Pope any subiect of discontent, sent *Anthony* his Bastard thither with 2000. men.

Duke of Sauoy comes into France.

The king left the Duke of Bourgondy at Lisle and returned to Paris. He found *Lewis* Duke of Sauoy the Queenes father at S[t]. Clou, who was come to see him, and to complaine of *Phillip* his yonger sonne, who for that he had a more generous and actiue spirit then the elder had wonne the heartes of the chiefe of the Noblemen of Sauoy and of his Subiects: [y] vppon this complaint the king commands Prince *Phillip* to repaire vnto him, and he comes with speed, beeing arriued hee was sent prisoner to Loches. The Duke being well satisfied to see his sonne lodged (whereas hee repented him of his ambitious and extrauagant humors) returned into Sauoy and two yeares after dyed at Lion, whereas hee attended the king who was at Molyns. *Amy* his sonne succeeded him.

The king being at Paris made it presently knowne that he was not to indure that which the necessity of time had caused his forefathers to suffer to the preiudice of the rights of the Crowne, and hauing prepared his designes, he made choyce of the occasion to execute them: he sent *Morvillierre*, his Chancellor, to the Duke of Brittaine, to let him vnderstand that if he called himselfe any more Duke of Brittaine, by the grace of God, if hee continued to coine any gold, [b] or if he hindred him from leuying of taxes and from the collation of Benefices in his country, he proclaimed warre against him. The Duke being amazed at this demaund, answered that it was so great and of such importance, as hee could make no answer without the aduise of his estates, intreating the King to giue him three monthes respite to assemble them.

King of Persia and Armenia, and to the great Tartar. hee exhorteth them with such vehemency as they were resolued Platin.

[u] *The deuise of this Croysado carried these words* Dieu la veut, *God will haue it*, Mahomet *was so amased as writing to* Pius the second *he said.* I am not guilty of the death of Iesus Christ, & do abhorre the Iewes who crucified him.

[x] *The age must be considered in great and long enterprises.* Marcus Crassus *found King* Deiotarus *in the Realme of Galacia, who being very old built a new City, who said vnto him in mockage*, O King mee thinkes you build very late, beginning at the last hower of the day. *To whom the K. answered sodainely.* And you O Captaine came not forth very early to make warre against the Parthians. *For* Crassus *was aboue 60. yeares old.*

[y] *The Duke of Sauoy was a simple and a mild Prince.* Amy *Prince of Piemont his eldest sonne, was of the same humor and had great inclinations to solitarines.* Phillip *his yonger Brother giuing greater impressions of his generosity, and courage was followed, by all the great men of the Country.*

[z] Lewis *Duke of Sauoy dyed at Lyon the 24. of January 1466. his heart and bowels were interred in the Celestins Church which he had caused to be built. His body was carried to Geneua and laid by* Ame *of Lusignan his wife.*

[a] *To haue a will to doe, and disposition to know how to doe, and yet to attend the occasion of well doing is the act of a Prince of great patience and wisdome.*

[b] *The Duke of Brittaine as a soueraigne Prince had right to coyne siluer, but that of gold was reserued by treaty to the Crowne of France, the grant whereof should bee expresse.* Charles *the fift gaue it to the Duke of Berry who did coyne peeces of gold stampt with a sheepe, which* Bodin *affirmes to be the finest gold that euer was since within this Realme.*

But this was to plead law to men that were armed. [c] The King had an Army vppon the frontier, The Duke was preſt and ſurpriſed, yet reſolute rather to looſe himſelfe then to quit that which his fathers had purchaſed for him: wherefore he thought to make anſwer vnto the Kings intentions by armes rather then by wordes. He aduertiſed the Duke of Bourgondy of the eſtate of his affaires, and coniurd him to thinke of their common ſafety, ſeeing that the Kinges deſigne was to entreat them alike and to ruine them.

Romille Vice Chancellor of Brittanny made many voiages into Flanders vppon that ſubiect. The King, who had eyes and eares in euery place, being aduertiſed thereof, commanded the Baſtard of *Rubenpre* [d] to paſſe with a ſhip along the Coaſt of Holland to ſurpriſe *Rommille*, and to bring him vnto him or to kill him.

The Earle of Charolois being at the Hage in Holland, *Rubenpre* lands with three other diſguiſed like a Marchant. The Earle cauſed him to be ſtayed, and gaue it out that he had attempted by the Kinges commandement to take him or to kill him. At ſuch time as the Duke was at Hedin with the King, it was generally bruted, and the king was blamed for this deſigne in open pulpit by the Preachers of the multitude, who intermixt their diſcourſes with matters wherewith they ſhould not meddle. [e] *Oliuer de la March* the Dukes cheife ſteward, hauing made many voiages vpon this occaſion, could not hold his peace, but ſpake what he thought to the preiudice of the Kings honor. The Duke vppon this aduertiſement, fearing to be ſtaid, parted ſecretly from Hedin without the kings leaue or priuity.

Rubempre ſtaid at the Hage.

The King was offended at this iniury done vnto *Rubenpre*, and at the repors which were diuulged vpon his voyage into Holland. It had been a timiditie both diſhonorable & dangerous to diſſemble. [f] He ſent *Moruillier* his Chanceller, the Archbiſhop of Narbonne and the Earle of Eu to the Duke of Bourgundy, to complaine of the detention of the Baſtard of *Rubenpre*, and for that he had ſuffered his Maieſties name and reſpect to bee wronged publikely and taxt: That *Oliuer de la March* and a religious man had ſpoken il of him, and that the Earle of Charolois had allied himſelfe vnto the Duke of Brittany. Theſe were the complaints whereon their embaſſy was grounded.

Complaints and diſcontents of the King.

Moruillier repreſented the Kings intentions with much bitternes and paſſion, quallifying this intelligence of the Duke of Brittanie and the Earle of Charrolois with no milder name then crime and conſpiracy, adding that he could not conceiue why it had been made, but for that the Earle of Charolois was diſcontented for that his penſion was not paid him [g].

[c] Pōpey *being in Sicile preſſing the Mammartines to acknowledge his authoritie they ſought to auoid it, pretending that they had priuiledges and ancient Decrees from the people of Rome, to whom* Pompey *anſwered in Choller,* will you plead law vnto vs who haue our ſwords by our ſides. *Plut.*

[d] *The King ſent a ſea Captaine and the baſtard* Rubēpre *with him into Holland, he landed at the Hage with three others in his cōpany. Hee was examined what hee was and whēce he came, but hee made ſome difficultie to diſcouer his name and the cauſe of his cōming. The Earl of Charolois being their cauſed him to be apprehended as a Pirate.*

[e] *It is an inſupportable abuſe to make the word of God an inſtrument of ſeditiō, to moue mens mindes to follow the paſſions and intereſts of the world, being onely ordained to guide them in the waies of ſaluation: Of ſuch Doctors or rather buſie bodies, we may ſay with* Lactantius. lib. 3. cap. 30. Faceſſant omnes iſti qui vitam humanam non inſtruunt ſed turbant. *Let all theſe be ſilent which rather trouble then inſtruct mans life.* [f] *In. fearefull and induring humors contempt is infallible. They feare not to wrong him who hath no care to reuenge it.* [g] *The Earle of Charolois was much moued at that word which imputed his diſcontent to a matter due, which the greatnes of his courage made him to contemne, thinking that* Moruillier *would inferre thereby that hee could not liue without his penſion.*

The

Impatience of the Earle of Charolois.

The Earle of Charrolois thinking that his ſilence would preiudice himſelfe and wrong his friends defence, did ſtill interrupt *Moruilliers* diſcourſe. The father, who had bred him vp more to heare then to ſpeake[h], ſtaid his impatiencie to giue *Moruillier* leaſure to diſcourſe of the Kings complaints with the like heate as he had begunne them. The Duke hauing heard him with patience, anſwered, coldly and wiſely, that the baſtard of *Rubempre* being charged with crimes, had giuen his ſonne cauſe to doubt of his ſtay in Holland where hee had been taken, a countrey which did not acknowledge any other Soueraigne then himſelfe[i]: That *Oliuer de la March* was borne in the Franche County [k] and was not anſwerable before any Iudges of France: That if he had erred againſt the Kings reſpect hee would cauſe him to bee puniſhed. And as for the preacher of Bruges he knew not what was become of him, and that he was a man of that condition as his conſcience would not ſuffer him to lay hold of him.

The Earle of Charolois did ſtill interrupt *Moruillier* in his diſcourſe, who told him that hee was come to ſpeake to the Duke his Father and not to him. Whereupon the Earle entreated his father to ſuffer him to ſpeake, *I haue anſwered ſaid the Duke for thee, as in mine opinon a father ſhould anſwere for his ſonne, yet if thou haſt ſo great a deſire, thinke of it to day, and to morrow ſpeake what thou wilt.* He would not haue his ſonne carried away with thoſe blind guides Choller and [l] Precipation.

Moruillier perſiſted in the bitternes of his diſcourſe, forgetting nothing that might be ſaid to blemiſh and diſgrace a Prince. Hee ſhewed that the Baſtard of *Rubempre* had been ſent by the King to ſtay the Vice-chancellor of Brittanie returning out of England: That hauing landed at the Hage in Holland, the Earle of Charralois had been too ſuſpitious. The Duke anſwered that the Baſtard of *Rubempree* had been found faulty. As for his Sonne, the Earle of Charolois, if he were ſuſpicious, hee had it not from him but from his mother, who was a very ſuſpicious and diſtruſtfull woman, and yet notwithſtanding if hee had been at the Hage at the paſſage of *Rubempre*, he had done no leſſe then his ſonne [m].

Moruillier cõplained alſo, that the D. went from Hedin without taking leaue of the King, and againſt that which he had promiſed. Ha, ſaid the Duke, with ſome little perturbation and heate, finding himſelfe toucht with the breath of his word. [n] *I neuer promiſed any thing but what I haue kept.* And fearing that in ſpeaking this they ſhould finde that he was moued, he added ſmiling, *that hee had neuer failed of his word but to Ladies*, that hauing promiſed the King not to goe from Hedin, he had added this condition *if there came no other newes.* That the diſcouerie of the Baſtard of *Rubempre* and other important matters had cauſed him to goe to horſe.

[i] Iaqueline *Counteſſe of Henalt & Holland was wife to two husbãds the Duke of Gloceſter brother to the D. of Bedford, and the D. of Brabant. Being defamed for her adulteries ſhee declared* Philip *Duke of Burgundy heyre to her countries, Henalt, Holland, and Zeland in the yeere 1426. The firſt cauſe of the bad intelligence which was betwixt the Burgũdians and Engliſh and reconciled* Philip *and* Charles *the ſeuenth.*

[k] Oliuer de la March *was ſon to* Philip de la March, *who ſerued the houſe of Bourgundy fifty yeares, and is author of the obſeruations which are publiſhed in his name.*

[l] *In affaires of conſequence, & eſpecially when one that is more mighty is to bee ſatisfied, nothing is to bee anſwered ſuddenly nor with choller. They ſuffer troubled water to ſettle that it may bee cleare. Choller & precipitation are enemies to Counſell.*

[m] D. Iſabella, *Infanta of Portugal, daughter to the King* Don Iohn *was married to* Philip *Duke of Bourgundy in the yeare 1429. and was mother to* Charles.

[n] *Nothing can be reproched more ſenſible to a Prince then the breach of his word, who ſhould rather faile himſelfe then his promiſes, wherein he ſhould be no leſſe iudicious then conſtant.*

Hereunto *Moruillier, ſeeing you haue alwaies ſhewed ſuch affection and goodwill vnto the King, let him not now beleeue the contrarie, in refuſing ſo ſmall a thing as hee demands. It is true ſaid the Duke I haue neuer failed in my affection and loue vnto the King, but I may well ſay that he hath neuer granted me any thing that I haue demanded, and hath kept nothing of that which hee hath promiſed me,* ° *witnes the townes engaged which he ſhould haue ſuffered mee to enioy during my life.*

The D. cõplaines of the Kings breach of his word.

And for that *Moruillier* did ſtill infiſt to haue *Rubempre*, the which was a matter of conſequence againſt the Dukes ſoueraigne command. *Peter* of Goux a knight and maſter of the lawes, ſaid, that although the Duke was vaſſell vnto the King for ſome lands, yet he had others that did not acknowledge any other Soueraigne but himſelfe, holding of the ſimple grace of God who had honored him as well as the King with the Image of his eternall gouernment ᵖ. That the Duchies of Brabant, Luxemburgh, and Lotrech: the Earledomes of Bourgundy, Henalt, Holland, Zeland and Namure were ſoueraigne countries. Yet he is no King ſaid the Kings Embaſſadors, to whom the Duke anſwered, I *would haue the world know that it was mine owne fault if* I *be not, yet will* I *not tel how or by what meanes.*

The next day the Earle of Charolois preſented himſelfe vnto his Father in the preſence of the French Embaſſadors, kneeling vpon a Cuſhion of Veluet, an exemplary act of Reuerence and Humilitie of a Prince of thirtie yeares old vnto his Father, and which aſſures this truth: That whoſo will be honored of thoſe which be vnder him, ſhould not faile to reſpect and honor thoſe that bee aboue him. The ſcope of his diſcourſe was to iuſtifie himſelfe for the taking of the Baſtard of *Rubempre*, and the confederacie betwixt the Duke of Brittaine and him, wherein hee proteſted hee had no other deſigne then the Kings ſeruice, and ſhewing that his condition had wherwith to content himſelfe with his owne, & contempt of an other mans, there beeing no leſſe glorie in the contempt then in the poſſeſſion, ᵠ hee added that it was not for any diſcontent he had for the taking of his penſion from him, for that, with the fauour of his father, he could liue without the Kings bounty.

Whereupon, the Duke intreated the Embaſſadors to tell the king that hee beſought him not to beleeue any thing lightly againſt him and his ſonne, and to hold them alwaies in his fauour. ʳ They preſented a banket vnto the Embaſſadors, the Hiſtory ſaith, wine and ſpices. When they tooke their leaues, the Earle of Charolois ſpake theſe words vnto the Archbiſhop of Narbonna, one of the three Embaſſadors, *recommend me moſt humbly vnto the Kings good grace, and tell him that hee hath ſought to diſgrace me by his Chancellor, but before the yeere bee paſt he will repent it.*

Departure of the Frẽch Embaſſadors.

Phil. de Com. lib. 1.

From theſe little ſparkles grew that great fire of the warre of the commonweale. The Duke of Burbonne ˢ who was the intellectuall

° *Whẽ a Prince hath an opinion not to hold any thing that hee promiſeth hee may ſay that he hath put himſelfe out of the commerce and negotiation of all ſorts of affaires, for no man can treat with him that hath nothing valuable but words. There is nothing but diſtruſt and iealouſie of his actions,* detracta opinione probitatis

ᵖ *A royalty is the figure of eternall gouernment and the Image of the Diuine monarchy, And therfore Kings haue been held as the fathers of the people.* Ariſtotle *in the third booke of his Politickes ſaith, that a realme is the power of one that doth gouerne the cõmonweale, not ſeeking his own priuate profit, but that of his ſubiects.*

ᵠ *It is for great courages to contemne Riches. The ſhorteſt way to riches is to contemne Riches. It is eaſier to diſdaine then to poſſeſſe all.*

ʳ *An Embaſſador muſt neuer ſuppreſſe words of brauery nor threates which he hears ſpoke by the Prince vnto whom he is ſent.*

ˢ *The viſits of great perſons*

The D. of Bourgundy comes to ſee his mother at Bruxells.

tellectuall agent, faining to goe ſee his Mother at Bruxells, conferred with the Duke, but did not diſcouer the ſecret, ſaying onely, that the Princes had no other intent but to preſent a petition vnto the king to reforme the diſorders of the ſtate and to haue forces readie, to the end hee might know how many were interreſſed in this reformation. Such as entered into this league knew one another by a ſilken point which they carried at their girdles.

Although the king had ſpies in all places yet knew he nothing of theſe coniunctions and aſſemblies. Princes are within and not aboue the world to ſee all that was done. They muſt bee aboue the heauens to know the ecclipſes by themſelues and not deſcend low to ſee the effects [t]. The league was borne before he knew the conception, hee did not apprehend that it ſhould ſhow it ſelfe on the Burgundians ſide, for he conſidered, that although the ſonne were violent and ill affected towards him, yet the father wanted no iudgement to reſtraine him, and iudging that the ayre could not be troubled but towards Brittanie, he aſſembled both the Princes of his bloud, and the chiefe of his Noblemen at Tours about Chriſtmas 1464. and propounded vnto them the great occaſions he had to preuent the deſignes of the Duke of Brittany [u].

It was at this aſſembly that *Charles* Duke of Orleans could not forbeare to ſpeake for the Princes of the bloud, beſeeching the king not to doubt of their loyalties and affections. The king was offended at this remonſtrance, and reiected it with words full of ſpleene, bitternes, and contempt. The Duke of Orleans being thus roughly handled, and grieued that in an age of threeſcore and ten yeares, he was not heard by him whoſe grandfather had vouchſafed to heare him in his youth, could not endure them, not conſidering that they came from the mouth of his king, who was not bound to fit them to his humor, and that he muſt ſwallow them ſweetly without murmuring, for the demonſtration of the offence doth but augment it. He died for ſorrow two daies after, the fourth of Ianuary 1465. Hee was interred at Bloys, his bones were carried to the toombe of his Father at the Celeſtins at Paris, the 21. of February, 1504. by the commandement of king *Lewis* the twelfth his ſonne: After the battell of Azincourt he remained fiue and twenty yeares priſoner in England. The Engliſh would not deliuer this Flower-deluce without ranſome, and to redeeme him the D. of Bourgundy payed three hundred thouthouſand crownes. What a change? *Iohn* Duke of Bourgundy depriues *Lewis* of Orleans of his life, *Philip* Duke of Bourgundy his ſonne giues libertie to *Charles* of Orleans, and to make the bond perfect, he giues him the golden fleece, and marries him to his Neece *Mary* of Cleues, ſhee was the third wife, hauing before his impriſonment married *Iſabel* of France, widdow to *Richard* King of England, and *Bonna* of Armagnac [x].

ſee *Claud. Sayſell* in the life of *Lewis* the twelfth.

are ſuſpitious. Iohn Duke of Bourbon making ſhew to goe ſee the Ladie Agnes *his mother at Bruxells treated the league of the publike weale with the Duke* Periculoſæ ſũt ſecretæ coitiones.

[t] *The effects of great deſignes doe often breake forth before the cauſes are diſcouered. A vigilant Prince doth alwaies vſe peruenſions and diuerſions.*

[u] *The King as* Monſtrelet *ſaith, made this aſſembly to cõplaine that the D. of Brittaine had ſaid, that he had a deſigne to make warre againſt the Princes and to diſpoſſeſſe them of their lands.*

[x] *The affronts which are receiued from great perſons muſt not one'y be diſgeſted patiently, but alſo after a conſtant manner, murmuring auailes nothing. Many haue made of ſcratchings incurable wounds, & oftentimes the iniury is doubled, and renewes when as they make it knowne that it is receiued according to the deſigne of him that doth it.*

[x] By Mary *of Cleues hee had* Lewis *the twelfth, his onely ſonne, and two Daughters. Mary was promiſed to* Peter *of Bourbon, and afterwards married to*

The Duke of Bourbon hauing opened the paſſage to this deſigne of the warre of the common-weale, they attended no more but to ſee the head. *Charles* of France the Kings brother beeing at Poictiers, and making ſnow to goe a hunting whiles the king was in his deuotions, ſteales away and goes vnto the Embaſſadors of Brittaine. *Iohn* of Rommille, vicechancellor of Brittaine, and *Tanequy* of Chaſtell, who were come to haue a Prolongation for other three monthes to make anſwere to the kings demands, carried him away ſpeedily by the meanes of the Lord of Leſcon a Gaſcoine, and led him into Brittanie.[y] He was but eighteene yeares old, hee held life ſo ſhort, and that of Princes, which liue in ſubiection ſo troubleſome, as if he did not ſpeedily know what it was to bee a maſter the knowledge would euer come to late. He was welcome, for this was the firebrand which they muſt caſt to ſet France on fire. The Duke of Brittanie promiſed him the ſeruice of his perſon, and all the ſuccors of his forces.

The Duke of Berry retires into Brittany.

Hee declared the cauſe of his departure by letters which hee wrote to the Duke of Bourgundy, and to the other Princes of their intelligence. The moſt apparent was drawne from the bad gouernment of the affaires, whereof the Princes of the bloud[z], which haue the chiefe intereſt and care of the whole bodie, ſhould apprehend the dangerous euents, and had ſubiect to complaine to ſee vnworthy men, without honor, or merit, to deale in that which ſhould paſſe by their hands, and to leap ouer their heads to great offices: That his armes and his deſires had no other obiect but to reſtore order vnto the Realme, and there withall to eaſe the people of their oppreſſions, the which he could not otherwiſe hope for, but in making the King know in the beginning of his raigne[a] the extreame neceſſity whereinto it was brought. His will was manifeſted more amply by his letters to the Duke of Bourgundy which *Monſtrellet* ſetts downe in theſe termes.

Moſt deere and welbeloued Vncle I recommend me vnto you. I let you vnderſtand that of late I haue often heard the clamors of the Princes of the blood my kinſmen and other Noblemen of this Realme in all eſtates; of the diſorder and pittifull gouernment which now doth raigne by the councell of men, being about my Lord, full of all lewdnes and iniquity; who for their owne profit and priuate diſordered affections haue drawne my Lord into iealouſie and hatred againſt you, me, and all the Noblemen of the ſaid Realme, yea againſt the Kinges of Caſtile and Scotland, ſo long allyed vnto the Crowne[b] *as euery man knowes. In regard how the authority of the Church hath beene kept, Iuſtice done and adminiſtred, the Noblemen maintained in their rights and priuiledges, and the poore people ſupported and freed from oppreſſion, I write no more vnto you, for I know you are ſufficiently informed, and I am greeued at the ſaid thinges, as I ought to be, as he whom it doth ſo neere concerne as euery man doth know,*[c] *and deſire to prouide for it by the Counſell of*

Iohn of Foix Vicount of Narbonne, father to that Achilles of France Gaſtõ of Foix Duke of Nemours, & of Germaine, Queene of Arragon. Anne of Orleans was Abbeſſ of Fonteuraud.

[y] *The King being gone in deuotion to our Lady of Pont in Limoſin, the Duke of Berry retires into Brittaine.*

[z] *It concernes the Princes of the bloud to look into the diſorders of the eſtate and to aſſiſt the King faithfully to reareſſe thē: whiles there is heat in this blond wee may hope for the life and continuance of the body.*

[a] *At the Comming of new Princes they make demands and purſuits for that which they deſire the reſt of the Raigne, for when they are well ſettled they will no more beare ſpeake. That mu yn Percennius hauing prepared his companions to mutine hee ſaid* Quando auſuros expoſcere remedia, niſi nouum et nutantem adhuc Principem vel armis adirent. *Tacitus lib. 1. Annal.*

[b] *The moſt ancient alliances of the French haue beene with the Scots and then with the Caſtilians. The Crowne of France hath had pretentions vpon Caſtille at the inheritance of the Lady Blanch of Caſtile mother to St. Lewis.*

[c] *The Children of one familly are intereſſed in the Oeconomy and the*

you, of the ſaid Princes and kinſmen and other Noblemen, who haue all promiſed to aid and ſerue me not ſparing body or goods for the quiet of the Realme, and the publick weale thereof, and alſo to ſaue my perſon which I found to be in danger. For inceſſantly and openly my ſaid Lord and they about him ſpake ſuch wordes of me, [d] *as I might with Reaſon haue cauſe to doubt: I therefore left my ſaid Lord, and am come vnto my good Coſin of Brittaine, who hath giuen me ſo good and commendable reception as I cannot ſufficiently commend it, and is reſolued to ſerue me with body, goods and all his power to the good of the ſaid Realme and publicke weale. And therefore my moſt deere and welbeloued vncle, my intention and deſire is to imploy my ſelfe with you and the ſaid noblemen my kinſmen, whoſe counſell I will vſe, and not otherwiſe, to reſtore and redreſſe the ſaid deſolate Realme, knowing that you are one of the greateſt of the Realme, whom the good or ill do eaſily concerne, and Deane of the Peeres of France,* [e] *a Prince renowned for honor and iuſtice, as it appeareth by your great deedes, conduct and gouernment of your great ſignories, knowing that the diſorders of the ſaid Realme, haue and doe diſpleaſe you as reaſon is: I would deſire with all my heart to haue an aſſembly with you and other noblemen my kinſmen, that by your counſell we might prouide for all matters, which for want of order, Iuſtice and policy are at this day in all the eſtates of the ſaid Realme, and for the eaſe of the poore people,* [f] *who can beare no more, and to ſet ſuch an order in all places as it may be pleaſing vnto God, to the honour, felicity and good to the ſaid Realme, and to the retribution of honour and perpetuall commendation of all thoſe that ſhall imploy themſelues. I do intreat you, moſt deere and louing vncle, that in this matter, which is great for ſo good an end, it would pleaſe you to aid and aſſiſt me, and to cauſe my brother in law of Charolois your ſonne to imploy himſelfe in my ayd, as I haue alwayes aſſured my ſelfe he will doe: And to the end that you and I may meet (which is the thing I moſt deſire) for that my intention is ſhortly to enter into the Country, and to keepe the fields with the other Princes and noble-men,* [g] *which haue promiſed to accompany and ayd me. I intreat you that you will be pleaſed to leuy and draw forces out of your Country towards France, and in caſe you cannot doe it, that you would cauſe my ſaid brother in law of Charolois to come with a good power of men, and withall to ſend vnto me one of your Counſell which is faithfull to aſſiſt for you in all matters which other Princes of the bloud ſhall think fit to be done for the good of the ſaid Realme: And by whom you may be ſtil informed of my good and iuſt intentions, the which I will gouerne by you and other Princes of the bloud and no otherwiſe: And that which my ſaid brother in law in your abſence ſhall doe or ſay for the publique good of the Realme* [h] *and eaſe of the poore people, I will maintaine vnto the death, and thereof you may bee aſſured. Moſt deare & louing vncle let me alwaies vnderſtand if there be any thing wherein*

His deſigne of arming to reforme diſorders.

Princes of the bloud in the gouernment of the eſtate.

[d] The words of ſuch as are neereſt vnto a Prince make men iudge of his intentions. The Duke of Berry hearing that the ſeruants of the K. his brother ſpake freely againſt him, thought that their diſcourſes were framed vpō his. Good words entertaine friendſhip and bad diſſolues thē.

[e] The Duke of Bourgondy is firſt Peere of France, in this quality hee made a proteſtation to King Charles the ſixth ſaying that hee might not aſſiſt at the iudgement of the K. of Nauarre, vvhich did onely belong vnto the Peeres.

[f] The opreſſion of the people was not great being only for matters which were not accuſtomed.

[g] The Princes and Noblemen of this party were Charles the Kings brother, Phillip Duke of Bourgondy, Francis Duke of Brittaine, Charles Earle of Charolois, Iohn Duke of Bourbon, Iohn Duke of Calabria, Peter of Bourbon Lord of Beaulieu, Charles Cardinall of Bourbon, The Earle of Dunois, the Duke of Nemours, The Earle of Armagnac, The Earle of Albrett, The Earle of Dammartin, The Earle of St. Paul, The Prince of Orange, The Earle of Newchaſtell, The Baſtard of Bourgondy.

[h] Vnder the Conſideration of the publique weale many which had beene put from their places made vſe of their intereſts. New Princes doe commonly faile in theſe changes. If the Prince ſucceeds a good Prince, whoſe raigne hath beene iuſt and happy, then

I may pleaſure you and I will do it willingly, praying God to giue you a good life and that which you deſire. Written at Nants in Brittany the 15. *day of March, the ſubſcription was.* Your Nephew Charles: *and on the top.* To mine Vncle the Duke of Bourgondy.

Such was the language which they that were about this yong Prince made him to hold, who knew well how to commend the good, and to excuſe and flatter the euill which he did, and who indiſcreetly drew him to deſignes, whereas the danger was certaine and the profit doubtfull. Death of Pope *Pius* the ſecond.

The Pope had made his profit of this diuiſion, if death [i] had not diſappointed a deſſeine which he had to reduce Francé wholly vnder the obedience of the Sea of Rome, and to depriue it of the rights and priuiledges which doth free it in temporall things, for in thoſe which concerne the ſpirituall and orthodoxall Faith, ſhe hath alwaies been a dutifull and obedient daughter. This Pope was lamented of all Chriſtendome, for he had great conceptions for her glorie and libertie in thoſe places where ſhee was oppreſt vnder the tyranny of the *Ottomans*. Beeing at Ancona to imbarke himſelfe for the voyage of the Croiſado, after that hee had giuen audience to the Embaſſadors of France and of the Duke of Bourgundy, who excuſed themſelues that they could not ſerue in perſon in this voiage, a ſlow continuall Feuer, which had long held him, depriued him of life. He had no cauſe to grieue that hee had liued, for that his life had been honored with ſo great and worthy actions as he might rightly ſay he had not been borne in vaine.

His birth and fortune

They onely blame him for that being Pope he had contradicted that which he had written being a priuat perſon, with ſo great Paſſion, as hee diſcribed Pope *Eugenius* to bee the wickedſt man in the world [k]: and his depoſing a profitable and fit action for the church. He was iſſued from the *Picolhomini*, of Sienna, and ſeeing that his father had beene expelled the Citie with many others of certaine families reuolted by the mutiny of the people, he reſolued to ſeek his fortune at Rome, where ſhee hath alwaies done great miracles. He was firſt of all Secretary to *Dominike Grap*, and followed him to Baſill, when as he came to complaine that Pope *Eugenius* refuſed him a Cardinals hat, which *Martin* the fift had giuen him. The maſters pouertie forced him to take another: He placed himſelfe with the Biſhop of Noara, but ſeeing that hee was in like manner perſecuted by Pope *Eugenius*, hee left him and did ſerue *Nicholas* Cardinall of S[t]. Croix: and followed him to Arras, when as he was ſent by Pope *Eugenius* to reconcile the French King to the King of England, and the Duke of Bourgundy.

His dignities & commiſsions.

At his returne finding that he was in no grace with Pope *Eugenius*, he came to Baſill, where he was imployed in the goodlieſt actions of the Councell, he had the charge of Abreuiator, [l] Secretarie, Preſident in the chamber of the faith, [l] and Orator in di-

uers

needs no chãge, if hee were not ſo, he muſt not imploy ſuch as wee his Miniſters, and therfore Galba *was blamed to haue imployed the chiefe councellors of* Neroes *cruelties & wickednes.*

[i] Pius *the ſecond died at Ancona,* Platina *ſaith that hee ſpake vnto the laſt gaſpe, and diſputed long with* Lawrence Rouerella *Biſhop of Ferara a learned Diuine,* Licerit ne extremam vnctionẽ iterare qua ſemel inunctus fuerat. Dum Baſileæ peſtilentia grauiſſime egrotaret. *whether hee might reiterate the extreme vnction, wherwith hee had being anointed, being ſore ſicke of the Plague at* Baſill.

[k] AEneas Siluius *in the beginning of the ſecond booke of his Comentaries of the Councell of Baſil ſaith that* Mẽtita eſt iniquitas Gabrieli (Eugenius *was called* Gabriel Condelmar) et perdidit cum Dominus in malitia ſua quoſynodali ſententia ex Apoſtolica ſede precipitato factus eſt Dominus in refugiũ Eccleſiæ ſuæ. *And in the end of the firſt,* Neceſſarium fuit illud decretum ad reprimendam Romanorum Pontificum ambitionem & vt deinceps animam a temporalium rerum ſollicitudine retraherent

[l] *In the Councell of Ba-*

uers seſſions. When there was Queſtion of an embaſſage to any Prince or commonweale there was not any one but He fit for it. He was ſent to *Amedeus* Duke of Sauoy, then to the Emperor *Frederick*, to Pope *Eugenius*, to *Philip* Vicecount Duke of Milan, and to *Alfonſo* King of Arragon. It was he which perſwaded the Emperor *Frederick* to goe to Rome to be crowned there. *Frederick* ſent him to *Sienna* to receiue *Ellenor* of Portugall his wife, and afterwards into Bohemia to pacifie a controuerſie which was growne, for that the Emperor *Frederick* did not reſtore them their King *Ladiſlaus* [m].

His oration to arme against the Turke.

He was ſent to the dyet of *Ratisbona*, whereas *Philip* Duke of Bourgundy aſſiſted, he laid open the neceſſities of a warre againſt the Turke with ſuch efficacie and eloquence, as many Princes reſolued to employ both their liues and goods: But theſe ſuddaine reſolutions went preſently into ſmoke: [n] Hee alſo pacified a great complaint which Germany made againſt the Pope, and the which hath been ſince continued, the Princes and comminalties of the Empire being reſolued not to acknowledge him in the policie and direction of ſpirituall things, if he did not firſt grant them the ſame rights which Italy and France had by the Pragmatick Sanctions. The Emperor found their firſt ſuite iuſt, and was ſoone drawne to yeeld vnto it. *Æneas Siluius* changed his opinion, repreſenting vnto him that there was more honor and ſafety for him to haue good correſpondence with the Pope, then to fauour thoſe who would diminiſh his authoritie whereof the Emperors were protectors. [o]

His bad affection to *Lewis* the eleuenth.

He was Archbiſhop of Sienna, and after the death of *Calixtus* was aduanced to the Popedome in a manner without thinking of it. Hee began with the aſſembly at Mantua, whither all the Princes of the Empire ſent their Embaſſadors. Hee made open ſhow that he loued not France, as hath beene ſaid, and this affection continued after the death of *Charles* the ſeuenth: for [p] *Platina* ſaith, that although he had wreſted the Pragmatick Sanction out of the hands of *Lewis* the eleuenth, yet he did not forbeare to croſſe him, for that hee thought to diminiſh the libertie of the Church. *Paul* the ſecond, called *Peter Barbo*, a Venetian, ſucceeded him.

ſtill there were foure chambers or foure aſſemblies which they called four deputations, that of the faith, of Peace, of reformation, and of common affaires. Euery chamber had a preſident, which was changed euery three monethes.

[m] *The Emperor* Frederick *ſeeing the troubles & ſchiſmes in the realme of Hungarie ſeazed vpon the yong King* Ladiſlaus, *& gaue him in charge to* Eneas Siluius.

[n] Platina *ſaith that all which heard him were wonderfull reſolute to this war,* Verũ hoc natura cõpertum eſt, eorum animos cito reſidere quorũ affectus facile mouentur. *But it is found true by nature that their minds are ſoone changed, whoſe affections are eaſily moued.*

[o] *Theſe complaints were pacified, & reuiued in the beginning of the Emperor* Charles *the fifths raigne, when as they preſented vnto the Popes Legate being at Nuremberg* A. Remonſtrance *vnder this title.* Sacri Romani imperii Principum ac procerum grauamina aduerſus ſedem Romanam.

[p] Ludouico Gallorum regi aduerſatus eſt, quod libertatem Eccleſiæ minuere conaretur cum ab eo antea Pragmaticam Sanctionem Eccleſiæ Romanæ pernitioſiſsimam peſtem extorſiſſet.

FINIS.

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THE

THE HISTORY
of LEVVIS *the XI.*

THE THIRD BOOKE.

WHO ſo ſucceeds a good Prince hath a great aduantage ouer the affections of his owne ſubiects, how rough and difficult ſoeuer his raigne be. They hold themſelues ſo much bound to the fathers bounty, [a] as they doe patiently endure the ſonnes rigor. France did owe her libertie to King *Charles* the ſeuenth, he had freed her from the miſeries of warre, ſhee did acknowledge no other reſtorer then him: This reſpect retained many in their obedience and dutie, who ſuffering themſelues to be carried away with this torrent of the league, had become fooles for company and by infection: For the people is a ſea which moues with the winde, yet neuer followes if ſome one goes not before, [b] but the number ſeemed but too great, and it had multiplied ſpeedily if the Kings wiſedome had not foreſeene it. Conſpiracie in the beginning is like vnto raine which enters into a ſmall cranny on the top of the houſe, and beeing neglected in the end expels the maſter thereof. The King did conſider hereof, for being aduertiſed of his brothers retreat, he knew well that the partie was made againſt him if hee did not oppoſe himſelfe: That what appeared not, might be greater then what was in ſhow, and that beſides the Princes of his bloud, many *Catylines* had drunke in the ſame cup the wine and bloud of this conſpiracie. His firſt reſolution was to diuide that which hee could not breake. Hee ſent to the Duke of Bourbon to come vnto him; Who for that hee would vſe no diſſembling (a great and powerfull vertue in theſe corrupted ages) would not diſguiſe his intentions, nor repreſent them otherwiſe in words then they were in his heart. He was the firſt mouer of all theſe ſpheares, he had firſt giuen his voice and yowes to this generall reuolt of

The loue the children for the fathers ſake.

Sedition muſt be bee ſmothered in the beginning.

[a] *The bounty of a Prince doth ſo binde the hearts, as euen after his death they yeelde proofes of their affection to thier children, although wicked* Cambiſes *was beloued for the loue of* Cyrus *his father &* Cõmodus *for the reſpect of* Marcus Aurelius.

[b] *This beaſt the people haue ſo many heads, that although it hath great & terrible forces yet it is baſe & cowardly if it bee not ſtirred vp and led,* vultus ſine rectore præceps, pauidum ſocors, Tacit.

[c] *Euery conſpiracie hath cruelty, and bloud hath been taken for the ſeale & oath that bind the conſpirators.* Saluſt *ſaith that* Catylin *mingled wine with bloud in a cup and preſented it to his aſſociates,* Inde cum poſt execrationem omnes deguſtauiſſent, ſicuti in ſolemnibus ſacris fieri conſueuit aperuit conſilium ſuum.

France

France, he had offered to hang a bell at the Cats necke, [d] when as euery man expected who ſhould dare to doe it, and had more deſire to end then to begin. If hee had made any ſhow of repentance or feare in this beginning, the reſt which had martcht in his ſteps would ſoone haue turned their backes.

He anſwered that he had the ſame deſigne with the other Princes for the good and profit of the publike weale, intreating the King to excuſe him if hee came not to Court, and for a greater declaration of his will he ceazed vppon the reuenues of Bourbonois, and ſtayed *Iuuenall des Vrſines* Lord of Traynill, *Peter* of *Oriola*, and the Lord of Cruſſoll priſoners, making it knowne that Ambition hath no other Law then the fancie of the Ambitious, and takes away the maske from all reſpect. When the King ſaw that there was no meanes to reclaime theſe Princes, and that the Duke of Bourgundy was in armes, he aduertiſed all the chiefe noble men of his Realme, and wrote vnto the Clergie, to the gouernours of Prouinces, to the Magiſtrates and townes, who faint and loſe their courage for a little, [e] that they ſhould not ſuffer themſelues to bee carried away with the falſe ſhowes of the enemies of the eſtate, who had ſuborned his brother to ingage France in thoſe deſolations from the which it was but newly freed: That if they which had ſuffered themſelues to bee abuſed in this reuolt, did not bethinke themſelues, there wilfulnes would make them vnworthy the clemencie which he offered them: That with the grace of God and the fidelitie of his good ſubiects, hee aſſured himſelfe to abate and diſperſe theſe bad deſignes.

Letters frō the K. to the gouernors of the Prouinces and townes,

Then conſidering that this league did conſiſt of thoſe who had ſometimes called the Engliſh into France [f] to haue a ſhare of the ſhipwracke, that the old enemies fauouring the new, he might fall betwixt the Anuile and the hammer, hee ſent to the King of England diſſembling cunningly the wrong which hee had done him, when as in demanding *Bonna* of Sauoy [k] the Queenes ſiſter for his wife he had married an other: He intreates and coniures him not to aſſiſt this new rebellion, the which like to a puffe of ſmoke would vaniſh as ſoone as it ſhould begin to riſe.

The King ſeeks to the King of England,

Edward beeing already engaged to the Duke of Bourgundy let the King vnderſtand that he was a ſharer with him. Hee ſent the ſame letters which the King had written vnto him to the Duke of Bourgundy, promiſing to aſſiſt him as conſtantly as his forefathers [l] had done. This young Prince felt a boyling deſire in his heart to performe that in France which other Kings of his name had done. He was glad to finde without the Iland an exerciſe for

Edward the fourth declares himſelfe for the Burgundian

[d] *In great reſolutions there is danger to giue the firſt voice, and hazard to execute that which is reſolued. It is more ſafe to follow then to leade,* Inſita mortalibus natura propere ſequi, quæ piget inchoare. *Tacit. And if they bee reduced to the conduct of an other it muſt be with the reſtraint of his owne wiſdome.* Ne conſiliis alterius regi recuſes, Eſt illius atque eſto tuus, tuumque ſerua. In poſſe tuo velle, modum in velle alieno.

[e] *As a little feare makes the people to faint, ſo a weake hope makes them returne, by nature they are fearefull and do not think what they ſhall doe to indure but to flye the danger.*

[f] *He that hath two enemies muſt agree with the one, the better to preuaile ouer the other. The Romāns did neuer fight against two; Hercules could not do it. After the Parthian warre they began that of the Marcomanians.*

They would not breake with Antiochus, *who had wronged them before they had ended with* Philip. [k] Richard *Earle of Warwick was ſent into France in the yeere* 1464. *to demand* Bonna *of Sauoy in mariage of King* Lewis *the eleuenth, for K.* Edward. *The King granted it, but during this negotiation the King of England fell in loue with a meane gentlewoman, widdow to one* Grey *a Knight, Daughter to* Richard Riuers, *and* Iaqueline *eldeſt Daughter to* Peter *of Luxemburgh, Earle of* St. Paul. [l] *Edward the third King of England, wonne the battell of* Creſſy *the* 26. *of Auguſt,* 1346. *France loſt* 1500. *Gentlemen, all were not ſlaine, but all were deſeated. The Prince of Wales his Sonne wonne the battell at Poictiers ten yeeres after, the* 9. *of September* 1356.

turbulent ſpirits to entertaine and quench that furious heate of fighting. [m]

He knew well that the Duke of Berry his brother ſhould be the King of this Tragedie, that they would bring him ſtill vppon the ſtage, and make him play all parts according to the humour and inuention of the Duke of Brittanie, of the Earle of Charolois and of the Duke of Bourbon: Wherefore hee ſought to flatter him, and to draw him out of the Brittans hands, and to that end hee went to Angers: there wanted no letters, promiſes nor good words: [n] faire ſpeeches hurt not the tongue. If the Duke of Berry had not been well garded and watcht, he had left his friend as ſuddenly as he had done his brother.

At Angers hee was aduertiſed that the Earle of Charolois leuied men, that the Duke of Brittany armed his ſubiects, and that the Duke of Bourbon had declared warre againſt him in ſeazing vpon his ſeruants, his Townes and treaſure. Hee gaue order for all three, and proceeded therein without precipitation, hee did march [o] but not runne, and did remedie all without diſorder: He commanded the Earle of Neuers, and the Marſhall *Ioachim* to lye in Picardie: he left *Rene* King of Sicile, and the Earle of Maine vpon the fronters of Brittanie, and went himſelfe directly to Bourges, where they would not ſuffer him to enter, and from thence vnto Bourbonois, with an intent to ſet vpon the Duke of Bourbon, who had firſt reuolted and was the weakeſt. In ſuch reuolts the firſt blowes [p] which are giuen vpon the principall Actors, amaze and humble the reſt.

Paris was ſtill in his minde, and that great Citie which gaue a Law and motion to all the reſt was perpetually before his eyes. He repented him that he had gone ſo farre off [q] hearing that the Armie of the league did march. Hee knew that it conſiſted of humors, that in former times ſhee had raiſed ſtrange mutinies, and that his brother had friends there, the Bourgundian Pentioners, and the Brittan Intelligences: That it was a bodie ſo full of bad humors, as a ſmall matter might alter it. [r] He requeſts, exhorts, and commands euery man to haue a care of her preſeruation. And for a greater declaration of his loue to that Citie, he cauſeth the Chancellor to tell them that he is reſolued to ſend the Queene his wife thither to be brought in bed, as the place which he loued aboue all others in his Realme. If the whole world were a ring, Paris ſhould be the Diamond.

The Kings care for the preſeruation of Paris

He went to S[t] Porcin to prepare himſelfe for the ſiege of Ryon whether the Duke of Bourbon was retired. The Princes & Noblemen of the league did ſuccour him with all their forces. [s] The Duke of Bourgundy gaue leaue to the Duke of Beauieu, and to

His voiage into Bourbonois.

their

[m] *He that commands a warlike Nation muſt finde exercise for his ſoldiers abroad, if hee will not ſuffer them to take it at home. There is not faith* Tit. Liu. *in his thirteenth booke a more great and mighty Potentate that can long continue in peace, for if hee hath not ſome enemie abroad hee ſhall finde at home.*

[n] *Youth & inconſtantie are ſiſters of one mother, this young Prince had nothing cõſtant in him.*

[o] *In affaires of importance they muſt goe and not runne, deſcend leiſurely, and not caſt themſelues downe headlong.* Precipitation is a ſhelfe couered with the ſhipwracks which ſhee hath cauſed in great occaſions.

[p] *To diſperſe a faction ſpeedily, they muſt firſt ſet vppon thoſe that fortifie it.* Scianus *ſaid that there was not.* Aliud gliſcentis diſcordiæ remedium quam ſi vnus alterne maxime prõpti ſubuertirentur. *Tacit. l. 4.*

[q] *To preuent ſmall inconueniences they muſt not neglect greater affaires.* Tiberius *ſaid, that* an Emperor muſt not for the Rebellion of one towne or two, abandon Rome the chiefe of the Empire, and running here and there where the miſchiefe raignes, ſeeme amazed. [r] *As diſeaſed bodies cannot endure to be touchd, ſo vlcered mindes are troubled vpon light occaſions.* Sen. [s] *If the Duke of Bourbon had been able to ingage the King in Bourbonois, he had giuen the Earle of Charolois meanes to ioine with the Duke of Brittanie, and to effect what they intended.*

the Cardinall of Bourbon to leuie men in the French county. Hee was alſo aſſiſted with the Duke of Nemours forces, & by the Earles of Armagnac and Albret.

The King beeing at S. Porcin, the Dutcheſſe of Bourbon, his Siſter, came vnto him, beſeeching him not to make triall vpon her husband what a great King may doe, and to giue him meanes to ſhew as great proofes of his reſolution to his ſeruice, as he made ſhew to be come to make him feele the effects of his diſpleaſure. She was ſo powerfull in her perſwaſions as the King (who deſired rather to commit his affaires to wiſedome then to fortune) [t] was content not to preſſe the yeelding of the Towne of Ryon to eagerly, and did not ſeeme very difficult to yeeld to ſome kinde of treatie, the which was well ſworne but ill performed by the Duke of Nemours, who hauing the truth of the oath in his mouth retained the impietie of treacherie in his ſoule. A defection which the King will neuer forget, neither ſhall it bee expiated without the loſſe of his head.

Dutcheſſe of Bourbon obtaines a peace from the King.

The King made this accord to goe ſpeedily to Paris, and to ſtand ſurely vpon the middeſt of the hide, [u] beeing aduertiſed that the Earle of Charolois came on, hee ſent *Charles* of Harley to aſſure the Pariſiens of his comming, and of the accord which he had made with the Duke of Bourbon and Nemours, the Earles of Armagnac and Albret. Hee began by them the execution of the Councell which hee had taken to diſvnite and diſperſe thoſe heads, and to giue way to thoſe torrents. Without doubt if he had beene patient to attend their firſt furies, all had disbanded more ſuddenly then they aſſembled [x].

The forces which were ſooneſt ready came from them which held themſelues moſt wronged. The Earle of Charolois had a thouſand and foure hundred men at Armes, euery one of the which had fiue or ſix great horſes, with eight or nine thouſand Archers choſen out of a greater number; for euerie man would march, but the beſt were entertained. In this choiſe ſhould appeare the loue they haue to the honor of Armes, and to the good of the State, for many Captaines haue ſouldiers to ſerue the King in his Armies, whom they would not imploy in their houſes [y].

Armie of the Earle of Charolois.

The Duke of Bourgundy cauſed the Earle of Charolois his ſon to march, and at his departure he ſaid vnto him. *Goe my Sonne in a happie hower, and reſolue to die rather then to flie, if you fall into any danger, you ſhall not be abandoned for the want of a hundred thouſand men.* Words of power to giue courage to one that had been borne without it. Words of infallible aſſurance ſpoken from a father, whoſe loue admits no compariſon, all other friendſhips are but winde. He did wiſely looke vnto the future, which Princes doe not alwaies, they doe ſeldome looke vnto that which ſhall befall them,

Words of the Duke of Bourgundy.

[t] *A Prince what aduatage ſo euer he hath muſt follow that aduiſe which repreſents the leaſt danger. It is a great error to ſhut ones eies to wiſedome, & to ſubmit himſelfe to the Indiſcretion and inconſtancie of fortune.*

[u] *A Prince muſt not remaine vpon the fronter of his Eſtate & abandon the center.* Calanus *the Gymnoſophiſt, ſeeking to perſwade* Alexander *to this maxime, cauſed a dryed Oxe Hide to be layed abroad, ſetting his feete vppon any ſide hee remoued him with the other: but being in the midſt he ſtood firme. Inferring that when as* Alexander *was vpõ one of the fronters of his Empire, the other mutined.* Plut.

[x] *Many which aſſaile are more mighty then one that is aſſailed. But if he hath meanes to temporiſe & to endure their firſt furie, hee ſhall preuaile, and the other will be ſcattered and ruined.*

[y] *If there bee not choiſe iudgment and diſtinction in the leuies of ſouldiors, the Princes ſeruice cannot proſper.* Vegetius *imputes the ruine of the Empire to this careleſnes,* Huic (ſaith hee) tot vbique ab hoſtibus illatæ ſunt clades dum longa pax militem incuriosus legit, dum poſſeſſoribus indicti tyrones, per gratiam aut diſſimulationem probantur, taleſque ſociant Armis, quales Domini habere facti dicunt. *Veget. Lib. 1. cap. 8.*

and

and doe not thinke that great aſſents haue great downefals. The E. of Charolois entred into France with an armie of fifteene thouſand men, he beſieged Neſle in Vermandois, and tooke it, and paſt by Noion and Mondidier. The Earle of Neuers his Couſin found himſelfe to weake to ſtop his entrie into Picardie, whereas all the people ſeemed ready to ſet vp Statues [z] for the Victors, and to acknowledge him that ſhould be moſt fortunate or moſt ſtrong.

The Earle of Saint Pol hauing taken Pont Saint Maxence by compoſition, or rather by the trechery of the Captaines which were within it, the Armie paſt the riuer of Oyſe, and entred into the Iſle of France. The Earle of Charolois carried the title of *Lieutenant generall to the Duke of Berry*. Theſe firſt bruites [a] gaue great reputation to his deſſeins; he made a generall proclamation of liberty, and exemption from taxes. Hee cauſed the Rowles to bee burnt at Laigny, and made a declaration that all ſhould bee free, cauſing the ſalt to be diſtributed at the Marchants price: [b] vpon theſe proclamations the people thought they ſhould haue an ende of their miſeries, but they were but cries a farre of, and vaniſhed comming neere, like vnto thoſe noyſes which vpon certaine coaſts of the ſtraight of Saint George terrefie thoſe that are a farre of, and when they come neere they heare not any thing. The Princes of the League entring into France cryed liberty for the Commonweale, and exemption for the people, but comming neere to treat they ſpake noe more of it. [c]

Ioachin Rouvant Marſhall of France, did alwaies coaſt the army, but a farre of, and hauing noe meanes to attempt any thing neerer, he caſt him-ſelfe into Paris with a hundred and tenne lances. The Earle lodged at Saint Denis, whereas the other Princes had promiſed to meete him, to conſult of their affaiers, his army was lodged thereabouts. Hee preſented him-ſelfe in battell before Paris, the amazement was great, and the skirmiſh terrible euen vnto the gates. *Hautbourdin* thought that the towne was to be taken in this amazement for they began to ſhut vp their ſhops. A giddy headed fellow ranne through the ſtreets crying the enemy was entred, and with [d] feare many fell into feuers. The King was well ſerued in this occaſion by the Marſhall *Ioachin* and *Charles* of Melun. Many, as it happens alwaies in ciuill diuiſions, played the temporizers, ſaw the ſtorme comming, and fitted them-ſelues for euery Element.

Marſhall *Ioachin* enters into Paris.

Prriſiens amazed.

It was thought good not to attempt any thing vntill the Kings brother and the Duke of Brittaine were come. They march ſlowly, and the Earle complained of their ſtay, ſaying, that they had broke their word, for they had promiſed to be together in armes before Paris at the feaſt of S[t]. Iohn. *Romille* Vice Chancellor of Brittaine excuſed his Maiſter, and filled vp blanks ſigned to keepe the Earle in breth, and to giue the Duke time to aſſemble forces at Chaſteaubriant, where he muſtred his armie, obſeruing ſtrictly the ſeuerity of diſcipline [e] although it be in a manner impoſſible in ciuil wars, whereas the ſouldiers can doe more then the Captaines.

Stay of the army of Brittany.

[z] *The people follow a victory: They of Samos erected a ſtatue to* Alcibiades *in* Iunos *temple, but when hee was defeated they gaue another to* Lyſander *his enemy.*

[a] *In new occurents reputation hath great effects.* In nouis ceptis validiſſima eſt fama Tacit. lib 13.

[b] *He that will draw the people to his deuotion, and build a foundation vpon their loues, muſt free them fro oppreſsions, for they hold euery one that hurts them for an enemy, and neuer iudge of the equity of the warre, but by the good which they receiue.*

[c] *The pretexts of ciuil war are alwaies goodly and plauſible, but when they are conſidered, they vaniſh and haue noe ſubſtance.*

[d] *One word of amazement or bad preſage is puniſhable, this man was whipt through the ſtreets of Paris, the Chronicle ſaies that the King cried out to the hangman whip him ſoundly for hee hath well deſerued it.*

[e] *It is impoſsible in ciuil war exactly to obſerue military diſcipline, if exceſſe bee puniſhed in one par-*

A reſolution being taken to ioyne with the troupes of Brittaine, the Earle of Charolois ſeaſed vppon the bridge of Saint Clou to paſſe to Eſtampes, where a Lady aduertized him that the king had paſt Orleans, and came withall ſpeede to enter into Paris: Hee reſolued to attend him, and lodged at Longiumeau, ſending the Earle of Saint Pol to Montlehery where he made choiſe of a place of Battell betwixt both. On tweſday the 16. of Iuly, the King arriued at Chaſtres, he deſired to enter into Paris, or to goe out of the realme, [f] if hee might not doe it: And for that he would not hazard any thing amideſt ſo many diſcontentments and infidelities, he had commanded *Breze* great Seneſhall of Normandy not to fight, who notwithſtanding this prohibition, tould one of his friends that he would bring the two Princes ſo neere together, as he ſhould be a very able man that could part them. He was ſlaine with the firſt, and he is produced for an example that ſeldome doth that ſucceed wel which is don againſt the order & commandement of the Prince.

Battle of Montlehery

On the ſeauenteenth of Iuly the Seneſhall preſented him-ſelfe earlely in the morning vpon the way to Montlehery. The Earle of Saint Pol, who led the Earle of Charolois foreward, found himſelfe ingaged, and could not turne hed to come to the place of Battle, as the Earle had commanded him; it was ſo preſt, as if he had made ſhew to refuſe to ioyne, all had beene in diſorder. He put his troups in battle in a plaine, which is on the ſide of Chaſtres, he cauſed the heads of wine veſſells to be beaten out [g] to make his ſoldiars drink, he planted ſtakes in the front of his Battallions, and put his carriages behind, hauing the foreſt of the one ſide. His Archers left their horſes, and ſo did their braueſt Caualiers, holding this manner of fighting of the Engliſh, for the worthieſt proofes of courrage & valour. [h] If he had charged reſolutly, the kings forward had bin put to rout, for when it appeered firſt, there were not aboue foure hundred comming downe ſcatteringly by the vallee of Tourſon. They might haue beene charged and defeated without all hope of ſuccors, the way being too narrow for the body of the army which followed, But the ſmale skil of the men at armes to mount and deſcend (the which horſemen ſhould chiefely practiſe) made them to looſe much time, for they that had left their horſes tooke them againe, when they conſidered that they ſhould need them either to pourſue or to fly, and that their courages might be fortefied by that of their horſes. [i] In the meane time the Kings army grew great, and the Earle of S[t]. Pol was ſorry that he had ſo long forborne the charge, and neglected the aduantage [k] which the place and time gaue him.

Opportunity of fighting neglected.

The Earle of Charolois being aduertiſed that the Kings army appeared, tooke the Alarum more whotly then the Signior of Contay, a wiſe and temperate Gentle-man, had giuen it him, bringing

ty, the ſouldiar who lues nothing but diſorder flies vnto the other. Ciuilibus bellis plus militibus quã ducibus licet. *Tacit. lib. 2. Hiſto.*

f King Lewis the eleuenth ſaid that if hee had not entred into Paris hee had gone to ſeeke ſuccors in Italy of the D. of Milan his great friend. It may be he would not haue taken ſo deſperate a reſolution, but would haue conſidered that he had to doe with men which would not liue long together without ſome diſpute.

g Wine is a dangerous munition, for a day of Battle: The Common-weale of Sparta forbad the vſe of it in warre where they muſt haue a good foote & a good eye, and wine troubles the one & weakens the other. Ariſtotle *ſaith, either none at all or very little.*

h The Engliſh did alwaies fight on foote. Bertrand *of Gueſclin & the men at armes of his time did the like. The old French Caualary, which hath beene ſo much eſteemed, haue beene in a manner alwaies beaten when they haue incountered foote-men, vnleſſe they left there horſes, example at Courtraie againſt the Flemings, at Crecy and Poitiers againſt the Engliſh.* [i] *Courage ſhould come from the man and not otherwiſe; The horſe helpes ſomething. The Sarmatians fighting on foote could not finde roome enough to fly, but on horſe backe there were none more valiant.* [k] *Hee that can take the aduantage which the ſituation of the place giues him fights happely.* Alexander *at the Battle of Pyles in Caramania hauing vewed the ſi-*

him this aduertiſement. He forgat the order and changed it, and gaue not him-ſelfe time to make faſt his caske, comming in all haſt to the Earle of Saint Pol about ſeauen of the clock in the morning, where he found his troupes at worke, being ſorry it ſhould bee ſaid his enemies ſhould come ſooner to him, then he to them. [l]

Order of the Battell changed.

The skirmiſh continued aboue foure houres, and gaue meanes to them that were farre off to come time enough to the feaſt. The Earle of Charolois fearing that the Marſhall *Ioachin*, who was at Paris, would come and charge him behind [m] reſolued to free him-ſelfe of that which was before him, and to repulſe the forward which appeered beyond Montlehery. Hee charged and beat them into the village, and cauſed ſome houſes to be fired, the flame and ſmoak whereof beeing carried by the wynde againſt the French, forced them to turne their backs, and to recouer a dich, whereas the hedge gaue them meanes to couer them-ſelues and to breath.

Earle of Charolois chargeth the Kings forward.

The Earle of Charolois charged both flanks reſolutly, and the French withſtood him and repulſt him. The men at armes of Bourgundy were newly rayſed, capable to ſee their ſheelds a long time white and without charge, [n] of a thouſand and two hundred there were not fifty that could charge their lances. They put themſelues in diſorder, and falling vpon their Archers brake their ranks, [o] The carriages, where they were intangled among the baggage, and the ſtakes which the Earle of S[t]. Pol had planted, [p] and compaſſed in by a troupe of Bourgundians, who beat them downe with battle axes.

His horſemen ill trained.

The Earle of Charolois had charged with ſuch fury, as his men were out of breath when they came to ioyne, forgetting the appointed order to pauſe thriſe. [q] All that were on the right hand towards the Caſtell were put to route by him, and on the left hand all that were vnder the command of *Rauenſtein*, brother to the Duke of Cleues, were broken by the French. The Nobility of Dauphine and Sauoy did the King good ſeruice, and the Kings preſence and good words [r] wrought wonders, elſe all had gone to route.

French put to rout on the one ſide and Bourgondians on the other

The firſt peece of victory was ſo pleaſing to the Earles taſt, as to haue more hee ranne a myle beyond Montlehery after them that fled, [s] contemning the aduice of an old Gentleman of Luxembourg called *Anthony* the Britton, who held him loſt if hee paſt any farther.

The French rallied them-ſelues againe together, to renew the fight, and to vanquiſh or looſe all. He preſt ſtill forward, deſiring rather to repent him of his Fortune, then to haue ſhame for his victory. [t]

The Lord of Contay ſpake more boldly vnto him, and cauſed

[l] *Some came & tould* Philopœmen, *the enemies are with vs, to whome he anſwered.* And why ſay you not that we are with them. Plu

[m] *A wiſe Captaine muſt look as well behind him as forward The words of* Sertorius.

They ſay alſo that a Captaine ſhould haue eies at his backe.

[n] *Among the Romans they knew the old men at armes by their ſhields which were figured, the yong caried them plaine, we finde in the old fables of France and Spaine that new Knights did, in like manner, carry white ſhields, vntill that ſome exployt of valour and courage gaue them meanes to put in ſome charge.*

[o] *This error of the Canalerie hath bin after noted* Plutarke *ſaith that* Brutus *men at armes which were Gaules in the Battell againſt* Pompey *diſordred their owne footmen.*

[p] Archelaus *hauing planted ſtakes in his campe did ſo incumber the horſes, chariots and Elephants of* Sylla, *as he defeated them eaſely.*

[q] *This order hath bin obſerued among the ancients to march ſlowly, making ſome ſtaies, & not haſtely when they go to a Battle.* Marcus Craſſus *is blamed by* Plutarke, *for that he did otherwiſe.*

[r] *The words of a King on a day of battle are burning firebrands; caſt into the moſt frozen harts,* There is not ſaith *Onoſander*, nether trumpet nor drum which doth more incourage them to fight. *But they muſt not vſe any great diſcourſes which doe rather coole then comfort.*

[s] *A Generall of an army ſhould not abandon his campe to follow them that fly.* Alexander *had like to haue miſcarried in the laſt deſeate of* Darius *for hauing followed the chaſe of his enemies too raſhly, he was in great danger.* Cyrus *had alwaies men appointed to follow them that fled.*

[t] Q. Curtius

him

him to returne. Repassing through the village he went to charge a troupe of footemen, who seeing him come fled. A soldiar let him know that hee would not giue his life for nothing, striking him on the brest with his Pertuisan, whereof hee shewed the marke at night. Then passing towards the Castell hee saw the archers of the Kings garde, whereat he was much amazed, thinking that the victory had bin absolutly his, and that there was not any more resistance. Hee turned on the one side to come vnto the place of Battle, but there fell sodenly vpon him [u] twelue or fifteene men at armes, who at the first slew *Philip* of Org his Guidon, and hurt him in the throat. *Yeeld my Lord, cryed Captaine* la Hire *and* Gilbert Grassar *wee know you wellenough.* The beuer of his helmet being not made fast in the morning descouered all his face. Hee made noe answer but with his sword, and this summons to yeeld inflamed his courrage to defend and free him-selfe. *Iohn Cadet* sonne to a Phisition of Paris, big, heauy and strong (three goodly parts which the History giues him) being mounted vpon a puissant horse, passeth through them, diuides them, and saues his maister. This Act of valour and fidelity was presently rewarded, for the E. of Charolois made him a Knight. He came to his campe [x] all bloudy, and his men repayred vnto him in small bands and tyred, the footmen complayning that the men at armes had in the morning disordred them, and troden them vnder their horses feete, and the Earle seemed much pleased to haue receyued a hurt on the face for a perpetuall marke of his prowesse.

Earle of Charolois hurt and in danger to be slaine or taken.

Oliuer de la March calls him *Robert Cotereau* sonne to the Earles Phisition.

The French recouered the dich where they had so valiantly contended and as it were diuided the fortune of the combat. But they were amazed to see them-selues without a head, and the bruit was that the King was dead: This brute was grounded, for that the Seneshal of Normandy, who ware his apparell and armes to confirme his loyalty, [z] had beene slaine in the beginning of the incounter, when as the Bourgondians knowing wel that if the king were ouerthrowne the rest could not stand, had charged furiously whereas he shewed him-selfe. This feare augmented the number of the runneawaies, and made them to fly who should rather want life then courrage. The Earle of Maine, who was suspected to haue intelligence with the enemies, and (*Montauban* a Britton led away the reereward. Their courages fell to their feete: not any one had the heart to strike a stroake in sauing his life to saue his honour. [a] The flight was of eight hundred men, which depriued the King of the honor of an absolute victory, and of the meanes wholy to ruine his enemies.

Brut of the Kings death

The rest wauered betwixt feare and duty. The King appeared in this amazement, [b] and by his presence gaue courage vnto his men,

giues vnto Alexander sh se brane and hardy wo ds. I had rather repent me of my fortune, then bee ashamed of my victory.

u Euery man runnes where the generall is, euen as a shippe wanting a Pylot and helme doth soone yeeld to the violence of the waues so he that can by pollicy and good aduice finde meanes to beat the chiefe of his enemies, the rest will soone faint. Polib. lib. 3.

x There is noe retreat in a day of Battle but to the camp, for lee that leaues it hath lost the field. How many armies saith the Consull *Paulus Aemilius*, haue there beene, which hauing had noe good successe in the battle, but bin driuen into their forts by their enemies, yet sallying forth afterwards they haue put them to rout who held themselues victors. *Tit. Liu. lib. 44.*

y A wounde gotten in a good place is glorious. Baies, chaines nor crownes are not alwaies carried, but such markes are neuer left at home. Such as beheld Sertorius *who had lost his eye, saw with his losse a testimony of his valour.* [z] *The King grew into some iealouste that the Seneshall of Normandy was of the league, and spake of it, to whome he answered,* Sir to shew what I am, giue me your coate of armes to saue your life, for your enemies seeke but after your person. [a] *To make a flight lesse dishonorable, it must bee done like vnto the Parthians or Scithians, who shoote in flying, and saning them-selues speedely they alwaies fight, and so take away the infamy of their flight.* Plut. *in the life of* Crass. [b] *The Princes presence cheers the soldiers harts. It is*

who from that time cared more how to vanquiſh then to liue, how to fight then to ſaue themſelues. The enemies had more anoyed them that fled then the reſt: as Fortune doth ſooner ſuppreſſe them that yeeld vnto her then them that reſiſt.

The Earle of St. Pol leaues the forreſt whether hee was retired, and comes to the place of Battell, with an order befitting men, and not with violence which is proper to fooles and beaſts, [c] both parties were ſo tired as they ſtood at the gaze. They made ſome ſhot with their great Ordnance. The Earle had more men in his Army then the King, but he alone was worth 10000. his preſence aſſuring that which was much ſhaken, [d] the amazement was great on either ſide, a deſire to ſaue themſelues from danger did preſſe the French as well as the Burgundians, and many did their [e] horſes the honor to remaine in the fight, when as they ſtale away.

Diſorders common in both armies.

The Earle had none but horſemen, he wanted footmen, ſlings [f] or bowmen to diſlodge the French from the hedge and ditch: A hundred men had beene able to force them. He had whole troupes remaining, neither were the Kinges all broken. If hee had Eagles remaining, ſo had hee not to doe with pies, [g] but the night made them take another reſolution. The King was conducted by the Scottiſh men to Montlehery, there to refreſh himſelfe, for hee had paſt the day without meat or drinke, as hee had done ſome nights before without reſt. Hee went to Corbeil to his bed, the Earle thought that hee would remaine vppon the field, and this beleefe was confirmed by the light of fiers which hee ſaw there long after, for the fire falling into a barrell of poulder had burnt ſome Cartes along the hedge.

The King retires to Corbeil.

The diſorder was great of either ſide, as it happens alwaies in theſe incounters, ſooner ſeene then foreſeene. What victories were gotten and what battells wonne in thoſe dayes without diſorder? [h] The king loſt of his horſemen, and the Earle footmen, and the number of the dead were 3000. Good men were honored, cowards blamed, and runawaies puniſhed. But as Princes are men as well in the diſtribution of Cowards as in the diſtinction of puniſhments, ſome loſt their offices for flying, who ſaw others rewarded which fled twenty miles farther. There was a man of quality noted in the kings Army, who fled to Luſignan and neuer reſted, and a Bourgundian as farre as Queſnon.

Inequality of Recompences after the Battell.

The field was couered with 3600. men ſlaine. They were faine to remoue foure or fiue bodies to ſet the Earle downe vpon two bottells of ſtraw, and to giue him meat. It was a Princely table, and a millitary feaſt, which he ſhould deſire, that will iuſtly and glori-

Repaſt of the Earle of Charolois among the dead bodies.

ouſly

the Planet of Mars from whence great courages borrow the conſtancy & aſſurance of warlike Vertue.

[c] To go vnto military actions raſhly and without iudgement is no valour; beaſts & fooles goe ſo. That which nature makes proper to valour, turnes to raſhnes, if reaſon doth not gouerne.

[d] No good can be expected of an army that is ſcattered but the Princes preſence. In this battel of Montlherry without *the King who* animated his mẽ with good words all had fled. *Phil. de Com.*

[e] One told Pompey *that to come vnto him and to leaue* Cæſar *hee had abandoned his horſe to whom* Cicero *ſaid*, You haue done more honor to your horſe then to your ſelfe. *to make him know the reproch of flying & deſertiõ.*

[f] For the inhabitants of the Iſlands Baleares called now Maiorca and Minorca had been held moſt cunning with ſlings Hec ſola genti arma ſunt, et vnum ab Infantia ſtudium: cibum puer a matre non accipit, niſi quem ipſa monſtrante perculſit. *Flo. lib. 3. cap. 8.* [g] *We muſt alwaies conſider in comparing of forces with whom we haue to deale, and not regard the number.* Nonius *after the Battell of* Pharſalia, *ſaid vnto* Pompey. We haue yet ſeuen Eagles, that were good ſaid *Pompey*, If wee were to fight with Parrats or Popingaies. [h] *None but the Romans could brag that they neuer committed error in warre.* Abſit inuidia verbo. et Ciuilia bella fileant, nunquam ab equite hoſte numquã a pedite, nunquã aperta Acie nunquam equis vtiq; locis laborauimus. *Tit. Liu. lib. 9.* [i] *In the recompence of merits as well as in puniſhing of faults Princes doe not alwaies obſerue ſuch Iuſtice and equalitie, but they make it knowne that they are men and no Angels.*

ouſly carry the title of Generall of an Army. [k] Hee that is called victorious hath nothing about him but bodies dead or dying, among which there are ſome that call for drink. What good cheere could he make in a place all couered with horror, in an vnſeaſonable time, and in ſo generall an amazement? To them that ſaid hee had the field, and that he held it all night. *He had reaſon* (anſwered the King) *to lye vppon the field ſeeing he had neither Towne nor Caſtell for retreat.* A word ſpoken wittily and to purpoſe did ſhew wiſedome neceſſary in the Generall of an Army, to diſguiſe the aduantages which the ennemy may haue ouer him, to make them leſſe, and to turne them to another ſence then they are commonly taken. [l]

Obſeruations of this Battell.

Many thinges obſerued in this Incounter ſhew that executions are not anſwerable to Councells, and that there is a great difference to fight by diſcourſe and to command in field. The order of the battell was changed. [m] It was ſaid they ſhould take breath on the way, and the Earle made them to march ſpeedly through the Corne, which was high and ſtrong, ſo as his men were ſo wearied as they had more need to lye downe then to ſtand. And although the Princes had diſputed the victory vntothe laſt point of valour, yet knew they not to whom the trophee did belong, and they might ſay that the Earle of Charolois had loſt the Battell, but th: King had not wonne it.

Counſells in perplexity.

Night increaſed the Bourgondians amazement, ſeeing themſelues to haue no defences nor trenches, but dead carcaſſes. They were in a great perplexity what they ſhould doe, euery man found difficulties, and [o] feare made them greater then they were. They held a Councell along the hedge vppon a peece of timber. The Lords of Crequy and Hautbourdin, ſpake of Duke *Phillips*, the Earles father, firſt carying armes at St. Requier, who recouered the next day that which he had loſt the day of Battell, It was to prepare this Prince to the glorious emulation of his fathers valour and to bind him not to diſlodge. The Earle of St. Pol ſaid that they muſt take the way to Bourgondy, and leaue ſome part of their carriages to retire more ſpeedily. His reaſon was grounded vppon the apparant danger they were in to remaine without victuals betwixt Paris and the Kings forces: Many were of the ſame opinion, and yet they that were ſent to take view of the Kings army were not yet returned, and that their opinions ſhould begin whereas their reports ended.

It was dangerous to giue aduice in a matter where the iſſue

[k] *Sobriety is one of the parts neceſſary to the perfection of a great Captaine. The frugality of Iulian the Emperour is much commended in the Hiſtory.* Mamertinus *in his Panegyric ſaith that he tooke delight to eat of the proviſions of the Army, to bee ſeruca by the firſt that came, and to drinke of any cup* Gaudebat Caſtrenſi cibo miniſtro obuio et poculo fortuito. Amian. Marcelinus *ſaith, that hee did ſometimes eat ſuch things as would haue diſtaſted a Pioner.* Et Imperatori non ex prediæ ciboriſ ex regio more ſed ſub columellis tabernaculis cenaturo pultis portio parabat exigua etiam munifici faſtidienda Gregario

[l] *It is an Argument of a ſettled iudgement to haue wrds able to diſguiſe accidents, which happe, in ſuch ſort as the amazement which may grow may bee turned into reſolution. The earth trembles, an armie is amazed. See you not ſaid* Sempronius Gracchus *how our enemies are amazed the earth ſhakes vnder their feet. At the battell of Cerignoles, fire fell among the munition. The great Captaine taking it for a good preſage, ſaid.* Noi habbiamo vinto, Iddio ci annuncia manifeſtamente la victoria dandoci ſegno che non ci biſogna piu doperare lartilleria *Guic lib. 5.*

[m] *The Conduct of warre how auiſedly and iudicious ſoeuer it bee cannot command accidents. But they muſt haue a care neuer to change the order of the Armie.* Philippe *of Valois loſt the battell of Crecy for that he changed the order; the Earle of Alencon tooke it ill that the footemen of Genoua were put in the formoſt ranges.*

[o] *Feare is a Chriſtall glaſſe which repreſents all things to be greater, more doubtfull, and difficult, and holeſome counſels are not well executed by men that are troubled and feareſull. Adde this reaſon of* Guicciard. Nelle coſe auerſe diuenta ogni di maiore ill timore, et le difficulta

might bring reproch to the ſincerity of the Councell, for the wiſeſt aduice doth not alwaies ſucceed happily, [p] and many times raſh Councells fall out well. But it were better to ſtumble with reaſon, then to go firmely with hazard, their opinions were all doubtfull, and their minds much perplexed.

Counſell of the Lord of Contay.

The Lord of Contay ſaid that this retreat could not be made without diſorder, that as ſoone as it ſhould be bruted through the Army, euery one would grow amazed and flye; that the moſt diligent ſhould not goe twenty leagues before he were ſtaid, or ſlaine. That the ſafeſt courſe was to paſſe the night with a good guard, and at the breake of day march directly to the place where the King ſhould be, that they muſt vanquiſh or dye, and that to leaue the field were to quit and looſe all. [q]

This Councell, ſeeming more generous, and hardy, was commended and followed by the Earle of Charolois, who commanded euery man to reſt two houres and to be ready at the ſound of the trumpet: *Oliuer de la March* ſaith that when Contay had giuen his opinion, day began to breake. Such as had beene ſent to diſcouer, bring word that the King was not farre off, and that they had ſeene the fiers in his army, they ſend others, and euery man ſeemes reſolute to fight, but the greateſt part had more deſire to fly, and who ſo had left to their choiſe to fight or to fly, or had ſuffered thē that fainted [r] to lay aſide their armes, the Battalions had growne very thin.

In the morning they were aduertiſed that there was not any one in the village of Montlhery, and that all were gone. They that an hower before ſaid that they muſt not preſſe the enemy, and ſeemed much amazed, were the firſt that cried, go let vs runne after them. They grew aſſured and hardy for company; boldnes returned vnto them after the danger. The day diſcouered the feares and heauines which night had concealed. The Earle of Charolois incouraged euery man. He thought that ſeeing there was amazement in his army which he held to be victorious, there was diſpaire in the Kings which he held to be ſcattered and loſt. But ſuch as had loſt would not hazard any more, they murmured againſt the heat of this Prince, who was obſtinate to fight, and could not retire vppon his loſſe, but made himſelfe miſerable vppon hope of good hap in the recouery of that which he had loſt. Ambition [t] ſees nothing too high, neither doth it find any thing too difficult, that which ſeemes great in deſiring, ſeemes little when it is in her power.

Montlhery abandoned.

That which confirmed the courages of the moſt reſolute, was the aſſurance of ſuccors from Brittaine, but many thought that this ill fortune would ſtay it. The Earle of Charolois entertained them with the aſſurances he had of the armies marching [u] and when hee

Duke of Brittaine expected.

di chi e ſtato vnito, *In aduerſe fortune the ſcale grows alwaies greater & the difficulties of him that is vanquiſhed.*

[p] *A fatall accident makes a good Counſell to bee blamed and they that iudge by the euents will mock at wiſedome which hath bee e vnfortunate, and will commend raſhnes which hath ſucceeded wel.* Cauta potius concilia cum ratione quam proſpera ex caſu placeant. *Tac. Lib. 2. Wary Councels with Reaſon do more eaſe then proſperous by chance.*

[q] *The victory belongs to him that keepes the field, although hee had beene beaten & broken.* Paulus AEmilius *ſpeaking to his ſoldiers ſaith.* Caſtris exutus etiamſi pugnando acies victiſſet pro victo habebatur. *Tit. Liu. lib. 9.*

[r] Chabrias *not willing to relye vppon his ſoldiers whom he new to bee vnwarlike caused a proclamation to bee made through the Army, that whoſoeuer was ill at eaſe ſhould lay aſide his armes, all the cowards were ſick; he vſed them to make a number, but the faction ended hee caſtiered them.* Poliænus lib. 4. [t] Agis *ſeeing that they of Argos whom he had vanquiſhed did rallie themſelues to come againe to the fight, and that his ſoldiers were amazed.* Courage my friendes (*ſaid hee*) ſeeing the Victors are amazed, thinke how the vanquiſhed tremble. Pluarch. [t] *Ambition is neuer ſo high but ſhe thinkes ſtill to mount: That which ſeemes to be the top is but a ſtep to her.* Cui aſſecuto ſatis fuit quod optanti minimum videbatur. *Sen.* [u] *When an Army or Towne is in expectation of ſuccours*

had

had not any, nor other newes, yet matters were reduced to those termes as he must tell them it was neere. He caused a Frier to make shew to come out of Brittaine, who said that hee had left the army so neere as they should see it the same day. But the feare and amazement was so great as they could not beleeue it. This pollicy [x] if it did not augment the courage, yet did it the patience of them that were most danted, and the lye did profit for the small time it was beleeued, the great desire they had to see the troupes of Brittaine made it be receiued without consideration, as money which is receiued by esteeme and common approbation, although it bee not of waight.

The King comes to Paris and is feasted.

The King went from Corbeil to Paris as soone as hee saw what course the Earle of Charolois tooke, He arriued there on thursday at night, and supt in the house of *Charles* of Melun his Lieftenant generall in the Isle of France, this was his triumphing feast [y] where they dranke to his health, as to *Iupiter* the Deliuerer. The Assembly of Noblemen and Ladies was great, he related his great dangers, his diligence and toyle. He drew teares of ioy and pitty from the hearers, euery man said all is well, seeing the King is wel. [z] Hee assured all his seruants that he would neuer cease vntill he had chased all his enemies out of his realme.

Bishop of Paris sent to the Earle of Charolois.

Yet his designe was to doe what he could to end it other-wise then by Armes. He sent the Bishop of Paris to the Earle of Charolois, to let him vnderstand that he desired to know to what end he was entred into his Realme with so great a troupe, for that hee could remember that when as he went into Flanders, in the time of King *Charles* the seauenth, his Father, hee was not followed with so great a traine. He commanded him to let him know the iniustice of his desseine: That he vndertooke a warre vnder collour of the publik-weale, to vndermine the whole estate, and to set fire of the house to driue them out that clensed it: That there was no such Phrensey as to make ones selfe sick to vse remedies, [b] being naturall for a sick man to desire health. But for him that was sound to make himself sicke vpon hope of cure, was folly and madnesse. The Bishop of Paris went, and hauing represented vnto the Earle of Charolois the Kings intentions and complaints. *Say vnto the King*, answered the Earle (fretting the bitternesse of his ambition with humanity and myldnesse) [c] *that I am not come to doe any ill, but to procure the good of his Realme, hauing liued in such sort with mine army, as noe man hath occasion to complaine: that being as I am, able to serue and succor my friends, and to anoy myne enemies, I am not bound to yeeld any other reason of my desseignes. But not to conceale them from him, I am heere for two reasons, the one not to fayle of my word to the Princes, which haue*

[x] *A lie how little soeuer it bee beleeued doth profit much. And newes brought by a person least suspected of lying are soonest receiued, at the least they do for a while suspend their iudgements.*

[y] *They vsed to prepare a triumphant feast for the victors, whereas the first place did belong vnto him for whom it was made, and the Counsulls were intreated not to be present, for that in their presence this honour could not be giuen to any other.* Plut. [z] *The King reported his aduentures, and in so doing spake and declared many goodly words and pittifull, where at all wept abundantly.* Chro Martin. [a] *The health of a good Prince is the health of his Estate, the people said of* Alexander Seuerus. Salua Roma quia saluus est *Alexander.* Lamprid. [b] *Peace is sweet after warre, but much more profitable before. It is better neuer to haue beene an enemy, then to bee reconcyled.* [c] *Princes desirous to raigne, haue made seruitude sweete with courtesie and mildnesse. By this poysoned myldnesse* Cæsar *ouerthrew the common-wealth of Rome.*

taken

taken armes for the publike good, the other to haue two men which the King hath fauored and supported against me: [d] *If I be come well accompanied it is to defend my selfe in France from that harme which the king would haue done me in Flanders: That when he came hee was receiued honorably, richly and quietly, and then was not that done vnto him, which hee had a will to doe vnto mee: That in a word France had more need of a warlike and armed liberty, then of a quiet and miserable seruitude.*

After the Battell the Earle of Charolois caused the whole army to bee lodged at Estampes and there abouts. The commodity of this lodging saued that which one more discomodious had lost, [e] In this place as the Earle of Charolois spake vnto Mounsieur at a window, with great attention and affection, a Britton cast a squib which strooke against the barre where they leaned, and being amazed at this accident, they thought it done of purpose to hurt them. The lodging was presently enuironed with souldiers to gard them. There was a dilligent search made for him that had done it, who beeing only couered with his inocency, descouered him-selfe and said that it was but a squib which he had cast to shew them pastime, wherevpon this great amazement was turned to a iest.

Armes of the League loged at Estampes.

All their forces being vnited they tooke councell how they shold imploy them. Their opinions were alwaies applyed to their passions and desseines. An ordinary mischiefe in enterprises where there are many commanders. [f] That of the duke of Brittain was not answerable to that of the Earle of Charolois. Monsieur seemed already weary of the warre, he lamented those that were slaine, hurt or maymed in the army, which shewed that matters were represented to his imagination of another collour, in the vndertaking then in the executing. [g] He wisht that they were to begin, greeuing that they made him the cause of so many miseries, [h] as of humain miseries the most lamentable is that which proceeds from his fault that complaines. He had kindled the fire, yet could not endure the flame, he had begun the tragedy, nay rather a cruell game, whereas men made but a sport to force, spoyle, burne and kill. He is not esteemed a soldiar that cannot doe al this in ciuill wars, the most wicked of all others, whereas by a fatall disorder they saw the fathers bury their children. [i]

Charles the Kings brother weary of the warre.

These words were well obserued by the Earle of Charolois, who from that time perswaded him-selfe, that there would be noe great difficulty to reconcyle the Duke of Berry to the King his brother, wherefore he sent vnto the King of England, although he were his enemy, for that he had fauoured the house of Lancaster, he accepted the Order of the Garter, which he ware all his life, and sought his sister in marriage, although hee had noe will to marry her, but

King of England sends the garter to the Earle of Charolois.

[d] *Priuat interests are alwaies mingled with the publike causes of warre. The E. of Charolois was an implacable enemy to the Earle of Neuers and the Lord of Croy; he added this hatred to the causes of war.*

[e] *If time and occasion giue leaue to chose a lodging to stay there, they must consider two things, which the ancient Romans haue alwaies obserued in their lodgings. The helthfulnesse of the place for one, and water with commodity of victualls for the other. They knew what places were not helthfull, obseruing their scituation & the cõplexion of the inhabitants.*

[f] *The plurality of heads is alwaies ruinous and vnproffitable, euery one seekes to preferre his owne reasons and counsells. They doe and vndoe ãndespight on of another.* Tendendo ad sua quisque consilia cum aliud alii videtur. ad inuasionẽ locum hosti apperiunt. *Tit. Liu. lib. 4.*

[g] *Matters whẽ they are conceiued and proiected haue an other face then when they are executed.*

[h] *A generous spirit is not sensible of the ruines and desolations which grow by warre and ciuill broyles. The Duke of Berry was heauy seeing so great a number slaine and hurt in the Battell of Montlehery. The first slaughters of warre strike terror into them that haue not seene them.*

[i] *When* Cræsus *was prisoner to* Cyrus, *by this reason that in the time of peace the children buried the father, and in warre the fathers bury their children, he preferred peace before warre. And of all warres ciuill is the*

being

being ingaged in this propoſition he was taken at his word, that which in the beginning was but a meere will, became neceſſity. *William* of Cluny a Prothonotary was imployed in this treaty, as in many other great occaſions, to recompence the which the Duke of Bourgundy demanded a Cardinalls hat for him, and ſent *Philibert Hugonet* Biſhop of Maſcon to Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who ſeeing the great oppoſitions which Cardinall *Latin* of Vrſins made, he fell into ſome hope to attayne vnto that dignity, the which he demanded and obtayned.

A reſolution was taken to goe directly to Paris, [k] the Army leaues Eſtampes, paſſeth by Saint Mathurin of Larchant, and Moret in Gaſtinois. Theſe two ſmale townes were appointed for the Dukes of Berry and Brittaine. The Earle of Charolois was lodged at Piguet in a large medow, faſt vpon the riuer of Seine. The Marſhall *Ioachin* and *Salezart* could not ſtop their [l] paſſage, for they had much Ordinance to make their way, and there were none but ſome few horſes on the other ſide to hinder them. In all this he was aſſiſted by the wiſe councel and experience of the Earle of Dunois, who was an *Vliſſes* in pollicy, and an *Achilles* in valour. Hee cauſed ſmall boats and wine pipes to be carried in cartes.

Paſſage of the army into the Iſle of France.

In the mideſt of the riuer of Seine there was an Iland in the which he lodged through the fauor of his Canon, remayning there all night with fifty men at armes, and the next day he finiſhed his bridge vnto the other banke. The building of this bridge brought reputation to the army, for that Prince ſeemes either very weake or very fearefull, which giues an army leyſure to make a bridge. As there is ſhame not to hinder it, ſo there is glory to finiſh it. The Romans who were rightly borne for the conqueſt of the world, were ſo Iealous of their honor at the paſſage of riuers, as they neuer paſſed ouer their Legions but vpon bridges, [m] and after that they had planted gards vpon the approches. At this paſſage the army was fortified by nine hundred horſes, led by *Iohn* Duke of Calabria, Sonne to *Rene* King of Sicile, foure hundred Crosbow-men Germans, and fiue hundred Swiſſes. [n] They hold that their were an hundred thouſand horſe in this army.

Diſpoſition of the leagues Armie.

They tooke Pont Charanton, whereas the quarters were giuen vnto the troupes to beſiege Paris. The Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria held all the banke of Seine from Charanton to Conflans. The Campe was incloſed with a number of carts. The Dukes of Berry and Brittaine were lodged at S. Maur, and all the reſt towards S. Denis. The Princes did preſently let the Pariſiens vnderſtand why they were in Armes, for the which they gaue ſuch plauſible pretexts, and offered ſo many offices [o] and preferments to them that fauoured their deſignes, as hauing let them know that they deſired to conferre together to conſult of the

moſt vniuſt, inhumaine & furious. Summũ Brute næfas ciuilia bella fatemur. *Luc.*

[k] *He that will doe any great effect in an enemies eſtate, muſt go directly to the hart, and not buſie him-ſelfe vpon the fronter.*

[l] *If there bee any thing that doth import in the conduct of an army and binds a generall to be carefull, it is the paſſage of riuers which may not be waded through, in the which there are a thouſand inconueniences. Among many meanes which* Vegetius *ſets downe, hee aduiſeth to carry ſmale boates of one peece, and plankes to lay vpon them.* Vege. lib. 3. cap. 7.

[m] *To paſſe riuers without a bridge was held vnworthy the greatneſſe and Maieſty of the Roman people.* Cæſar; Niſi põtibus preſidiiſque impoſitis dare in diſcrimen legiones haud Imperatorium ratus.

[n] *The firſt Swiſſes which carried armes came to ſerue the league of the common weale.* Phil. de Commines *ſaith that they wan credit for them that came after, for they behaued themſelues moſt valiantly in all places where they came.*

[o] *Offers made to a multitude muſt be of ſuch things as pleaſe them. They offer offices to the inhabitants of Paris:* Phil de Comines *giues the reaſon.* That offices are more deſired in that Citty then in any other in the world, for ſuch as haue them, make of them what they can, and not what they ought, and there are offices without wages which are ſold for

meanes to reforme the diſorders of the Realme, the Citie ſent her Deputies, whereof *William Chartier*, Biſhop of Paris, was the chiefe.

There was ſome Ceremonie vſed in it. The Princes aſſembled at S^t. Maur. The Duke of Berry was ſet in a chaire, the Duke of Brittanie and Calabria on the one ſide, and the Earle of Charolois on the other, with his Cuiraſſe and a rich mantle ouer it, and theſe three ſtood. P. Aſſembly of the league and Deputies of Paris.

Iohn, Baſtard of Orleans, & Earle of Dunois, propounded in the behalfe of the Princes that the deſigne of their league tended onely to the publike good, and that it was neceſſarie to vnderſtand one an other, and to haue free entrie into Paris to treat and conferre together: that the fitteſt meanes depended of that Conuocation of the Eſtates, intreating them not to bee amazed if they preſented themſelues before their Citie in Armes, hauing no other intent but to cauſe the King to giue eare q to the good and wiſe counſell which they would giue him for the publike good of the Realme, the which they ſaid was ill gouerned, laying many imputations vpon the King.

If the King, who was gone into Normandie to raiſe his troupes, had not come as a Prince ſhould come to fortifie a people amazed and wauering, this firſt conference had giuen the Princes of the league a great aduantage, for the Citie yeelded to receiue them and their men, paying and liuing without exceſſe, but being arriued, no man durſt once ſpeake of a conference or an accord, and ſuch as delt in it repented themſelues, beeing forced to depart the Realme. The Biſhop of Paris liued in diſgrace with the King, It was not a cloud r to paſſe with the firſt Sunne-ſhine, for his darkneſſe continued his whole life, and the King ſhewed ſome feeling thereof after his death, hauing cauſed his Epitaph to bee altered. Conference broken by the Kings preſence.

He was content to haue kept Paris from fayling, and would not ſearch out too curiouſly neither the names nor the number of thoſe that had mannaged this deſigne. s He conſidered that in ſo great a Citie there muſt needs be ſome bad ſpirits, t and that in publike offences the number takes away the puniſhment. Hee let the moſt capable vnderſtand that he was King, and that he had no need to haue the Princes come in Armes to reforme his Eſtate, that none of them could loue his ſubiects ſo much as himſelfe, that by the grace of God he was the father, and to let them know what they might hope for of the mildnes of his raigne, the Pariſiens priuiledges did aboliſh the impoſitions raiſed ſince the raigne of king *Charles* his father. True it is the Pariſiens could not well agree with the ſouldiers that were within the Citie, u the chiefe garriſon was of Normandie, who would liue in Paris as in a country of conquest Normans will liue at diſcretion within Paris.

eight hundred crownes, and others which haue ſmal wages are ſold for more then their wages can amount vnto in fifteen yeares.

P *If this conuerſation had beene ſuffered, ſaith* Phil. de Com. *the Princes might haue ſaid the Towne had beene won,* for the people would ſoone haue turned to their partie, for many reaſons, & by cõſequence the whole realme.

q Marc. Anthonie, *ſaith, that although all ſeditions bee dangerous, yet that is iuſt and neceſſary, when the people being oppreſt demaas reliefe from the whole congregation of citizens lawfully aſſembled.*

r *When* Athanaſius *was baniſhed by the Emperor* Iulian, *he ſaied vnto his friends that came to ſorow with him in this diſgrace* Courage my children this is but a little cloud which will vaniſh preſently. *Nic. lib.* 10. c. 19.

s Neuer *ſaith the Sig^r of Haillã did the Pariſiens hold the better partie, neither did they euer any thing well but this time; for they were for the King whome they ſupported and relieued.* t There is not any Citie *ſaith Tit. Liuius* which hath not bad Citizens, but the multitude is alwaies ignorant and groſſe. u *Townes beſieged haue many times ſuffered more by them within it then by the enemie. Such was the eſtate of the Lucanians defended by the Epirots.* Tit. Liu. lib. 8.

conqueſt, threatning to doe any thing, and they were not fearefull to any but to their hoſts. [x] The Bourgeſſes were mooued and prepared for their defence, as well againſt them within, as their enemies abroad. The people hold all them for enemies that trouble them, and know not how to endure: they of Paris were not then ſo apt to ſuffer, as they haue been a hundred and fiftie yeares after, for the firſt daie that the Princes armie appeared before the citie [y]. The King telling certaine Bourgeſſes that were in guard at S[t]. *Antonies* gate, that the Bourgundians ſhould not annoy them as they had done, a Proctor of the Chaſtelet hauing more feeling of the wine that was loſt, then of the bloud that was ſpilt, anſwered, *Yea Sir, but they gather our* [z] *Vines and eate our grapes, and we cannot help it. It were better* replyed the King, *that they eate your grapes, then to come and take the ſiluer which you haue hidden in your ſellers.* Paris hath alwaies loued her eaſe, and to take her gaine from her [a] were to draw her out of her Element. They are prompt vppon the firſt terrors, and are ſooner ſicke of opinion then effect, more things amaze them then hurt them.

The Armie ſhewed it ſelfe euery day as it were in Battell in that great plaine towards S[t]. Anthonies, and to make it ſeeme greater the horſe-boyes tarried not at home, but ſome ſeemed gallant, whom hunger tormented, and many had winde in their bellies as well as in their heads. It was obſerued then for a ſtrange thing that the armie which thought to famiſh Paris, had beene famiſhed without Paris: ſo commodious is the ſituation of this Citie and was ſo well choſen by her firſt founders. [b] The King who in the guiding of this Ship hath his eyes alwaies lift vp to heauen and his hands at the helme, was more reſolute to defend himſelfe then to attempt any thing, yet hee made a trench from Charanton beneath Conflans with a little fort at the head of it, where hee lodged foure thouſand Archers, with ſome Ordinance, which made the Princes to keepe their chambers, for it played in their quarter. The Dukes of Berry & Brittanie came in the morning to the Earles lodging to hold a Councell, where they dined and departed not but by the fauour of the night.

Paris famiſheth the Armie which would haue famiſhed it.

This was all that the King did, for hee held it not fit to hazard any thing, hee knew this great and gaping breach would exhale contagious vapors, that it would not be cloſed vp with the death of one man alone, but would ſwallow a million, that he had rather ſaue his ſubiects then vanquiſh his enemies. [c] So great a conſpiracie would that choller ſhould ſtraine the ſinewes of his ſoule, and that hee ſhould refuſe peace to them who demanded nothing

[x] *There can be no great exploits expected againſt an enemie from a ſoldier that is inſolent and inſupportible to his hoſt, as were they of* Vitellius, *whom* Tac. *calls* Hoſpitibus tantũ metuendos.

[y] *A people ſhut vp is ſubiect to looſe patience, and to result againſt his prince when hee ſees the enemie to ſpoile his poſſeſſions abroad, & that he is tormẽted by thẽ within that gard him. Wherefore he muſt be kept in awe by two meanes, vigour and mildnes, by the feare of worſe and hope of better.*

[z] *The vines about Paris were gather'd the firſt daies of the ſiege, before September, although the grapes were not ripe. The Chronicle ſaith that the wine was very ſmall, and that they called it wine of the Bourgondians yeare.*

[a] *Great townes are not kept in obedience and awe but by the meanes which the people haue to gaine.* Cleon *could do much in Athens, for that hee flattered the common people, vſing them like an old man and giuing them ſtil ſome meanes to gaine* Plut. *in the life of* Niceas.

[b] *The firſt care of them that build Cittes, is for the Commodity of victualls: The Ingenor* Democrates *perſwaded* Alexander *to build a towne vpon Mont Athos.* Alexander *commended this deſigne, but how ſaid he ſhall the Inhabitants liue, where with* Democrates *was confounded, and* Alexander *mocking his Architector, built Alexandria neere vnto the ſea, and the Riuer of Nil.* Phil. de Commines *obſeruing that the ſiege had cauſed no dearth of victuals in Paris and that the Citty did furniſh them abundantly admires the ſcituation.*

[c] *A Prince ſhould alwayes haue in his mind, euen in the heat of Combats, that royall ſaing of* Scipio *which* Anthony *the Gentle did ſo much eſteeme.* Se malle vnum ſeruare Ciuem quam mille hoſtes occidere. *Jul. Capitoll.*

but warre, but he repreſented vnto himſelfe the deadly bitings of incenſed neceſſitie; that the bloud which ſhould bee ſpilt in this warre flowed from his veines, that the blowes would fall vppon his members, and vpon part of his bowels: That it is a goodly thing to ſuffer himſelfe to bee vanquiſhed, when the victorie is dangerous to the victor.

Hee reſolued to make their Camels drinke the water which them ſelues had troubled. They propounded a peace with goodly conditions. The Princes make ſhow that they deſired not warre but for the publike quiet, and to liue without wrong. They made many truces to treat that, they which laſting but little was not much diſtinguiſhed from warre, [d] as the middeſt doth alwaies leane more to one of the extremes then to the other. The treatie was begun by diuers, but the King ended it, who one morning came by the riuer to Conflans.

Before he went out of the boat hee ſaïd vnto the Earle who attended him on the banke. *Brother doe you aſſure me that?* to whom the Earle of Charrolois anſwered, *I as a brother.* [e] He receiued the King with much reſpect, and the King ſpake vnto him with great mildnes, which made his heart apt for any impreſſion, ſo great is the force of words, and ſo well hee could handle his tongue, the which he vſed as a penſill for all coulours.

Enteruiew of the King & Earle of Charolois.

He that will haue effects according to his owne heart, muſt not ſpare words to his liking that may giue them. Mens ſpirits are gouerned by words, as a ſhip is gouerned by the helme, and a horſe by the bit, and wee cannot ſay what power the ſweetnes of words haue ouer the minde of man. [f] The King, framing his ſpeech to this tune, ſaid vnto the Earle. *Brother I know that you are a Gentleman, and of the houſe of France: why my Lord, anſwered the Earle. For that,* ſaid the King, *When the foole* Moruillier *ſpake ſo boldly vnto you, you ſent me word that I would repent the words hee had ſpoken before the yeare were paſt, you haue not failed, and before the time.* The King ſpake theſe words with a countenance ſo free and full of affection, although his heart were full of indignation and ſpleene, as the Earle tooke delight in it. He diſauowed *Moruillier*, and tooke the ſeales from him. Princes play with their ſubiects, and diſauow them when as their negotiations are not anſwerable to their hopes.

He did walke long by the riuers ſide, betwixt the Earle of Charolois, and the Earle of St. Paul, and heard their Intentions. [g] The Earle of Charolois demanded the Dutchie of Normandie for the Duke of Berry, and the riuer of Somme for himſelfe, little for the publike, and much for priuate men. The King told him plainely that he would neuer conſent to diſmember the Duchie of Nor-

[d] *A ſhort truce fauours more of war then peace.* Ignauum tempus, nec pace lætũ, nec belliś exercitum; Cognatæ induciis Inſidiæ ſunt.

[e] *The word of an enemie is a dangerous aſſurance,* K. Lewis *the eleuenth had no other to goe into the Princes Army which were inâſt against him. If there cõfidence hath vndone ſome, it hath bin ſucceſsefull to others, and* Scipio Africanus *went vpon this aſſurance to* Siphax, *who although he were a barbarian & a cruell enemie to the Romane name, yet the mildnes and generoſitie of* Scipio *made him a friend.* Ladiſlaus *King of* Bohemia *went freely to* Mathias *King of* Hungary *his capitall enemy, to end controuerſies which could not be determined at* Olmutz, *& they became great friends.* Dubraulib.23

[f] *Words are the Inſtrument by the which the minde of man is animated, thruſt forward and held backe. A Prince that knowes how to vſe them hath a great aduantage in all that he treates, and when it is accompanied with ſuch ſweetnes as grauity is not wronged, it workes what it liſts in the hearts of men.*

[g] *The King who thought nothing wel done if he were not an Actor, went to the Earle of Charolois, preferring the neceſſity of his affaires, before the conſideration of his qualitie, for he held that the honor and glory of an action depended on profit.* Yet they had deputed ſome of either ſide to treat: For the King were imployed *Charles* of Aniou Earle of Maine. The Signeur of Preſſigny Preſident of the Acounts & *Io. Dauuet* Preſident of the Parlament of Toulouſa. For the Princes the D. of

mandy

mandie, but he was content to reſtore him the Townes of Somme: and finding that the Earle of St. Paul was the Oracle of the Counſels and will of this Prince, he offered him the office of Conſtable. By theſe offers the ſtrict bond of this league began to be diſſolued, for there is nothing ſo faſt bound but it is vndone when as one ſtring begins to ſlip. The King did and ſpake all things ſo cunningly, mingly offers with threats, and curteſies with braueries, as the Earle applied himſelfe to his intentions.

Muſter of the leagues Armie in view of the King.

The day after this firſt conference [h], the Earle of Charolois muſtred his Armie, whether the King came with thirty or forty horſe, commending thoſe goodly forces. The Earle of Charolois ſpeaking vnto them vſed theſe words. *My maſters you and I are for the King our Soueraigne Lord, to ſerue him when ſoeuer hee ſhall haue need of vs.*

The Kings offers bred a iealouſie betwixt the Princes of the league, euery man cared for his owne affaires. The Earle of Charolois ſaw one day vpon his conferences and propoſitions three Councels and three bands, whereat hee was diſcontented, ſaying, that there ſhould not be any thing ſecret in his preſence: During theſe conferences and enteruiewe. *Iſabell* of Bourbon Counteſſe of Charolois died, the Earle mourned, and the King did comfort him. This death gaue ſome more facilitie to the peace, for the marriage of the Earle with the Lady *Anne* of France, the Kings eldeſt Daughter, was propounded, with the tranſport of the Counties of Bry and Champagne [i] for her dowrie and preferment, which the Kings Predeceſſors had neuer done in marrying their daughters. The Earle of Charrolois affected nothing more, but vpon the doubt which was made vnto him of the alienation of theſe two Prouinces, he ſent *William Hugonet*, and *Iohn Carandolet* to Paris, to know if theſe two peeces might be ſeperated from the Crowne. The King gaue them all the aſſurances they could deſire, but he ſhewed that his intent was not to lodge his daughter in a houſe which he could not loue.

The conditions of the accord being treated after this manner with the Earle of Charolois, as hee who had all the power in his hands, euery man ſtood vpon his gard. The Earle was aduertiſed of the kings deſignes, and there was ſtill ſome one which diſcouered the Earles vnto the King. [k] A page came at midnight to the riuer ſide crying, that they ſhould be ſet vpon by all the forces that were in Paris. This cry gaue ſo hot an Alarum, as no man doubted it. Monſieur and the Duke of Brittanie ſhewed themſelues armed, which elſe they had neuer done, and ſo paſt through the armie, to finde the Earle of Charolois, and the Duke of Calabria, who had ſent skouts to diſcouer, Theſe men troubled with the darknes of the night, and the generall feare [l] beeing neere vnto Paris tooke

Dukes of Berry and Brittanie armed once during this warre.

Calabria, the Earle of Dunois, and the E. of St. Paul.

[h] *This conference of the King and the Earle was the end of the war. It was not thought fit the King ſhould ſeeke vnto the Earle, but to do his buſines hee paſt all formalities, & would not omit that to hope which he might doe by diſcretiō. What doth it import to aſcend to any place, to vſe ſtaires of wood, or ſtone, or whether the key bee of gold or iron, ſo as it open.*

[i] *In marriages of the daughters of France, Kings haue ſometimes giuen money, & ſometimes lands of the Crowne vpon condition they ſhould returne.* Charles *the fift gaue to his two eldeſt daughters a 100000. franks of gold, and to the reſt 60000.* Charls *the ſixt gaue eight hundred thouſand to* Iſabell *married to* Richard *the ſecond King of England.* King Iohn *gaue the Contie of Somiers in Languedoc to* Iſabel *his daughter, married to the Duke of Milan.* Lewis *the yong gaue to* Margaret *his daughter married to* Henry *the third King of England the Contie of Vexin.*

[k] *In ciuill warres Councels are not ſecret, and the moſt hidden are diuulged, euery one hath ſome friend on the contrarie partie.*

[l] Cæſar *ſent* Conſydius *at the break of day to diſcouer the enemy, and going, feare ſurpriſed him, ſo as he returned, with all ſpeed, and although hee had not ſeene any thing yet hee ſaid that the enemy had already gotten the top of a mountaine*

thiſtels for the pikes and lances of an Armie put in Battell, and ſo returned ſweating, to tell them that all Paris came vppon them. *Iohn* Duke of Calabria came vnto the Dukes ſtandard, who like a couragious Prince, beleeuing that which hee deſired, ſpake after this manner. *Now we are come to that which we haue alwaies deſired, behold the King and all the people ſallied out of the Cittie, and marching, as our skouts report, and to the end euery man may haue courage, euen as they ſallie out of Paris, wee will meaſure after the Cittie Ell, which is the greateſt meaſure.*

The Duke of Bourgundy vppon ſome aduertiſement that the Duke of Berry and Brittanie might make their accord apart, as the Kings deſigne was onely to diuide them, he held it not fit to leaue his Sonne in that Eſtate as he ſhould bee forced to doe any thing vpon neceſſitie, [m] and that if he were fortified with men and Armes, he ſhould keep his confederates in awe, and make his conditions more aſſured. [n] He ſent him a hundred and twenty men at Armes led by the Lord of Saueur, a thouſand fiue hundred Archers, and ſixſcore thouſand crownes, the which would haue made him more difficult in the Treatie, if they had come before the concluſion.

Succors of men and money ſent to the Earle of Charolois.

It had been concluded that *Monſieur* ſhould reſigne Berry vnto the King, and haue the Duchie of Normandie, & that *Iohn* Duke of Bourbon ſhould enter into the Caſtle of Rouen [o] during the treatie, but hee entred alſo into the Towne. When as the King ſaw that the Normans had allowed of this change without thoſe difficulties and moderations which he expected, he ſent word vnto the Earle of Charolois that he deſired to meete with him neere vnto Conſians. Hee came, and the King ſaid vnto him, that the Peace was made ſeeing his Brother was in Rouen. This did ſo pleaſe the Earle of Charolois, as vnwittingly hearing and ſpeaking with affection of this accord, hee found himſelfe at the entry of the Bulwarke, which was at the end of the trench which the King had cauſed to be made, by the which they might enter into the Towne. The long black cloake which he carried for the loſſe of his wife, ſeemed in a manner to mourne for his libertie.

Dutchie of Normandie giuen to the Kings brother.

Earle of Charolois in a danger not foreſeene.

He was much amazed, but hee diſſembled his feare and his amazement all hee could, fearing that if the King perceiued it, he would hold himſelfe wronged, and it may bee proceed farther. The chiefe men that were in the Armie held their maſter loſt, and repreſented vnto thēſelues that which had hapened to his Grandfather at Montreau Faut Yonne. Choller forced the ſignior of Neufchaſtell, Marſhall of Bourgundy, to vſe theſe words. *If this foole and mad man hath vndone himſelfe, we muſt not follow him, nor ruine his houſe nor his fathers affaires, let euery man thinke of his owne ſafety and of an honorable retreat: No man can hinder vs from recouering of the frontier.*

The ioy was exceeding great when they ſaw him returne. This Marſhall ſeeing him, ſaid vnto him, that he was not at his ſeruice but

[m] *Whereas Cæſar ment to lodge, and that hee knew that by their Armes & Cattes, & with knowledge of the Gauls. Cæſar lib. 1. of the warr of Gaule.*

[m] *He that ſuffers himſelfe to bee ſurpriſed by neceſſitie, doth no more, any thing freely, his councels & actions ſauour of a troubled iudgement.*

[n] *To make a peace honorable and with aduantage, it muſt be done in Arms and that hee whom they will wrong may ſay boldly, I will not doe it.*

[o] *The Duke of Bourbon entred into Rouen by the Caſtle, the widdow to the ſignior of Brezay Seneſchal of Normandie fauoured this entrie, contrary to the Kings intention. The Biſhop of Bayeux, and* Iohn Hebert *Generall of the Finances of France aduanced the ſame deſigne. All offended the K. and repented the diſpleaſure they had done him.*

[p] *An iniury muſt bee diſſembled when as he that receiues it is not in caſe to reuenge it, and that he is in dāger to receiue a greater if hee make ſhow of it. So* Agripina *ſeemed not to*

but by loane, ſo long as his father liued. ¶ *Chide mee not*, anſwered the Earle. *I confeſſe my great error but I found it ſo late as I was neere vnto the Bulwarke.* The Marſhall of Bourgundy added, *you haue done it without me.* The Earle of Charolois held downe his head and made no anſwere, for that which he had done exceeded the bounds of all iudgement. The King was commended to haue dealt ſo iuſtly, and the Earle of Charolois to haue committed himſelfe ſo freely into a ſtrongers hands.

Heacknowledgeth his error and is aſhamed.

The conditions of the peace beeing all concluded, the King gaue to the Earle of Charrolois the Caſtle of Bois de Vincennes for his aſſurance, promiſing to come thither the next day. Hee came, where alſo were the Dukes of Berry and Brittanie and the Earle of Charolois, the ports were well garded, and the approches fortified, and the King was in the like feare in the Caſtle, as the Earle of Charolois had beene in the Bulwarke. Euery man thought that the Publike weale, which had beene ſo much exalted in this league, ſhould be preferred before all other conditions of the Treatie. But it is a folly to thinke that what is deſired of many can ſucceed, when it depends of the affections of few men, [r] which haue diuers deſignes. They talked thereof when as all was done. The Earle of Charolois had the Townes of either ſide the riuer of Somme, Amiens, St. Quentin, Corbie, Abbeuille, the countie of Ponthieu, Dourlans, St. Requier, Creuecæur, Arleux, Monſtreuil, Croton, and Mortaigne, to bee redeemed for two hundred thouſand crownes, after the death of the Earle of Charolois. The King to retire theſe Townes had nine monethes before paied foure hundred thouſand crownes. Monſieur did homage vnto the King for the Duchie of Normandy.

Treatie of peace concluded at Bois de Vincennes.

The Duke of Brittaine held ſome places in Normandy, which he kept ſtill, for he ſaid he had contributed more, for the charges of the warre, then all the reſt.

The Conuocation of the eſtates was reſolued, and in the meane time it was held fit to chuſe 36. perſons, of all the orders of France, to prouide with the Earle of Dunois for the diſorder of Iuſtice and the reformation of the eſtate. The King made no difficulty to grant all they demanded reſeruing vnto himſelfe the liberty to hinder it. His intent was to diuide the forces of the league, and then to turne ouer his bookes of the ſword and dagger, [t] where were written in red letters, their names which had offended him during his retreat into Flanders and his fathers raigne, which had followed his brother and the Princes of the league, and eſpecially they that had receiued him ſo eaſily into Normandy: for he would not for any thing haue conſented to giue him that Prouince, if he had not beene aſſured of their conſtancy that held the chiefe places.

Reformation of the diſorders of the realme.

perceiue that Nero would haue ſlaine her.

¶ *A young Prince muſt bee reprehended by ſuch perſons whoſe age, experience, and authoritie giue power to ſpeake freely, but the acknowledgement of the error muſt cauſe the reprehenſion ceaſe, the which muſt not be done publikely, leaſt it breed contempt, and that they which ſhould bee confirmedin an opinion that their commanmander hath nothing imperfect, grow doubtfull of his conduct. So all bold ſpeeches & free aduertiſements to a delicate Prince, that cannot endure to be grieued by hearing, are dangerous.*

[r] *Matters done hardly ſucceede but according to the intent of the firſt mouers. Priuat intereſts and deſignes bande againſt publike intentions, and ſeldom is it ſeene what all deſire is executed by few.*

[t] *Election of thirty ſix Deputies to conſult of the remedies of the common-weale, and the eaſe of the people, the King promiſing to cõfirme all that ſhould be done by them.* [t] *The Emperor* Caligula *had two ſecret bookes, the one was called the ſword and the other the dagger, wherein they were noted that ſhould be put to death with thoſe kind of Armes* Suet. cap. 49.

[u] *King* Lewis *the eleuenth held Normandie the moſt important Prouince of his Realme, he gaue it to his Brother but to delay him, it was to faire a peece to giue for a portion.* Philip de Commines *ſaith, he had ſeene raiſed in Normandie foureſcore and fifteene thouſand pound ſterling.*

But

But the Normans, who did alwaies thinke that their Country did well deſerue a Duke, conſented to this change for the deſire they had to haue a Prince, which ſhould remaine within the Prouince. There were but three which deſired rather to leaue their houſes then to change their maiſter. Iuſtice had greater power in their ſoules then wiſedome. The Seneſhall of Normandy, the Balyſe of Rouen, and one named *Picard*, who was afterwards Generall of Normandy. The Hiſtory owes them this teſtimony of honor, [x] the which is the more conſiderable, for that there is ſome difficulties to retire ones ſelfe out of a preſſe that runs headlong, and that the imitation and example of ill, preſents it ſelfe alwaies with much heat.

Departure of the Earle of Charolois.

At their departure from Bois de Vincennes, euery one tooke his courſe, the Dukes of Normandy and Brittaine went to Rouen, the King did accompany the Earle of Charolois to Villiers the faire. They lodged together for a proofe of the confidence they had one of another. The King was the weaker hauing but a ſmall troupe, but there was order that 200. men at armes ſhould come to accompany him to Paris. An act of wiſedome, as commendable as thoſe of precedent conferences, and truſts had beene dangerous: for in ſuch occaſions there is nothing more ſafe then not to giue any aduantage to his aduerſe party to wrong him: [y] The Earle of Charolois hearing thereof was troubled, and cauſed his men to arme and ſtand vpon their gardes, Morning being come, the King bad the Earle farewell, and returning with them that came to fetch him, he freed him from al ſubiect to diſtruſt his intentions.

The Kings returne to Paris.

He entred gloriouſly into Paris, to haue ſo happily calmed the ſtorme which threatened him, and two daies after his arriuall hee cauſed them to feaſt him at ſupper in the Townehouſe. The greateſt perſonages were inuited with their wiues, hee thanked the Pariſiens for their fidelity and conſtancy in ſo important an occaſion: he commended them that had done him good ſeruice, [a] and among others *Robert* of Eſtouteuille, to whom he reſtored the Prouoſtſhip of Paris, which he had taken away, he hauing held it during the raigne of King *Charles his* father. He diſplaced the firſt Preſident of Nanterre [b] and gaue that charge to *Iohn Dauuet* firſt Preſident of Tholouſa: he tooke the ſeales from *Moruillier*, and reſtored them to *Iuuenall* of Vrſins, from whom he had taken them.

Contentment of priuat men maks them forget the publike.

The treaty [c] ſigned and ſworne was proclaimed, and thereby the warre for the publicke weale was ended, contenting the intereſts of priuate men. The King deſired to quench the fire of this deuiſion rather with ſiluer then with blood, and teares of his ſubiects. To the Duke of Bourbon was aſſigned the like penſion that he receiued of *Charles* the ſeauenth. *Anthony* of Chabannes Earle of Dammartin,

[x] *To doe well among men of honor is eaſie and ordinary but not to ſuffer himſelfe to be tranſported with the corruptions of the time nor to follow the violent paſſions of a multitude but to deſire the good, to dare vndertake it and to effect it in a bad ſeaſon, in the which vice is honored with the recompence of vertue, it is an infallible argument of a ſpirit wonderfully diſpoſed by nature to all good and commendable thinges.*

[y] *All aſſurances of friendſhip, faith and promiſes which may be drawne from an enemy are good and profitable, but by reaſon of the inconſtancy of men and time there is none better, then ſo to fit himſelfe as he may haue noe meanes to hurt him.*

[a] *Vppon the ſuſpitiõ which the Earle of Charolois had of this troupe* Phil. de Com. *ſpeaketh thus.* It is almoſt impoſsible that 2. great Noblemen can agree together, for the reports and iealouſies which they haue continually: And two great Princes that will entertaine friendſhip ſhould neuer ſee one another, but ſend honeſt and diſcreet men, who ſhall entertaine them, and repaire their errors. [a] *It is a great content for good men to ſee how the Prince eſteemes their courage and fidellity.* [b] *When as* Lewis 11. *came vnto the Crowne, he made* Helias *of Tourette firſt Preſident, who dyed ſoone after, and this place was giuen to the Preſident of Nanterre, at the ſuit of* Iohn *of* Bureau *a Knight, Siegneur of Monglat.* [c] *Treaty of Conflans proclaimed at Paris the* 28. *of October* 1465.

was

was reſtored to his landes and ſoone after made Lord Steward of France, in the place of the lord of Crouy.[d]

Many others ſuffered themſelues to bee vanquiſhed by the King, thinking themſelues more happy to fall vnder his power, then to eſcape,[e] for they were freed from miſeries, and ſuch as remained with the Earle of Charolois could not hope for any great felicity, knowing his Councells and deſignes to be vnfortunate, and it ſeemed his head was not made but to aflict & ruine his body. And for that the Earle of St. *Paul* was as it were Arbitrator of all the Earles Councels, the King wonne him, offring him the ſword of France, which *Valeran* or Luxembourg[f] had ſometimes carried.

Earle of St. Paul made Conſtable of France.

It is the firſt dignity of all the orders of France, hee carries the ſword not in a ſcabberd behind the King as they do before the Duke of Venice, to ſhew that the vſe and authority depends of them that follow it, but naked before the King, who alone commands to draw it and to put it vp, when he pleaſeth, as hauing the only power of the ſword ouer his ſubiects. That of his Iuſtice remaines in the hands of his ſoueraigne Courts, for the puniſhment of Crimes wherewith he meddles not: *Iupiter* doth not ſtrike, hurt, nor condemne any man. Not only the Princes eyes but his pictures and his ſtatues [g] ſhould be farre from executions. The Kings of France haue held this courſe to reſerue vnto themſelues pardons, benefits and rewards, leauing the diſtribution of puniſhments to their officers.

First dignity of the State.

Lewis of Luxembourg was declared Conſtable at the marble table, he tooke his oath, and his authoritie was verified by the Court of Parliament. As *Arthur*[h] of Brittanie Earle of Richmont was the firſt whoſe letters of Conſtable were there publiſhed, ſo *Lewis* of Luxembourg was the firſt that tooke his oath there. We muſt not iudge of a mans fortune by the glorie of ſuch dignities, they bee peeces of Chriſtall, which as they gliſter ſo they will breake. To hold a man happie that enters into great charges, is to giue the name of the image to the mettle which is not yet molten. Wee muſt ſee him come, liue and runne to the end of the courſe, to know what the iſſue will be.

With this charge *Lewis* of Luxembourg was wedded to his own ruine, and did himſelfe adde much vnto it, for notwithſtanding that he were bound vnto the King both by reaſon and oath, yet (as it is hard but the tree will retaine ſomething of the ſoyle where it firſt tooke roote[i]) the affections of men beeing like vnto a ſtreame which ouerflowes and waters a field and is nothing the cleerer: He ſtill kept a naturall inclination to the ſeruice of his firſt Prince, grounding his affections vpon one maxime, in the which hee found his ruine inſtead of greatnes, whereunto he aſpired. [k] He thought

Affection of the Conſtable S^t. Paul.

[d] *Ther was neuer ſo great a marriage but ſome dined ill, ſome did w^at they liſted, and others had nothing.* Phil de Com. lib. 1. Cap. 14.

[e] *Thoſe that were ſubdued by* Alexander *were more happy then they that eſcaped his power, for theſe had not any one to free thē from their miſery, & the others were made happy by the Victor* Plut.

[f] Valeran *of Luxembourg Earle of St.* Paul *was made Conſtable of France.* Anno, 1411. *two yeares after he yelded vp the ſword to* Charles *Earl of Albret & Sully, from whom King* Charles *the ſixth had taken it.*

[g] *A Prince ſhould abhorre all that is inhumane and cruel. The Emperor* Claudius *cauſed Auguſtus Image to bee taken frō the place where as ſlaues were puniſhed, which had ſlandered their Maiſters vnder the Empire of* Caius *or* Tiberius, *to the end it ſhould not be violated nor behold thoſe puniſhments.* Dion. [h] Arthur *of Brittaine was choſen Conſtable of France, by the ſuffrages of all the Princes and great Counſell, and although the King was then troubled in his iudgement and the ſeales of France ſtampt with the Queenes picture, yet by letters of proviſion. But the keeping of the Kings ſword is giuen for the Kings ſeruice, in fealty and homage and to be the chiefe in warre aboue all next vnto the King.* [i] *Strangers do not at the firſt leaue their affection to their party although they quit it.* Solon *would not allow a ſtranger to be a Bourgeſſe in Athens, if he were not baniſhed from his Country.* [k] Theramenes *an Athenian the ſonne of* Aignon, *for that he was not firme in his opinions, holding ſometimes one party, ſometimes*

to play [k] *Theramenes* in this Tragedie, to remaine a neuter betwixt theſe two great Potentates, to make them quarrell when he pleaſed, to iudge of the blowes, and to keep himſelfe from danger, thinking to be alwaies ſupported by the one when the other ſhould ſeek to ruine him, and to make both of them depend ſo vpon his will, as as hee ſhould preſcribe them a lawe of warre and peace when hee pleaſed, not conſidering that newtrality, which may bee commended in a prince, when by reaſon of wiſedome or weaknes he cannot doe otherwiſe, is meere trechery and treaſon in a ſubiect, who can haue but one maiſter.

It was a great miſerie for him to be betwixt two Princes which could not agree. He that is in this eſtate is not like vnto the towne of Siria, [l] which was nothing anoyed being inuironed by the Armies of the Romans and Parthians. Hee finds his condition oftentimes like vnto the miſerable marriner of Tire, whom one waue caſt out of the ſhip, and another brought him in againe. His humor did fauor his bad fortune, wauering alwaies amidſt the vncertainty of his reſolutions, and a ſpirit of contradiction.

His bad conduct & vnfortunate end.

When he was freed from one buſineſſe he intangled himſelfe with another, well in France, ill in Flanders, and as the cloudes turne alwayes either into wind, or to raine, his enterpriſes ended alwayes in teares or ſighes. In a word he made a trade of the profeſſion of armes, and did not take them to haue peace, but to make the warre continue. [m]

He kindles the firebrands of warre.

When as he ſaw that Councells are not eſteemed by Princes but according to the euents, hee deſired to make his to be allowed by ſome fauorable occaſion. He ſees the Duke of Bourgondy buſie in warre againſt them of Liege, he knowes how much the King is offended at the practiſes and Intelligences which the Dukes of Normandy and Brittaine had with his enemie, hee therefore Counſells him to make warre againſt them, to make worke in their owne eſtates, and to kindle a fire in their owne houſes, to the end they ſhould not haue leiſure to caſt it againſt their Neighbours. Theſe two Princes in the beginning were great friends, [n] but as great hatred growes from great friendſhip, they did ſo iarre in the diuiſion of the fruites of the peace, as they continued not long together. The Duke of Normandies ſeruants, who had ſerued King *Charles* the ſeauenth, could not indure the Brittons for companions. The Duke of Brittaine would bee reſpected as the inſtrument of their good fortune. Seeing theſe two Princes could not remaine Neighbours, they would neuer haue beene aſſociated in the Empire. [o]

The Duke of Normandy was aduertiſed that the Duke of Brittanie had a deſigne not to leaue him, and that the Earle of Dammartin vndertooke to lead him into Brittaine. Hee was then at Mont St. Catherines attending vntill the preparation which they made for his entry were finiſhed, but when hee had ſent notice thereof to them of Rouen, they would not deferre his entry a minute. They ſet him on horſeback without a foot-cloth, and led him to the

another, was called Cothureux which is a kind of buſkin vſed in Tragedies fit for either foot. Plut. *in the life of* Niceas.

[l] Pliny *ſaith that the towne of Palmira in Syria remained without touch amidſt the powers of the Romane and Parthian Empires.*

[m] *Whilſt that Rome was well gouerned (which was vntill the time of the Gracchi) there was neuer Captaine nor Souldier which made a trade of war, when it was ended euery man returned to his firſt exerciſe.* Attillius Regulus *being Generall of the Army in the laſt war againſt Carthage, demanded leaue of the Senate to returne vnto his houſes to manure his grounds which his farmors had left waſt.*

[n] *Of great friendes are made the greateſt ennemies; hatred followes and accompanies friendſhip.* Chilon *tould him that vanted he had no enemies.* That he ſhould alſo haue noe friends. Plut.

[o] *An admirable and ſole example of true friendſhip.* Diocleſian *and* Maxim. *Em-*

the Cathedrall Church in a black veluet gowne, where they ſware obedience vnto him, the Brittons were out of countenance to ſee their deſignes made fruſtrate. The King made his profit of this bad intelligence. He came into Normandy, and within few daies forced his brother to depart. The Earle of Charrolois was much greeued that this diuiſion had loſt Normandy, P for hee beleeued that that Prouince being out of the Kings handes hee was weakned a third part. Monſieur had no other refuge then Brittaine, being poore naked and diſpoſſeſt, whith mooued them to pitty, that were too weak to releeue him, and ſupport him againſt a Brother who was ſo great and mighty.

Normandy yeelded to the King.

The Earle of Charrolois was not long in ſuſpence whether the King would hold all that he had promiſed: for hauing ſent *Imbercourt* and *Caronàolet* vnto him to put him in minde of the promiſe of marriage of his daughter, they found that ſhee was promiſed to *Peter* of Bourbon Lord of Beaujeu. The King told them that hee would marrie her better cheape then the Earle of Charolois would take her, and that *Champagne* and *Brie*, were too good to bee diſmembred from the Crowne.

If men could iudge as truely as ſodainly of all things, What ſhould remaine for the prouidence of God to decide? Euery man thought that France would neuer eſcape this Apoplexie, which if it did not bring death, would at the leaſt end with a Palſey, but her deſtinies were otherwiſe ſet downe in the eternall tables of the great God, the father of time, the true *Saturne* q which muſt bee worſhipped bare-headed, and knowes onely the periods and ends of Eſtates. After the glorie, which belongs wholly to his bounty, We muſt commend the Kings wiſedome and iudgement, who remained ſo ſtaied in occaſions, where as the coldeſt ſpirits would haue been inflamed to runne vpon their enemies. He plaied *Sertorius* againſt *Metellus*. r

France neuer ſaw ſo many men aſſembled to ruine her, but ſhe ſhewed that her foundations were good. The forces that were before Paris were ſo great and ſo many as they might well be admired both of friends and enemies: for it was an apparent demonſtration what this Crowne can doe againſt the conſpiracie of all others. Yet Paris did feele of this ſtorme long after, and was ſo vnpeopled by this warre, and by a plague which happened in Auguſt 1467. as the king to repeople it drew ſtrangers thither with great priuiledges, as ſuch as had been condemned by iuſtice, by the aſſurance of impunitie, and all, as the Chronicle ſaith, according to the priuiledge giuen to all baniſhed men remaining in the Townes of St. Malo and Valenciennes.

Vnpeopling of Paris.

The fidelitie of Paris ſaued the Eſtate, for if ſhee had refuſed entrie vnto the king, he was reſolued to retire into Suiſſer-land, or to the Duke of Milan. It is true that as it happens alwaies in Ciuill warres

perors enired the Empire together, commanded together, and left it with one accord.

P *Ruines cauſed by diuiſion are repaired by cõcord. The Dukes of Normandie and Brittanie cõſidering that they had loſt Normandie by their bad intelligence, reconcile themſelues. It is impoſſible ſaith Phil. de Com. by this diuiſion that many Noblemen can long liue together, if there be not one head aboue them. A Prince hauing command ouer* 10000. *men, and meanes to entertaine thẽ, is more to bee feared then ten allies & confederats hauing euery one ſix thouſand, for that they haue ſo many things to accord betwixt them, as halfe the time is ſpent before they conclude any thing.*

q *The Romans held* Saturne *to be the God and father of truth and did ſacrifice bare-headed vnto him, to ſhew that there is not any thing hidden frõ him.*

r Metellus *ſought onely to fight.* Sertorius *refuſing the Battel cut of his victuals, tooke his water frõ him, & kept him from forrage. When he thought to march, he ſtaied him, when he was lodged, he annoyed him in ſuch ſort as he forced him to diſlodge, if he layed ſiege to any place, hee found himſelfe beſieged through want of*

warres [s] whereas diſtruſts and iealouſies grow without ſowing, the religion of ſecrecie was not obſerued, for the Princes were aduertiſed of all the reſolutions that were taken againſt them, yea of the time and of the ſally which ſhould be made vpon their Armie in three ſeuerall places; the firſt and the greateſt towards Paris, the ſecond towards Pont Charanton, and the third by Bois de Vincennes. Wherefore all this ſiege the king was euer in Iealouſie [t] for that one night he found the Baſtille gate open towards the field. The Chronicle ſaith it was on Thurſday the 29. of September. He was conceited it had beene done by *Charles* of Melun, but he made no ſhew of it. Wiſe Princes ſhould not lightly call in doubt two ſuch deere and precious things, as the reputation and loyaltie of their ſeruants. [u] *Phil. de Commines* ſaith notwithſtanding that the king had not a better ſeruant that yeere then this *Charles de Melun*, and the Chronicle attributes to his care the honor to haue ſaued Paris.

The beſt blowes which were giuen at this ſiege were drawne from his head, and from the wiſe reſolution which he tooke, not to haue any thought but to diuide the company, he had forces ſufficient to fight with all the Princes together without paine or perill, they had not yet paſt their Apprentiſhip in warre. Onely the Duke of Calabria knew ſomething, hauing learned it vnfortunately in the warre of Naples. The Earle of Charolois had in his youth followed his Father in his Armies and Battels, but a long peace had made him forget more then hee knew. As for the Duke of Berry and Brittanie, the amazement wherein they were when as the Canon played vppon their quarter, made it knowne that warre was not their Element. The Hiſtorie hath obſerued that after the Armie had paſt the riuer of Seine, the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria troubled themſelues much to haue the ſouldiers march in order, and repreſents them ſo well armed as they ſeemed to haue a great deſire to fight. But when it deſcribes the equipage of the Duke of Berry and Brittaine, it makes a right Proſopopeia, ſeruing onely for the number and pompe. *They did ride*, ſaith Phil. de Commin: *vpon little nags at their eaſe, carrying for the moſt part but little light Brigandins, yet ſome ſaid they had nothing but little gilt nayles vpon Sattin, that they might not weigh, yet I know not the truth.* He that goes to the warre without his Armes ſhewes that he hath no deſire to come neere blowes.

victuals.

[s] *In ciuill wars there are but to many occaſions offred to be iealous of them of whoſe loyalty they ſhold leaſt doubt. Kinſmen grow faithleſſe. Your* ſeruant may be of that party which you feare. M. *de M.*

[t] *They watch in vaine for the ſafety & defence of a Town beſieged, if fidelitie ſleepes at the gates, the gard muſt bee committed to them whoſe loialtie is well aſſured.*

[u] *It is hard to repaire and recompence the iniuries done to faith and reputation.* Famæ et fidei damna maiora ſunt quã quæ eſtimari queant. *Tit. Liu.*

FINIS.

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THE HISTORY
of LEVVIS *the XI.*

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

PARIS was all in Feasts and Ioy for the happie succeſſe of the Kings affaires, who had ſo wiſely pacified the windes which threatened his ſhip with ſhipwracke, but much more for the diſcharge which he made of certaine ſouldiers and impoſitions which the people found inſupportable. [a] Theſe publike ioyes were doubled by the Queenes entrie into Paris. She went by Bote to our Ladies church, paſt to the Celiſtins, and ſo to the Tournelles. She was accompanied by the Duke *Amé* her Brother, and the Lady *Bonna* of Sauoy her Siſter, married to *Iohn Galeas* Duke of Milan. The Hiſtorie of theſe times, as curious to repreſent the order of Feaſts that were made, as that of Battels, [b] as if the knowledge of the one gaue as great proofe of ſufficiencie as the other, reports the magnificence, and addes that in the houſe of *Iohn Dauuet* the firſt Preſident they had made foure bathes (they were alwaies acknowledged among the delights) for the Queene and for the Ladies. Her indiſpoſition and that of the time would not ſuffer her to bathe. One of the bathes was for the Ladies of Bourbon and Sauoy, the other for the Daughter of the Lord of Monglat, married to the ſonne of *Nicholas Balue*, brother to the Biſhop of Eureux, and *Perrete* of Chalon a Bourgeſſe of Paris. This woman is particularly named in diuers places of the Hiſtorie, and here ſhee hath her ſhare in the delights and pleaſures of the bathes.

Queenes entry into Paris.

The Duke of Sauoy procured libertie for his Brother *Philip*, whom the King married vnto *Margarete* the third Daughter of *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, and of *Agnes* of Bourgundie, but the content of his libertie was not of ſuch force in his remembrance as the diſtaſt of his impriſonment, the apprehenſion whereof made him to follow the humors of *Charles* Duke of Bourgundy againſt the

[a] *On Saturday the third of Auguſt 1465. the King remitted the fourth peny of the wine to the eight, & tooke away all impoſitions except of Marchãdiſe of the ſix ſorme: in groſſe*

[b] Paul AEmilius *obſerued a wonderfull order and diſpoſition in feaſts, ſaying, that there was the like ſuffcioncie of Iudgement to know how to order a Battell feareſull to the enemies, and a feaſt pleaſing to friends, for the one and the other depend of good iudgment, to know how to order things.* Plut..

the King. *Amé* dyed three or foure yeares after in the Towne of Orleans of a Flix. [c]

But whileſt that France enioyed this quiet, which the King had purchaſed in diſperſing theſe terrible windes, her auncient friends felt the ſtorme, and yet ſhe had no meanes to relieue them, for that ſhe would not open the wound which began now to cloſe vp, nor fauour the examples of rebellion againſt a lawfull Prince.

Liege Reuolts againſt the Duke of Bourgondy

They of Liege not thinking the warre ſhould laſt ſo little betwixt the King and the houſe of Bourgundy, had done all acts of hoſtilitie againſt the Duke of Bourgundies ſubiects, preferring alwaies their owne intereſt [d] before a ſtrangers. The King had promiſed them two hundred men at Armes, euery one hauing three horſes at the leaſt, to ſpoile the country of Henault, and not to treat any peace without comprehending them.

Vpon this aſſurance, and a preſumption, that their towne was impregnable [e] and themſelues inuincible, they ſent a Herald to Bruxells, to proclaime warre againſt the Earle of Charolois, and threaten him with fire and bloud. In his abſence the Duke receiued and read the letters, and then deliuered them againe vnto the Herald, ſaying, that his Sonne was in France, and that he ſhould carrie them vnto him if he liſt. Hee returned to Liege, from whence he was preſently diſpatcht with the like letters againſt the Duke himſelfe, and all his Allies.

Theſe threats were ſodainly followed by the effects, they entred into the Dukes Contry, with all kinds of outrages and inhumanities. To commend this Prince or to ſpeak well of the houſe of Bourgondy, were crimes which could not be expiated but by death. The poore peaſants were ſlaine like ſheepe, for no other reaſon but for that they are his friends and cannot like of the rage of theſe wolues.

Army of the Duke of Bourgondy againſt the Liegeois.

The Duke armes, and by his commandement the Dukes of Cleues and Gueldres, The Earles of Naſſau and Horne, with the Marquis of Roſelin. They preſſe theſe ſnailes in ſuch ſort as they dare not put forth their hornes of Rebellion, and keepe themſelues within their walles with repentance that they had ſo ſoone gone to field vppon hope that the King (who had then another taske in hand) would aſſiſt them, and that they ſhould not want meanes nor courage to defend their liberty. [f]

They of Dinan, ſubiecte vnto Liege were no leſſe mad againſt the Duke vpon the newes which ranne, and which was as ſoone beleeued as receiued, that the Earle of Charolois had beene defeated at Montleherry. They made an Image very like vnto the Earle, and carry it with great ſhoutes and cries neere vnto the walles of Bouinnes, where they ſet vp a Gibbet and hang it thereon, calling him whom it did repreſent, Traitor, Villaine, and Baſtard. The verieſt raſcall made the greateſt noiſe. They made alſo another image for the Duke the which they did ſet vppon a high peece of wood, cryng out *See heere the ſeat of that great toad your Duke*. An act which cannot bee too ſeuerely pnniſhed by iuſtice, nor remitted by repentance

Indignities and Inſolencies of people reuolted.

[c] Ame *the third dyed at Orleans about the end of* Iune 1471. *he left 2. ſonnes* Philebert *and* Charles *vnder the gouerment of the Lady* Yoland *of France, Siſter to* Lewis *the eleuenth.*

[d] *Hee that knowes well how much his owne intereſts concernes him, wil neuer haue it march after another mans.*

[e] *The people do alwaies preſume of their forces with an ouer-weening and raſhneſſe. The Inhabitants of Nouogarde the chief citty of Ruſsia ſaid braggingly, Men can do nothing againſt God nor vs, but* Iohn Baſileus K. *of Muſcouy made them to change that language.* Crant lib. 13. Vand. cap. 15.

[f] *Liberty doth animate mens mindes, and fill their harts with courage & valour, that defend it. In the famous Battels of* Miltiades, Leonides, *and* Themiſtocles *for the liberty of Greece, the nomber hath yeelded vnto Courage.*

pentance vppon hope of amendement. g

This furious mockery againſt the Prince, was followed by all kindes of cruelty againſt his ſubiects of Bouines, who thinking to aduize theſe madmen to returne vnto their duties, they firſt ſent the Herald of their towne to perſwade them, and then a little boy with letters ſigned. They cut off the head of the firſt, and tare the ſecond in peices. O inconſtant people! what is there cruell and barbarous but thou committeſt in thy fury? h

The Duke (although hee were exceeding old) thought that he could not dye honorably vnleſſe he were reuenged of the ingratitude and rebellion of Dinan. He cauſed himſelfe to be carried thither in a litter, leading an army of 28000. horſe and a great number of foot, he takes the towne, ruines it and caſts 800. of the Inhabitants into the riuer of Meuze i and they which did not end their miſeries now in dying remained to dye daily, k beeing nothing beholding to them that meeting them ſuffered them to liue.

The Duke beſeegeth Dinā, takes it and ruines it.

The Liegeois apprehending the like vſage yeelded vnto the Duke, hauing made ſhew that they would giue him battell, they gaue him fifty hoſtages for aſſurance of the fealty which they promiſed, and ſixe hundred thouſand Florins of the Rhin, paiable in ſixe yeares.

Liegeois giue 50. Hoſtages.

This warre ended, the Duke of Bourgondy ended that of his life, and changed it into an eternall peace, in the 72. yeare of his age, the 48. of his raigne, the 15. of Iuly in the yeare 1497. Hee left his houſe in the height of felicity, ritch in alliances, honour, friendes, and reputation, gold in his coffers, and iron to defend it. m It was not an eſtate gotten by hazard, and increaſed by iniuſtice: n It had the foundation of them in the Realme of France, the continuance ſeemed immortall. But Architectors dye, and the buildings remaine. This greatnes did not paſſe the fourth Male, it was diſmembred into many peeces, the cheefe fell to the houſe of Auſtria. He had three wiues, *Michelle* of France, daughter to King *Charles* the ſixth, *Bonna* of Arthois, daughter to *Phillip* Earle of Eu, and *Iſabella* of Portugall, mother to Prince *Charles*, in marrying of whom he ſetled his thoughts for marriage, and tooke for his motto, *Autre N'auray*, but he did not forbeare the exerciſe of his loues, ſo as his iniuſt intemperance begat eight ſonnes and foure daughters.

Death of Duke Philippe.

Greatnes of his houſe.

This Prince was valiant and hardy, wherof he made good proofe in that great and troubleſome warre, which he vndertooke againſt France, the which continued 32. yeares without reſpite or truce. A warre which made mountaines of dead Carcaſſes, and riuers of bloud in France, into the which he ſaid he had entred againſt his mind, deſiring rather to imploy his armes againſt Infidels, as he did in the holy League, o to ſuccour Hungary againſt Amurath.

g *In theſe cõmotions there is nothing but fury, no courage nor valour.* Certatim vt quiſque animi ignauus, procax eſt ore *Tacit.* Hiſt. lib. 2.

h *Men would not kill aſpicks nor vipers if they might bee tamed & made harmleſſe, when there is no hope of amendement Clemency is iniurious, and Iuſtice alwaies neceſſary, whereas the publique is wronged crimes whoſe Impunity draw on others are irremiſſible.*

i *A Prince ſhould neuer diſſemble an open rebellion, for hee that doth not puniſh a rebell in ſuch ſort as he may no more rebell, muſt be held to haue little witte and leſſe courage.*

k *The miſerable man is beholding vnto death, it frees him from miſeries.* Tamberlan ſlew *as many lepers as he found, that they might haue an end of their miſeries, and infect no more by their cõtagion.* Calcondile. *For the ſame reaſon* Dracula *Prince of Valachia ſhut a great troupe of Beggers into a barne, and ſet it on fire, hauing made them all drunke.* Bonfin. Lib. 3.

l Phil. de Commines *ſaith that the Liegeois gaue 300. Hoſtages, the number was but 50. whereof 32. were of Liege, ſixe of Sainctron, or St. Trid, ſixe of Iongres, and ſixe of Heſſelt.*

m *It is nothing to haue gold if they haue not Armes to keepe it.* Cræſus *ſhewed his treaſure to* Solon, *who ſeeing it to be of an infinite valew, demanded where was the iron and ſteele to keepe that gold.*

n *There are ſome eſtates which haue beene begun by hazard, and augmented by iniuſtice.*

o Iulian Cæſarin *Cardinall of St. Ange and Legat to the Pope with*

He

He made it knowne by his deuice of many fuſills or irons to ſtrike fire, faſtened to a flint which caſt forth flames, whereby hee would ſay that his humor was addicted to mildnes and to peace, if they did not force him to warre, as the fuſill retaines his flame if hee bee not toucht. But doth preſently thruſt it forth when it is ſtrooke. He liued in ſuch credit and authoritie among the ſoueraigne Powers of Europe, that although he carried not the title of a King, yet hee marcht equall with the greateſt Kings, and if hee had would might haue had his eſtates erected to a Kingdome. When as Pope *Eugenius* the fourth ſaw that moſt Chriſtian Princes were banded againſt him, hee fled vnto the Duke of Bourgundies protection and preſented vnto him the miraculous Hoſt which is in the holy chappell at Dijon.

Ladiſlaus *being at Buda, made a new league among the Chriſtians to ruine the Ottoman name, into the which he had drawne Pope* Eugenius *the 4. The duke of Bourgundy, the Venetians and the Genouois.*

His bounty courage & moderatiõ.

A good Prince beloued of his ſubiects, whom hee did not intreat according to the power which he had ouer them [p], reſpected of ſtrangers with whom he could liue, but blamed to haue been the Inſtrument of the cruell Tragedies which had beene acted vppon the Theater of France. He iuſtified his Armes by the reuenge of his fathers death, ſlaine by *Charles* the ſeuenth, being Dauphin, vpon the bridge of Monſtreau Faut Yonne. But hee did not reuenge it vpon the Ladie *Michelle* [q] his wife, Siſter to *Charles*, neither did he loue her leſſe, hauing no intent that innocencie ſhould be mingled with the memory of the offence.

[p] *The greater a Princes power is, the more his libertj ſhould be reſtrained. The more mighty a Prince is ouer his ſubiects the more mighty his ſubiects make theſelues againſt him.*

[q] *The iniury of kinsfolks to the wife is ſometimes reuenged by the husband vpon his wife. The D. of Bourgundy loued not his leſſe, notwithſtanding that the ſight of the Siſter did for three yeares together renuue the iniury of the Brother.*

Humor and diſpoſition of *Charles* his ſonne.

Charles ſucceeded him, if the children retaine the complexions of them that haue put them into the world, as the graine which is caſt naked into the earth, doth notwithſtanding bring forth the ſtraw, ſtalke, and eare from whence it came. This Prince beeing borne of *Philip* and *Iſabell* of Portugall muſt needs be of a fantaſtick temper. The Father was hardie, the Mother diſtruſtfull, they wondred how ſhee could beare him nine monethes in her wombe, ſeeing the humor of this Prince could not reſt one houre in a place.

His entrie into Gand.

Princes deſire to begin [r] their raigne by ſome famous action wherein their is both hardines and good fortune, they will that all they doe in the beginning may be a preſident, for they iudge of the iſſue by the entrie. Hee thought that of all the townes in Flanders there was not any one where hee was ſo beloued as in Gand, and therefore he would begin the entrie and viſiting of his Townes there, aſſuring himſelfe that hee ſhould be receiued there with ſo great proofes of affection and obedience, as it would bee a leſſon for all the reſt to frame themſelues to the like dutie. For the people doe wonderfully deſire the firſt view of their Princes, [s] and the Prince ſhould deſire that his ſubiects fly not from him like a wild

[r] *Princes which enter newly into a realm muſt think that their reputation depends of the beginning. They muſt giue themſelues to ſuch high and eminent Actions, as they may ſettle a beleefe in their neighbours that they are not onely capable of the fortune which they haue found, and which they hold, but they haue wiſedome and courage to augment it with any thing that time and occaſion ſhall offer.* [s] *The peoples hearts are filled with incredible ioy at the ſight of their Prince. The laws haue held it fit to moderate the expences which the exceſſe of ioy doth breed in ſuch occaſions.* Si Sacros vultus inhianribus forte populis inferimus, hoc ſine immodico pretio nunciari exipique ſancimus. *L. 1. C. Publicæ Letitiæ. Lib. 12.*

beaſt which comes out of his den, but that they fly before him, as before ſome goodly light.

Hee knew not that to demand wiſedome of a multitude, is to ſeeke it of a mad man [t]: He had forgotten the prouerbe of the humor of them of Gand, that they loue their Princes Sonne well, but not their Prince. Whileſt that *Philip* liued, *Charles* was their Sunne riſing, but the ſame day that the Sonne entred into the Fathers place, hee found the change of their affections. Their obedience was but at diſcretion [u] and they thought that he could not hurt them vnleſſe they would endure it.

Being deceiued in his conceit hee entred the Towne of Gand, he found the gates open, but their hearts ſhut to his commandements, neither did they ſtay long to let him know it. Duke *Philip* had made warre againſt them two yeares, and in the end they were forced to receiue conditions, which they held very hard, and withall an impoſition vpon the Corne for the charges. The receit was made in a little houſe called the Toll-houſe. The moſt ſeditious who would eate their bread with all libertie, [x] goe not to the Duke to demaund abolition of this impoſt, but vnder coulour of a proceſſion which they made the day after his entrie they take the caſe with the bones and relikes of a Saint of their deuotion, come to this houſe and ſtrike the caſe againſt it, ſaying that the Saint [y], to cut off a great circuit of the Proceſſion would paſſe through the houſe, wherewith in an inſtant they ruined it to the ground. The reſt of the mutines were in Armes in the market place to fauour the paſſage of this Saint and to oppoſe againſt any one that would hinder it.

Cuſtome of the Guntois.

Sedition cloaked by Religion.

The Duke aduertiſed of this tumult comes to a houſe whoſe window did open vnto the place, where he ſpake vnto theſe mutyns, and commanded them to carrie the relikes of their Saint vnto the Church. Some take it vp to carrie it away, and others hinder it. Hee deſires to know what they would haue, and not any one dares ſpeake alone, [a] but altogether. They were but confuſed complaints and inſolent anſweres, demanding Iuſtice againſt ſome priuate men, as in theſe Commotions there is alwaies ſome one charged to be the cauſe of the publike miſeries. He promiſed to doe them Iuſtice, commanding them to diſarme and to retire. But they grow obſtinate, and continue their eight dayes, at the end whereof they preſent themſelues vnto the Duke demanding that all which the Duke his Father had taken from them might bee reſtored, which was the threeſcore and twelue banners of their trades, and the renewing of their priuiledges.

The Duke comes to heare of the ſedition.

To refuſe this was to hazard himſelfe to their furie, and they let the Duke vnderſtand that whether hee would or no, the Councels were taken, beeing reſolued to take that which they demanded

[t] *To demaund wiſedome of a multitude, is to ſeek gouernmẽt in a mad man. In the common weal of Athens wiſe men propounded, and fooles determined.*

[u] *Inconſtancie which is common to people, is more remarkable in them of Gand for the many mutinies & reuolts they haue made againſt their Princes.*

[x] *A multitude neuer remaines long in an eſtate which ſeemes vniuſt & intollerable vnto them. Where there is no will there can be no bond. That which is done by force laſteth no longer then the preſent neceſſitie* Haud credi poteſt vllum populũ in ea conditione cuius cum peniteat diutius quam neceſſe ſit manſurum. Tit. Liu.

[y] *People haue often couered the cauſes of their mutinies with ſome reſpect of religion.*

[a] *In the cõmotion of a people if there be not one head that leades them, there is not any one that dares anſwere, when the people of Rome retyred to the holy mountaine, the Senate ſent to know the cauſe of this retreat. Not any one had the courage to anſwere: and* Tit. Liu. *ſaith,* That they wanted not matter of anſwere, but they wanted one to make the anſwere.

ded

He is forced to grant them what he will take away.

ded, for hee had no ſooner ſpoken the word to grant them [b] their banners, but at the ſame inſtant they ſaw them planted on the market place. Thus the Towne of Gand, from whence the Duke would draw examples of fidelitie and obedience, ſeemed to the reſt for a mirrour of reuolt and ſedition, for ſeeing that the Gantois had ſped well with this boldnes, many other Townes did the like, and ſlew ſome of the Dukes Officers, who was forced for the time to ſeeme to be ignorant [c] of that which theſe mutyns had done, who deſerued to bee intreated with ſuch rigour, as they ſhould haue nothing remaining free, but the ſights of their repentance.

The King ſeparates the heads of the league.

With the like wiſedome and dexteritie as the King had diuided the forces of the Princes that were in league againſt him, [d] he labors now to breake their intelligences. He ſets ſuch good gards vppon the paſſages, as the Duke of Brittanie is forced to cauſe ſuch as he ſends to the Duke of Bourgundy to paſſe firſt into England and then to Calice. In this great circuit, before their aduertiſements be giuen, the Councels be vnited, the occaſions loſt, and the miſchiefes without remedie. He hath his eyes open on euery ſide, as he is ſeuer [e] to puniſh crimes when they are committed, ſo is he vigilant to breake conſpiracies before they bee made. Hee reſolues to plague them one after an other, and to let them know that he repents ſoone or late that attempts againſt one that is more mighty.

The Duke of Normandie beeing retired into Brittanie bare and naked, was ſufficiently puniſhed with the Councels of his youth. The Duke of Brittanie held himſelfe too weake to ſupport him againſt ſo mightie a brother, the Deputies which he had ſent vnto the King to intreat him & to moue him to pittie, had brought nothing back but that they ſaw much diſcontentment in the King for that his brother demanded a portion with his ſword in his hand. The King who was then towards Mont S[t]. Michael ſent an Armie of fiftie thouſand men into Brittanie. As the Duke of Alençon had giuen paſſage vnto the Brittans ſo his Sonne the Earle of Perch yeelds the ſame towne of Alençon vnto the French, whereat Monſieur was ſo offended, as hee called him the right Sonne of his Father. [f]

The King ſends an Armie into Brittanie.

Brittanie was ouerrunne aboue thirty leagues compaſſe. The Duke of Brittanie coniured the Duke of Bourgundy to ſuccour him, but he could not doe it, beeing ingaged with the Liegeois, who rather tired with warre then vanquiſhed, had made a new reuolt, and ſpoiled Liny, vpon the aſſurance the King had giuen them of his protection. He had ſent them foure hundred lances vnder the command of the Earle of Dammartin, of Salezard, of Conyhen, and Vignoles, and ſix thouſand Archers. The Conſtable of S[t]. Paul came and ioined with them with ſome troupes.

Leigeois ſupported by the king.

They played the madde men and did not conſider the danger their hoſtages were in, whom they had giuen for the aſſurance of their obedience and fidelitie. The Duke held a Councell whether

[b] *They muſt ſomtimes grant vnto the people that which they deſire as they doe vnto childrē which cry, & to mad men which rage. But when a ſeditiō is pacified they take away iuſtly, which they had allowed vniuſtly.*

[c] *It is a gracious kind of pardoning not to take knowledge of an offence.*

[d] *It is an act of great prouidēce in a Prince to breake off the communication & intelligence which may bee betwixt two perſonages which are mighty, & of turbulent ſpirits.*

[e] *They muſt puniſh crimes when they are committed, and hinder conſpiracies in the breeding.*

[f] *Infidelitie is ſo odious, as it makes the Actions of the children which are borne of them which haue beene attainted to bee ſuſpected, and ſuſpitions in others are crimes in them.*

he ſhould put them to death. The queſtion required good deliberation, for if he had beene conſtant in his firſt reſolution they were vndone. And therefore in ſuch difficulties a Prince ſhould neuer be preſent to make his opinion [g] knowne, to the end it may not be followed as a Decree, and that ſuch as will contradict it may doe it freely. The Marſhall of Bourgundy and the Signior of Contay, concluded to haue them put to death, grounding their opinion vpon this reaſon, that ſo ſtrange a reuolt ſhould bee extraordinarily reuenged, that theſe Mutyns were vnworthy of the Princes Clemencie, and that the bonds whereby they contained ſuch wilde ſpirits in their duties, muſt be taken in the terror of puniſhments, [h] and Armes.

Conſultation to put the Hoſtages of Liege to death.

The Innocencie of the Hoſtages found fauour in the opinions of the Earle of S[t] Paul, and the Sig[r] of Imbercourt, who deteſted this crueltie againſt the poore Bourgeſſes which had willingly ſacrificed themſelues for the publike, perſwaded the Duke to take God of his ſide; this reaſon was ſufficient, and words were ſuperfluous to oppoſe againſt it. But in theſe occaſions, whereas all is diſputable, it is good that the Prince haue more then one or two of his Councell, to the end that wandring opinions may bee ſet right by others, for men are no Angels [i] without paſſion, they bring them with them in all their Actions, and ſometimes hatred or enuie, feare or hope; the waywardnes and indiſpoſition of the perſon are as it were the moulds and formes of Councels. Beſides there are many which doe not ſpeake but after others.

The mildeſt and moſt iuſt opinion was followed, and the Hoſtages ſent back to Liege, being aduiſed not to meddle in the contagion of the infidelitie of others, and to tell them that if they abuſed their Princes clemencie, they ſhould feele his rigour. One of the aſſiſtants [k] at this Councel foretold the death of the Sig[r] of Cortay within a yeare, for that hee had concluded the death of the Hoſtages, and it was true.

Death of the Sig[r] of Contay.

In the meane time the Duke of Brittanie cryed out for ſuccors. The Duke of Bourgundy ſent vnto the King to intreat him to ceaſe that warre, and to conſider that the Duke of Brittanies cauſe was his. The King to pay him with the ſame reaſon, ſent him word that if hee would leaue the protection of his brother and the Duke of Brittanie, hee would abandon the Liegeois. The Conſtable of St. Paul, and *la Balue* carried this meſſage, to whom the Duke anſwered, that he could not abandon his friends. *Nor we ours*, replied the Conſtable, *you chooſe not, but take all, you will neither haue vs ſuccour our friends, nor make warre againſt our enemies. Well*, ſaid the Duke going to horſe, *the Liegeois are in field, I haue proclaimed warre*

[g] *When as a Prince will doe any thing by Councell, hee ſhould not bee here, for his preſence hinders the liberty of their opinions, eſpecially when the queſtion is of the death of any one accuſed.* Tiberius *would not that* Druſus *his Sonne ſhould giue his opinion firſt in* Lepidus *cauſe accuſed of treaſon. So when* Piſo *was commaded to ſpeak his opinion touching* Granius Marcellus, *being accuſed to haue ſet his Statue higher then the Emperours. He ſaid (directing his ſpeech vnto the Emperor, And you Sir in what rank will you giue your opinion, for if you ſpeak laſt I feare my opinion will be cõtrarie to yours.* Quo loco cenſebis Cæſar, ſi primus habebo quod ſequar ſi poſt omnes, vereor ne imprudens diſſentiam.

[h] *There are crimes as diſeaſes which require violent and extraordinarie cures. It is not good alwaies to vſe to great mildnes in the peoples folly and madnes.* Dennis *of Syracuſa ſcorned at that ſhrine, ſaying that the chaines of demands wherewith Eſtates were bound, are the terror of puniſhments & Armes.* [i] *There ſomtimes eſcape from the wiſeſt abſurd and inconſiderate opinions, and therefore the Councell of one alone is dangerous, the which muſt conſiſt of diuers heads. For the ſpirits of men haue their ſeaſons as wel as their bodies; and the wiſeſt man liuing is not alwaies wiſe.* [k] *The Sig[r] of Contay was reputed a wiſe and diſcreet Knight, they had neuer noted crueltie nor indiſcretion in his opinions; and yet hee was blamed for this cruell Councell, and his death they imputed to a iuſt iudgement of heauen, according to* Phil. *of* Commines.

[l] *againſt*

[l] *againſt them with a naked ſword and a flaming torch, I will fight with them before three daies paſſe, if I looſe the battell you may doe as you pleaſe, but if I winne it, you ſhall leaue the Brittons in peace.*

Siege of *Saintron.*

The Duke beſieged Saintron, the Leigois beeing 30000. came to ſuccour the beſieged, and lodge in a great Village enuironed with a mariſh a mile from the Dukes Armie, there they are charged and repulſed euen vnto their trenches with the ſhot of Arrowes and Canon, but when they that aſſailed had no more arrowes, the Liegeois recouered courage, charged them with their pikes, and in an inſtant ſlew fiue hundred, and made the reſt to wauer betwixt flight and amazement.

The Duke ſeeing his foreward turne their backes, cauſed the Archers of the battell to aduance, by whom the Leigeois were beaten and ſlaine to the number of nine thouſand. A number according to the truth, not to flatterie and paſſion, which ſometimes makes Gyants of Dwarfes [m]. The reſt retired to Liege, and if there had not been a Moore betwixt them and the Dukes horſemen, thoſe that fled had beed cut in peeces. *Saintron* deſpairing of ſuccors, yeelded to the Dukes diſcretion, deliuering ten men to his Iuſtice. Whoſe heads ſaued the reſt, and ſerued for an example againſt their rebellion: He did the like to *Tongres* which yeelded vpon the ſame condition, and in this decimation [n] ſome of thoſe hoſtages were found which he had ſent home.

Saintron yeelds to diſcretion.

Liege yeelds & demands pardon.

Hee preſented himſelfe before Liege, one of the mightieſt and beſt peopled townes of the countrie. The Dukes preſence made ſome reſolue to truſt vnto his clemencie, and others to feare his Iuſtice. Three hundred of the moſt apparent of the Citie are ſent in their ſhirts, bare-footed and bare-headed to craue pardon for the reſt, ſubmitting the Towne vnto his diſcretion, without any other reſeruation then from fire and ſpoile.

The Duke who knew that a multitude is ſooner vanquiſhed by mildnes then by crueltie, [o] granted what they deſired, but when as he ſent *Imbercourt* to enter into it, he found refuſall and iniurious words at the gates, for the inhabitants were not yet well reſolued, and feared that the Duke, whom they had ſo offended, would not keepe his word, and that the Towne ſhould bee ſubiect to the miſeries of fire and ſpoile. He paſt the night in great perplexities, and had much adoe to haue his life and the patience of this people continue vntill day. Still theſe mad men came like violent waues vpon his lodging to cut all them in peeces that were within it, and did negotiate this accord. *Imbercourt* buſied them with offers of new conditions, vpon which they entred into new conferences, [p] and then ſuddenly they runne out of their Towne-houſe

[l] *The Heraulds which proclaimed this war, carried in the right hand a naked ſword, and in the other a flaming torch, a feareſull threat of fire & bloud*

[m] *The true number of the dead in a battel is ſeldome ſet down, the victors make it greater, & the vanquiſhed leſſer, and many as* Phil. de Cō. mines *ſaith, to flatter Princes, for one ſlaine nnmber a hundred. The number of the dead in the Battell of* Marignan *was neuer truely knowne. The Frech ſaid that they had cut halfe the Suiſſes Army in pieces which was of 25000. men. The Suiſſes ſay that being returned into their countrey they found but 5000. wanting and that the French had loſt more.* Gradenic *ſaith, that in al there were 22000.* Iuſtin *numbers aboue 15000. Suiſſes, and* Guichardin *as many. A varietie which proceeds eyther from error or paſſion.*

[n] *Decimation was inuented to puniſh a multitude in ſuch ſort, as the fear might ſeeme generall to all the Offenders, and the puniſhment to a ſmall number: all felt it not but euery man feared it.*

[o] *Nothing is tamed by force. Seueritie makes men wilde,* Pericles *woon the people by the eyes and eares, and the belly by Playes, Comedies, and Feaſts.*

[p] *In tumultuarie Commotions of a multitude, you muſt rather ſeeke to win time then to contradict and conteſt. Wiſe men haue fit occaſions to diuert and breake theſe furious waues.*

to the walles, euaporating in iniuries and villanies the heate of their phrenſie againſt their Prince. Their rage being rather tired then paſt, about two of the clocke after midnight they were content to yeeld, ſo as they might bee aſſured from fire and ſpoile.

Imbercourt aſſures them that the compoſition ſhould bee obſerued: vpon this aſſurance they receiue *Imbercourt* who ſeazed vpon the gates, and ſet gards there. The Duke enters in triumph, they beate downe twenty fadomes of the wall to make a breach, the Towers beaten downe, the walles opened in diuers places, new lawes, new Impoſitions and a new world. That ¶ goodly ſtatue ſet vp in the publike place as a marke of libertie was tranſported to Bruges for a fatall memory of this deſolation, which happened on S. Martins day. 1467. vpon which were grauen theſe Verſes. Walles of Liege beaten downe.

Deſine ſublimes vultus attollere in auras,
Diſce meo caſu perpetuum eſſe nihil:
Nobilitatis ego Leodis *venerabile ſignum*
Gentis et in victæ gloria nuper eram.
Sum modo ſpectaculum ridentis turpe popelli
Et teſtor Caroli *me cecidiſſe manu.*

¶ *A ſpeedy reſolution to that which cannot be auoided moliſies the paine, and to obay voluntarily is to take away that which is rough & troubleſome in ſeruitude.*

They of Gand became wiſe at the coſt of them of Liege, and paſſing from a forced obedience to a voluntarie [r] they found the yoake more eaſie. The Duke entred there with great pompe, and the Gantois acknowledging their fault, went as farre as Bruxelles to meete him, preſenting vnto him the ſeuenty two Banners of the trades for the which they had made that famous mutinie after the death of Duke *Philip*, and which had beene formerly taken from them: they ſubmitted their priuiledges to his diſcretion, payed 30000. Florins to the Duke, and 6000. to them that were about him, neither had they ſo good an iſſue of their reuolt as in the time of *Arteuelle*. [ſ] Yet their priuiledges were confirmed, except that which they call *of the Law*, by the which of ſix and twentie Aldermen they had the election of two and twentie, and the Duke of foure onely; which cauſed ſuch ordinarie mutinies and reuolts in the Towne, calling none to publike charges but ſuch as were of this furious and mutinous humor, who held the hearts of the Citizens ſo diuided, as one ſhould ſooner haue ioined together the peeces of a broken Chriſtall, then the deſignes of their mindes. He ſent the Banners to Bullen vpon the ſea, to accompanie thoſe which his father had cauſed to bee layed there in remembrance of the like rebellion. Gantois profit by them of Liege.

[r] *The Earle of Flanders hauing beſieged Gand, and refuſed to take them to mercie, if they came not all ioyntly together barefooted in their ſhirts to demand it, made thē reſolu to ſally out vpō him: fiue thouſand beeing led by* Philip *of Artaucle defeated* 40000. *men, and entred pel-mel with them into Bruges. The Earle was hidden in a poore womans garret and led out of the Towne in a diſguiſed habit.*

Hee made his entrie into Gand armed and victorious. The Kings Embaſſadors came thither vnto him, to intreat him not to meddle with the affaires of Brittanie nor Normandie: winter was ſpent in theſe conferences, but the King not able to temporize any longer, nor to giue time vnto his enemies to ioyne together, enters into Brittany, and takes Chantocé, with Ancenis. The Duke Entry of the D. of Burgundy into Gand.

of

Treatie of the Duke of Berrie and Brittanie.

of Bourgundy aduanced to S. Quentin to ſuccour his Allies. The King held them ſo ſhort as he made them reſolue to treat with him, and laying aſide their intereſt, [t] he drawes from them a renonciation of all Alliance with the Duke of Bourgundy. Hee would not haue it ſaid that he was armed to doe nothing, for one enemie hee makes three. He was wonderfully incenſed againſt the King, who alwaies prepared him ſuch bankets, and was diſcontented with the Dukes of Normandie and Brittanie, who had made an accord without him, terming them faint-hearted and without iudgement. The King made him ceaſe his Armes for ſixſcore thouſand crownes which he gaue him, the which he did accept the more willingly, for that hee deſired to enioy in quiet the firſt contents of his marriage with the Lady *Margaret* [u] of Yorke Siſter to King *Edward*, who was come to Bruges.

The King ſent Cardinal *Balue* and *Tanegui* of Chaſtell vnto him, to haue his conſent vnto an interuiew, thinking that if hee might ſpeake with him, hee would wholly draw him from the Protection of the D. of Brittanie, with whom he was diſcontented, and would not regard that of the Duke of Normandie which was more hurtfull then profitable vnto him.

The Duke tooke no taſte in this enteruiew, beeing (as he ſaid) well aduertiſed that the King had ſent his Embaſſadors to them of Liege to ſollicite them to a new reuolt, *Balue* and *du Chaſtell* let the Duke vnderſtand that the Liegeois had been ſo handled the laſt yeare, as it was incredible they would fall into the like miſeries, and if they had any ſuch deſire, this enteruiew of the two Princes would make them deſiſt. Which reaſon made the Duke conſent to receiue the King at Peronne. As ſoone as Cardinall *Balue* and *du Chaſtell* had acquainted the King with the Dukes reſolution, hee ſet forward to meete him, and parted from Noion vppon a letter which the Duke wrote vnto him with his owne hand, for the aſſurance of his comming, ſtay and returne. An error which was ſeconded with many errors, [x] and an error of an ill ſetled iudgement, and one of the moſt remarkable of the life and conduct of this Prince. He went to ſe a Prince whom he had newly offended, what could hee hope for but to ſee himſelfe forced to repayre this wrong? He had ſent men to Liege to make it reuolt, hee ſhould haue giuen ouer this practiſe, and conſider that if it did ſucceed, Peronne ſhould bee an infallible priſon to him, from whence hee ſhould neuer be freed vntill he had done reaſon vnto the Duke, to the blemiſh of his courage and honor. [y]

Errorwhich the K. could not repaire but with danger.

If this conſideration were not able to ſtay his voyage, yet it ſhould haue bound him to ſeeke for other aſſurances then in words and paper; and remember that he himſelfe had not much regarded that which hee had promiſed at Conflans, that they might yeeld him the like meaſure, and that there is nothing ſo light as an oath, when as the breach thereof preſents ſome priuate commoditie. [z] Moreouer hee had no child, and committed his life vnto a Prince, whoſe

Two errors the K. committed in the aſſurance of his perſon.

[t] *It is certaine there is not any one of whom we may not obtaine what wee deſire, if he bee not thereby intereſſed howſoeuer the publike be intereſſed.*

[u] Margaret *Daughter to* Rich: *of York & Siſter to the K. of England was married to Duke* Charles *in Iuly* 1468. *Shee made her entry into Bruges beeing conducted by ſix Knights*, Adolphe *of Cleues*, Iames *of Luxemburg*, Anthony *Baſtard of Bourgundy*, Peter *of Baufremont Earle of Charny*, Philip Pot *and* Philip *of Creuecœur.*

[x] *In errors of importance the firſt ſtep diſorders all. It is more eaſie not to enter then to get forth. One error followes an other, and that of iudgemẽt brings that of the heart.*

[y] *It is a diſhonour to bee forced to diſauow his own thoghts and intentions. The K. had ſent men to trouble the D. at Liege, hee had done it through indiſcretion, now he is forced to pacifie it, and to ſtay the buſines more then hee thought to aduance it.*

[z] *The deſire of profit, of reuẽge or pleaſure, is*

whoſe Ambition would haue confounded heauen and earth to raigne, hee gaue it in guard to him who would ruine his eſtate, holding it more commendable to be raſh then a coward. [a]

It is the ſecond error which he committed in the conduct of his owne ſafety for hee had truſted the Princes that were in league againſt him, comming to parle with them at Bois de Vincennes, who deſired to ſeaze vpon the royall authoritie, and to gouerne France at their owne pleaſures. Hee went thither without any gards, [b] being accompanied by the Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinall his Brother, the Cardinall of Balue, the Earle of S. Paul and the Gouernor of Rouſſillon. The Duke receiued him without the towne, and conducted him to the lodging which he had cauſed to bee prepared for him. Preſently after arriued the Biſhop of Geneua, the Earle of Breſſe, the Earle of Romont, all three brethren to the Duke of Sauoy, the Marſhall of Bourgundy, the Seigr of *Lau*, *Poncet* of Riuiere, and the Siegr of Vrſe, all carrying St Andrewes Croſſe, and in their hearts ſome apprehenſion of wrong. [c] The King being aduertiſed hereof grew very diſtruſtfull, and had his thoughts troubled and confounded with repentance, [d] for that he had not better conſidered of his voiage. He ſent to intreat the Duke to lodge him in the Caſtle, for that all theſe Noble men that were come did not conceale it that they were his enemies. The Duke was glad that the King had made choiſe of the lodging which he durſt not haue giuen him, and intreated him not to doubt any thing.

He comes to Peronne to the Duke

He is lodged in the Caſtle.

The two Princes gaue order to their Councels [e] to conſider of the meanes to end their quarrels. They renewed the Treatie of Conflans, wherevnto ſome few things were added in regard of the Duke. But Monſieurs condition grew better, for in exchange of the Duchie of Normandie he had Champagne and Bry with all the rights, and the Duke of Brittaine entred into the Treatie as an Allie.

Matters ſtanding vppon theſe termes, newes came vnto the Duke that the Kings Embaſſadors had made them of Liege reuolt, [f] that they had ſeazed vpon the Towne of Tongres, impriſoned their Biſhop, Couſin germaine to the Duke, and ſlaine fifteene or ſixteene of his Chanons and ſeruants. The Duke cauſed the gates of the Town and Caſtle to be ſhut, fayning that ſome one had taken a Casket of Iewels: he fortified his guards about the Caſtle, and told ſome of his truſtie ſeruants that the King was come thither to deceiue and betray him. Hee was ſo tranſported with Choller, as if the firſt to whom he reported theſe newes would haue caſt oyle into the fire, [g] and had not rather quencht then kindled the wood, he had reſolued to doe what he had ſaid againſt the King. But there were not any but *Phil. de Com.* and two groomes of his chamber, who did not aggrauate any thing.

The K. in a manner a priſoner.

the ram which ouerthrowes an oth. Neither of the three doth moderate the paine. The diuine is vndoubted miſery to periures, and that of the world is ſhame.

[a] *The raſhnes of a priuat man may be excuſed when it hath no traine: The life of* Sparta *depends not vpon that of* Calicratidas, *but that of a prince which is the ſpirit that giues life and motion to an eſtate, is alwaies blamed*

[b] *It is dangerous to truſt the faith of a prince who hath been an enemy, hee becing the weaker.* Toſime *blames* Valeriã *of indiſcretion, who went to Sapor with a ſmall troope.*

[c] *The King had kept the Earle of Breſſe & the Signior of Lau in priſon, and he had taken Pinal from the Marſhall of Bourgundy.*

[d] *There is not any thing more vnworthy wher into a Prince may fall then repentance, eſpecially in errors which may not bee twice committed.*

[e] *Princes which haue any cõtrouerſies, ſhould referre them to their Councels, to auoide the bitternes and heat wherein to contention may draw them.*

[f] *The Leigeois in this reuolt made more haſt then the King expected, for his deſignes were not yet well digeſted, and he held them not ſo able.*

[g] *The firſt motions of Princes in their choller,*

If

If neuer King of France hath ſeene the image of feare but vpon the front of his enemie, it now preſents it ſelfe in the eyes of *Lewis*, who ſtood amazed in a ſad meditation of his error, complaining his misfortune with that of *Charles* [h] the ſimple being lodged at the foot of the Tower where he had beene impriſoned. He made ſome offer to pacifie the Duke, and to giue hoſtages to procure ſuch ſatisfaction from the Liegeois as was fit.

He had friends in the Dukes Councell, [i] and caſting twelue or fifteene thouſand Crownes among them, he was by that meanes aduertiſed of the Reſolutions which were taken: wherof the mildeſt and moſt moderate were not pleaſing vnto him. The firſt opinion was that they ſhould keep promiſe with him, ſo as he would declare himſelfe an enemy to them of Liege. The ſecond that being offended as he was, it was dangerous to giue him liberty, to reuenge himſelfe, The third that they ſhould ſend for the Duke his brother, and the other Princes to conſult what was to be done. In the end they paſt by this ſtraight, that he was conſtrained (and it is the greateſt violence that may be done vnto a King) to conſent vnto a a warre againſt them of Liege, who had relyed vppon his protection.

The Duke continued three dayes in great alterations, and paſt the third night in ſuch diſquietnes as he did not vncloath himſelfe, but lay downe vppon his bed, then riſing ſodainly he would walke and talke to *Phillip de Commines*, his Chamberlaine, whoſe integrity and moderation did ſerue to calme thoſe violent ſtormes that troubled his ſoule. He was wholly French, [k] and from that time ſome thought he reſolued to retire himſelfe into France. But it is not credible that there was any trechery in him. The vprightnes and ſincerity of his writings frees him from ſuſpition. If he had been blemiſhed with infidelity & ingratitude, vices which diſſolue al humane ſociety, [l] the King had not truſted him with ſo many great and important affaires.

The Duke went early in the morning vnto the Caſtell to the King who was already aduertiſed of what he would ſay vnto him, and had time to thinke of his anſwer, and to fit it not ſo much vnto reaſon as to neceſſity, [m] and aboue all to carry ſo euen a countenance, as the Duke ſhould not diſcouer that he had any ill game, or that he had any apprehenſion to looſe, for if he had thought that hee had made him affraid, he would haue done him a miſcheefe [n] all together.

The Duke was accompanied by the Lordes of Crequy, Charny, and la Roche. He could not by the humility of his wordes, ſo well

paſſe ſpeedily to reſolutions of reuenge whē they incounter men that comfort and incourage them.

h Hubert E. *of Vermandois cauſed Charles the ſimple to dye in priſon. King Lewis his ſonne to reuenge this iniury called an aſſembly of the Princes and chiefe noblemen, and propounded this queſtion which he ſeemed to receiue from the K. of England, to haue his aduice: What puniſhment that farmer deſerued who hauing inuited his maiſter to come vnto his houſe had put him to death. All concluded that the crime was puniſhable, and* Hubert *ſaid that hee ought to be hanged. You ſhall bee (ſaid the King) you haue condemned your ſelfe. And hee had not ſooner ſpoke the word but hee was hanged.*

i *The aduice of that which was done in the D. counſell, came as it was ſaid from*

Phil. de Commines. [l] *And he himſelfe writes after this manner.* The King had ſome friend which aduertiſed him that he ſhould haue no harme if he did yeeld vnto thoſe two points, but if he did otherwiſe, hee thruſt himſelfe into very great danger. [k] Philip de Commines *became a Partiſan to the King, who drew him into France, gaue him the ſignory of Argenton in Poictou, and the Seneſchalſhip of the ſame Country.* [l] *All the greateſt reproches are comprehended in theſe two wordes, Ingrate and trecherous.* Nihil æque Concordiam humani generis diſſociat et diſtrahit quam hoc ingratitudinis vitium. *Sen.* [m] *Amazement ſhould neuer bee ſeene on a Princes forehead. He ſhould be maiſter of his wordes, but much more of his countenance, for his lookes do often contradict them, and betray the ſecrets of the heart.* [n] *Many times a bad deſigne begun is not ended; when as he that doth it thinkes that he is not diſcouered. And it is a maxime grounded more vpon experience then Conſcience in ſuch occaſions, not to do ſo much, or to do more.*

diſſemble his proud andthreatning geſture, but the trembling of his voice diſcouered the motion and ſtorme which choller cauſed in his heart: And then there is no great reaſon in humble wordes and reſpectiue countenances when as the effects are contrary, and that the inferior braues the ſuperior, ° He demanded of him if he would hold the treaty and come to Liege, to help to reuenge him and the Biſhop of Liege his kinſman of the Liegeois who by reaſon of his comming were reuolted. The King granted it, the Peace was ſworne vppon Charlemaignes croſſe, and the whole towne was full of ioy for this accord: the 12. of October 1468. *Oliuer de la March* reports this otherwiſe then *Phillip de Commines. The King* (ſaith he) *was not well aſſured, but as ſoone as he ſaw the Duke enter into his Chamber, he could not conceale his feare, but ſaid vnto the Duke Brother, I am not ſafe in your houſe, and in your Country*; and the Duke anſwered, *yes ſir, and ſo ſafe, as if I ſhould ſee an arrow come towards you, I would put my ſelfe before you to preſerue you.* And the King ſaid vnto him, *I thank you, for your good will, and will goe where I haue promiſed you, but I pray you let the peace be preſently ſworne, betwixt vs. Then they brought the Arme of St. Leu, and the King of France ſware the peace betwixt him and the Duke of Bourgondy and the Duke of Bourgondy ſware the ſaid peace, and promiſed to keepe and entertaine it with and againſt all men.* The next day they parted and came to Cambray ᵖ and entred into the Contry of Liege in the beginning of winter. The King had no forces but his ſcottiſh garde, and 300. men at armes. The Duke held a Counſell in the ſight of Liege, what he ſhould do. Some were of opinion that he ſhould ſend back part of his Army, for his forces were too great againſt a demantled towne, which could not be releeued, ſeing the King was with him. He gaue no credit to this Counſell and it ſucceeded well, for he could not be too ſtrong hauing a mighty King by him ᑫ and being in danger to looſe all if he had been too weake diſtruſt was auailable.

The Duke coniures the King to go to Liege

1468.

A Peace ſworne.

The Duke commanded the Marſhall of Bourgondy who led the foreward, to lodge with in the Citty, either with their wills or by force. The Pope had a Nuncio within the Citty, to end the Controuerſies which were in a manner perpetuall betwixt the Biſhop and the people, who changing his power and forgetting his duty, vpon a deſigne to haue this Biſhoprick, exhorted the inhabitants to defend themſelues, and cauſed them to make a ſally with ſuch fury, as they that were without had no hope to enter but victors. ʳ This Sally was ſo vnfortunate, as he repented him of his Councell, and apprehending the danger, gets out of the towne and flies away, but he was ſtayed by the Dukes men, who promiſed to them that had taken him to make their profit, vſing no ſpeech to him. But whilſt they contended for their ſhares in his ranſome, they came vnto the Duke being at Table, who blamed that in publique which he had commended in ſecret, declaring the prize not good: and cauſing the Biſhop to come vnto him, he honored him and cauſed all his goods to be reſtored, leauing repentance vnto the reſt, who had not

Siege of Liege.

Popes Nuncio ſet at liberty.

° *To what end ſerues reſpect and humility of wordes, if the action be proud? The day when* K. Iohn *was taken at the battell of Poictiers, the prince of Wales ſerued his maieſty at ſupper bareheaded. The King intreated him to ſit downe. It belongs not to the ſubiect anſwered the Prince and yet hee held him priſoner.*

ᵖ *Notwithſtanding their ſpeeches vnto the Duke of Bourgõdy that hee ſhould be blamed to break the aſſurance which he had promiſed the King, hee ſtill anſwered. Hee hath promiſed me, and hee ſhall hold it, I will make no Conſcience to force him. Peter of Goux his Chãcellor, was one of thoſe which counſelled him not to offend the King.* Oli. de la March.

ᑫ *It was neuer a wiſe and aduiſed reſolution to hazard all his fortune and not all his forces.*

Clearchus *made a ſally & put all his men in battell, then he commanded the gates to be ſhut and the keyes to be caſt ouer the wall, to take all hope of entry from the Soldiers,*

not done that without brute which they ſhould haue done [s] before they asked leaue.

The marſhall of Bourgondy and *Inbercourt* winne the ſuburbs and march directly to the Towne-gate, which ſtayed not vntill that neceſſity ſhould force the Inhabitants to demand a peace in mourning gownes, [t] vpon their firſt approch the Deputies preſent themſelues to Parle, but hope and deſire of ſpoile would not giue them hearing. Night ſurpriſed the aſſailants before they were lodged, and doth ſo diſorder them as they know not whether to goe, but calling one another in confuſion, they gaue courage to the beſieged to make a Salley. [u] They arme ſome for feare, others without feare, and iſſue out vppon them by diuers places, for their walles being razed the yeare before, gaue them paſſage, where they ſlew ſeauen or eight hundred. Foure Canons diſcharged againſt the gate along the great ſtreet, crye quittance, and keep them from comming forth, who through fauour of this firſt Sally had a great deſire.

The beſeeged demand a Parle.

Sallie made by them of Liege.

Yet for all this they that were come forth would not retire into the Towne, but barricadoed themſelues, or as *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, inſconſed themſelues with wagons which they had wonne, and remained there vntill day. *Iohn de vilette* [x] the ſole Commander of the people was hurt and ſlaine. The ſuburb was kept by the Marſhall of Bourgondy, who had committed a groſſe error, hauing giuen no better order for his lodging [y] a principall part of the duty of a good Captaine. The Prince of Orange was hurt there, and in this action the Hiſtory giues him the glorious ſurname of a man of vertue, as it commends the valour of the Lordes of Lau and Vrſe, and reprocheth the contempt of honor to aboue two thouſand men, who vnder fauour of this night had ſacrifized their ſafeties and honors to flight.

This firſt defeat afflicted the Duke, and hee would not that the King ſhould haue knowne it, if he could haue concealed it amidſt ſo many paſſions and diuers Intereſts. Beleeuing that the brute was greater then the loſſe, he went himſelfe to tell it him. The King was very glad, but this ioy was more grounded vppon diſcretion then iuſtice, for if the Dukes deſignes had not proſpered, the King had had cauſe to repent him, and therefore he did apply his ſpirit to the motions of the Dukes, approuing that it is a hard ſeruitude for a great man to force himſelfe to the humors of his inferiour.

The Dukes troupes ill intreated in the ſuburbs.

He was aduiſed to goe and refreſh his foreward, plunged in the mire, beſieged with hunger and benummed with cold. The Duke ſent 300. horſe with ſome victualls to refreſh them that were ready to faint, [z] hauing not eaten of two dayes. Hee came alſo and lod-

[s] *vntill they had loſt or wonne.*

[t] *There are ſome things to be done before they aske if they ſhall doe them. It is the anſwer which* Pompey, *ſupping with* Anthony *in a ſhip made vnto an officer, who told him that he had a good opportunity to be reuenged of them, and that if hee would ther ſhould not one remaine.*

[u] *Although the Athenians had no reputation of great courage, yet they neuer demanded any accord but in mourning robes preſt with extreame neceſsity.*

[x] *Hee that chargeth firſt by night hath the aduantage for it is alwaies preſumed that he is the ſtronger: flight doth cõmonly follow amazement. The night hath no ſhame.*

[y] *In ſallies the Commander ſhould alwaies ſtand firme to maintaine the beſieged in their duties by his preſence, and to fauour their retreat, hauing a care that being repulſt the enemy doth not enter pel mel with them. When as they of Liege had loſt their head in the firſt ſally, their defence was deſperate.*

[z] *The firſt duty of a good Captaine is to know how to lodge his men. For this only reſpect* Hanibal *in the iudgement of* Phirrhus, *was the firſt Captaine of Greece next to* Alexander. *A famiſhed ſoldier hath neither courage nor force to fight. It was a great negligence in the Dukes Captaines to haue ingaged the ſoldiers ſo neere the enemy, and not prouide to make them eat.* Aſdruball *loſt his men againſt* Scipio *by this defect.* Vliſſes *blames* Achilles *for that hee would lead his men to the warre before they had eaten.*

lodged in the midſt of the ſuburbe, and the King in a farme halfe a mile off.

This firſt night about midnight there was a hot alarme although it were in the heart of a very ſharp winter. The King ſhewed himſelfe vnto the Towne as ſoone as the Duke, and they were amazed at his diligence, the name of King and his preſence put the Duke out of countenance. [a] The Adamant hath no vertue neer vnto the Diamond, the King would not ſeeme other then a King, he takes the word and commands what ſhould be done. [b] No other but he in ſo ſodaine an accident could haue aſſured the amazed, and that with ſuch iudgement, courage and maieſty, as they ſaw he knew well that hee was borne to that end, and that in ſuch occaſions the beſt blowes are drawne from the head. [c] Some cryed they are heere, others ſaid they come by ſuch a port, the night made all doubtfull, and augmented the amazement. The King commanded the Conſtable to goe directly to ſuch a place with ſuch men as hee had, for (ſaid he) if they come, that is their way. But they ſaw not any one, the King retired to his quarter, and the Duke to his.

Alarum giuen and the King goes to horſe.

The next day the King came and lodged in a houſe neere to that of the Dukes, who fell into ſuch a diſtruſt of this neighbourhood, as hee lodged 300. men at Armes, and the beſt of all his troupes in a barne betwixt them, hauing paſſages made in diuers places to iſſue forth.

The King and Duke lodged together.

The Liegeois fore-ſeeing that they could not auoid their ruine, reſolue to incounter and meet with Death, to ſell their liues as deere as they could, and to ſurpriſe the two Princes in their owne lodgings whither they might goe of an euen ground, for although they were both great Captaines, yet had they not cared to intrench themſelues. [e] The Liegeois had no head, they tooke hazard and diſpaire for their guides, and therewith the maiſters of the two lodgings where the King and Duke were, their intent being to ſurprize them, and to kill them, or to lead them into the Towne before their men ſhould be able to releeue them.

The night, which is alwaies contrary to theſe incounters, [f] was fauorable to them as aſſaylants. The order was, that ſixe hundred of their beſt Soldiers ſhould goe out by the walls, and about midnight march directly to the lodgings of theſe two Princes, without any ſtay, and kill the Sentinells. And that at the ſame inſtant the people ſhould ſally forth by the Port, with the moſt fearefull cryes [g] they could make, to giue courage to the execution of this deſigne.

Sally of the Liegeois.

They goe forth by the breaches of the walles about ten of the clocke, they take and kill moſt of the Sentinels, but in ſteed of going directly where they were commanded, as they might haue done without any reſiſtance, they ſtay at a pauillion whereas the

The King and Duke of Bourgondy in danger to be taken or ſlaine.

[a] *The Duke ſaith* Phil. de Commines, *held not ſoe good a countenance, as many men wiſht, for that the King was preſent & tooke the word and authority of Command.*

[b] *It is an act of a great Captaine in accidents not foreſeene to reduce things ſpeedily into order.*

[c] *In war they do not fight only with the force of Soldiers, but with the Art and wiſedome of the Generall.*

[d] *This change of lodging and theſe approches do ſtrangly diſquiet the Duke. He feared that the King would caſt himſelfe into the towne, which had relyed vppon his protection, and that hee had ſome deſigne againſt him, at the leaſt that he ſhould intend to retire before the Liegeois were ſubdued and puniſhed.*

[e] *A remarkable fault in 2. great Captains to haue no trënches at the ſiege of Liege, being doubtful long and difficult.*

[f] *All Incounters and Combats by night, ſhould bee auoided.* Cæſar *did not vndertake any thing to execute it by night, and* Anthony *ſaid that if the Ports of Cremona were open, yet would be not enter but by day.*

[g] *Cries are profitable in fighting, not in marching, by the cries they haue often iudged of the iſſue of Battells, as they were more or leſſe raiſed. An vnequall and faint crye hauing pauſes, hath often diſcouered feare, ſaith* Tit Liu.

Duke

Duke of Alençon was lodged, behinde the Dukes lodging, and at the barne which was betwixt the Kings and the Dukes. [h] *Without all doubt*, ſaith *Phil. de Commines*, *if they had not ſtayed in theſe two places, but had followed thoſe two poſts which were their guides, they had ſlaine the King and the Duke of Bourgundy, and defeated the reſt of the Armie.*

The Duke who reſolued to giue a generall aſſault the next day, had commanded all his men to diſarme and refreſh themſelues, and hee himſelfe had put off his Cuiraſſe, which hee had not done ſince his arriuall, ſo ſweet and eaſie great toiles [i] are in great enterpriſes. The noiſe which they had made at the Duke of Alençons pauilion made many to arme, [k] yet notwithſtanding the gate and windowes of the Dukes lodging were aſſailed with great violence.

In this attempt they vſe great Art, ſome crying, *God ſaue the King*, others, *God ſaue the Duke*, and many, *God ſaue the King and kill*, to put the two Princes in diſtruſt, their people into confuſion and to kill one another. Cries which cauſed more feare in the Duke then the danger was great, and his ſeruants knew not to what partie the King ſtood affected. The two hoſtes which led them were ſlaine at the firſt, the King came not forth, the Scottiſhmen fought [l] valiantly at his feete, and made bucklers of their bodies, againſt this inraged multitude, and not knowing any one, ſlew as many Bourgonians as Leigeois. [m] The people which ſhould haue iſſued forth by the gate, were kept in, and the reſt were cut in peeces, the King and the Duke talked together beeing amazed at their raſhnes, and finding that if they had beene led their deſigne had proceeded farther, and that they had to deale with men that were more powerfull by deſpaire then by conduct.

Valor & fidelity of the Scotiſhmen.

They retired, the Duke hauing an intent to giue an aſſault, & the King to be preſent at it, notwithſtanding that the Duke perſwaded him to retire to Namur vntill that the Towne were taken. The King anſwered them that ſpake vnto him, that although hee doubted of the euent, for that the number of the people was great, beeing preſt by two powerfull and violent motions, deſpaire, and boldnes, and had alreadie made knowne how deerely they would ſell their liues, [n] yet he would be preſent with the reſt, and had no reaſon to goe to Namur. He might haue ſafely retired, for he had a hundred Archers, a good number of Gentlemen, and three hundred men at Armes. Yet for more danger then hee apprehended hee would not haue made one diſhonourable ſtep. The reſpect of his honour [o] and that great deſire of glo-

The K will be at the aſſault.

[h] *This error for the trenches put the two Princes in danger to be ſlaine, they be neceſſary to hinder the ſally of them within, and the ſuccours that come from abroad.*

[i] *The heads of an army ſhould be more hardened and laborious then others.* Alexander *marched often on foote in the head of his Armie, but as* Cyrus *Father ſaith, trauels muſt not bee meaſured a like in the bodies of them that command, and of their ſouldiors, neither are they ſo grieuous to the one as to the other, for that honor maks them more eaſie vnto a cõmander, for that he knows wel that what hee does ſhal come to the knowledge of of al the world.* Zenop. in Cyroped.

[k] *To execute a great deſigne which requires diligence, they muſt neuer ſtay vpon any occaſion, vnleſſe it be an inuincible neceſſitie, by their turning to Alenſons Pauillion, they gaue an Alarũ & awake thoſe whom they had ſurpriſed ſleeping.*

[l] *This was a new recommendation of the Scottiſhmens fidelitie. An Act which may be compared to that of the Romans which enuironed* Craſſus, *ſaying, that neuer any Parthians Arrow ſhould touch his perſon, vntill they had firſt ſlaine them one after an other.* Plut.

[m] *Night will not ſuffer them to diſtinguiſh friends from enemies. The blows are for the moſt part vaine & without incounter, & the moſt valiant ſlain by the moſt fearfull.* Tit. Liu.

[n] *When as a multitude begins to know that matters are reduced to theſe termes as nothing cã happen but miſery, they aſſure thẽſelues in dangers, they change their boldnes into fury, & their hopes into deſpaire.*

[o] *There is not any great courage but ſtarts at this word* Honor. *A Prince muſt go into all places where his reputation is ingaged.*

rie (the onely Obiect of great ſpirits) was more deere vnto him then his life.

About eight of the clocke on Sunday morning being the 30. of October 1468. the ſigne for the aſſault was giuen the inhabitants hauing no thought that they would trouble their reſt on Sunday, [p] (a day by the ſcrupulous of that time held vnfortunate to fight in) and moreouer much tired, for that euery day they had beene in gard, and now they were gone to dinner. They were ſurpriſed without any reſiſtance, euery man ſauing himſelfe either in the Forreſt of Ardennes, or in Churches, he that eſcaped the fury of the ſword, fell into that of cold and hunger, and all tryed that in vaine [q] men keep the Citie if God take not the care.

The Duke being maſter of the Citie came and conducted the King vnto the Pallace. This prince fitting his words vnto the time and to the Dukes humors, commended his victorie, and ſpake to all that paſt of the Dukes valour and good conduct, who tooke a wonderfull delight to haue a King for a Panegyriſt. The Towne was reduced to that eſtate as it might ſerue to poſteritie for an example not of conſeruation, but of extreame miſerie. The gates and walles were ouerthrowne, the ditches filled vp, the priuiledges reuoked, the lawes changed, and all the Churches (except the Cathedrall) ſpoiled. The Duke cauſed it to bee kept by ſome of his houſhold, againſt the ſouldiers, who ſought to force the two doores. A ſtrange thing to ſee churches [r] in daunger among Chriſtians, whoſe impieties are ſuch as euen the moſt Barbarous Nations doe abhorre them, for they haue alwaies reſpected holy places, but it was ſo peruerſe and corrupted an age, as there were men without ſoules, and ſoules without religion.

Ruine and deſolation of the Liegeois

The Duke not able to reſtraine this furie ſlew a ſouldiour to make the reſt diſlodge, all was reduced to a vaſt and fearefull wildernes. The Duke repented himſelfe of the cruelties which had been committed in the furie of the Sacke, and offered for an expiation the S[t]. George wherewith S[t]. Lamberts church in Liege is at this day adorned. The King, fiue daies after the deſolation of a countrey which relyed vpon the ſuccors of his power, and which ſtumbled into ſeruitude, for it could not goe ſtraight in libertie, [s] tooke leaue of the Duke, and told him, that if he had any more cauſe to vſe him that he ſhould not ſpare him, but if all were done, he deſired to goe to Paris to haue their Treatie verified, yet hoping to meet againe the next Summer in Bourgundy. *I will* ſaid he, ***that wee remaine a month together to make good cheere.*** [t] The forme and manner of his words did much help the matter, for he deliuered them with an open countenance, and a heart which ſeemed free,

The King deſires to returne to Paris.

which

The King ſaith Phil. de Com. *where it concerned his honour would not bee blamed of cowardiſe.*

[p] *The Earle of Montfort, who was caled* Iohn *the valiant, D. of Brittany, ſent to intreate the Earle of Blois his enemy, to referre the Battel which hee ment to giue him, vntil the next day, for that it was Sunday, & S[t]. Michels feaſt, and it was one of thoſe dayes, on the which the Counteſſe of Blois his wife had forbidden him to fight, but the Earle of Blois would not beleeue any of them, and was ſlain there. This hapened in the yeare 1364.*

[q] *King* Ferdinand *going out of Naples with* Don Frederic, *the Queene his Grandmother, the Princeſſe* Ioan *his daughter, and imbarked in the Galleys to recouer the Iland of Iſchia, which the Ancients called Enaria, thirty miles from Naples, had no other words in his mouth but this Verſe of* Dauid *ſaying,* That Sentinels and gards auaile not, if God keep not the Citie.

[r] *Seeing that God ought to be feared and worſhipped in all places, that which belongs vnto his ſeruice ſhould alſo bee religiouſly reſpected euen in the Armies.* Zenophon *ſaith, that* Ageſylaus *would not allow them to touch any Temples in the enemies country.*

[s] *Liberty is to be deſired, when as they that will not be ſubiect to haue meanes to liue free, but as* Plato *ſaith* Epiſt. 8. Many haue fallen into ſeruitude, for that they could not vſe their libertie well.

[t] *Princes as all other men are by nature ſubiect to paſſions and alterations, and not able to endure the toyle of the body and minde long without tiring, and haue need of ſome reſt and recreation. It is that which K.* Lewis *the eleuenth in this place cals good cheere.*

Treatie made without libert bindes not

Excuſes of the Duke.

Words of the K. at his departure.

Warre in Franchimont.

which did binde the Duke to pleaſe him. An Act of incomparable wiſedome, to fit his words and actions for the neceſſitie of the time and place wherein he was, and humilitie in theſe actions doth no wrong vnto a great Prince, [u] which knoweth there is no other meanes to continue with ſpirits that are inſolent of their fortunes, but diſſembling.

Treatie made without liberty bindes not.

The Duke alſo knowing the humor of this Prince, murmured ſtill, & made his diſtruſt knowne, he did conſider that bonds of promiſes made by men which cannot ſay they are in libertie are light, that force hath no power to preſcribe a force ſufficiently noted in the ſolemne words of the oath wherevnto they deſired the King ſhould conſent, that in caſe of contrauention to the Treatie, all his ſubiects ſhould retire from his obedience, and adhere to the Earle of Charolois. And therefore he would that before the kings departure, their Treatie ſhould be read and read againe, and all the points expounded [x] and that vpon all hee declared his intention. *Aduiſe my Lord if there bee any thing whereof you repent,* [y] *it is at your choiſe to doe it or leaue it. I deſire to adde one Article in fauour of the Lords of Lau, Vrfet, and Poncet of Riuiere, that they may bee reſtoſtored to their lands and offices, I am content,* replyed the King, *ſo as the Earle of Neuers and the Lord of Croui may bee alſo reſtored.* The Duke, who bare a deadly hatred to theſe two, ſpake no more of the reſt, and the King declared that he would obſerue the Treatie. [z]

Excuſes of the Duke.

Hee had ſo great a deſire to be farre off, as to make no ſtay of his departure, he made no ſhow of diſcontent. Hee concealed his griefe ſo cunningly as it was impoſſible to iudge that hee felt any. The Duke vſed ſome complements to excuſe himſelfe for that hee had drawne him to the warre of Liege. He had need of very artificiall poulders [a] to make this ſauce pleaſing, the gilding tooke not away the bitternes of theſe pilles. Hee did accompanie him a mile; at their farewell, and imbracings, the King to ſhew his affection and truſt, ſaid vnto him; *Sir if my Brother which is in Brittanie were not contented with the portion which I giue him for your ſake, what would you haue me doe*: The Duke anſwered, *if hee will not accept it, I referre my ſelfe to you two, and care not ſo as he be ſatisfied.* Theſe words beeing ſpoken ſomewhat roughly were well conſidered by the King, who from that time reſolued not to lodge his Brother in Normandie too neere to England, nor in Champagne too neere to Bourgundy.

Words of the K. at his departure.

Warre in Franchimont.

The Duke continued the rigour of warre vpon the country of Franchemont, leauing the Towne of Liege on fire, [b] not excepting any thing but Churches and the houſes of ſuch as attended the diuine ſeruice. [c] They reſpected the Temples after they had offended him who was worſhipped there, by all ſorts of impieties. Whileſt that the ſouldiers warmed themſelues at this fire

[u] *Humilitie abates nothing of a princes greatnes, for either hee that humbles himſelfe is inferior, and then it becomes him well, or ſuperior but brought to ſuch a ſtraight, as he is forced to bēd & if he eſcapes, he greeues not at his humility, although that doe him good who hath intreated him with pride and arrogancy.*

[x] *In Treaties of peace they muſt vnderſtand one an other well. Al words muſt be made plaine, and thoſe that are comprehended or excluded expreſſed.*

[y] *A breach in the obſeruation of forced promiſes is not diſhonorable, and hee wants force that obſerues them.*

[z] *In Treaties which are made by equals impertinent demands are choked with the like demands.*

[a] *Words of excuſe and complements in actions which cānot be excuſed, are like ſpices and ſauce of a delicat taſte to meate which is tainted.*

[b] *The Duke appointed three thouſand foote to burne the Town of Liege, and to deſend the Churches. It was fired thrice, in three ſeuerall quarters. They reſerued three hundred houſes for the Prieſts, with whom many inhabitants lodged.* Phil. de Com.

[c] *Impiety reſpects ſacred things after that liberty hath profaned them.* Fab. Maximus *hauing ſpoyled Tarentum and made it deſolate, with all kindes of cruelties. When his Secretary came to aske him. What ſhall we doe with our enemies Gods, he anſwered, let vs leaue the angry Gods vnto the Tarentines.*

fire, the reſt endured incredible cold in the Mountaines of Franchemont, whereas the wine being frozen in the hogs-heads, it was cut in peeces with Axes, and carried away in hats and baskets without decreaſe. *Oliuer de la March* writes that the Dukes tyſan was frozen in ſiluer flagons, and that the force was ſo great as they brake. Sharpe Winter.

At the ſame time the death of the King of Albania was ſpred ouer all Europe. *Lewis* was much grieued, for that hee alone ſtayed the Turkes furie, who were cruell ſcourges to puniſh the diſorders of that depraued Age. He was the yongeſt Sonne of nine children to *Iohn Caſtriot* [d], who commanded at Croy the chiefe Towne of Albania: who gaue him with his Brethren to *Amurath* to aſſure the faith of his promiſes, beeing forced to yeeld vnder the yoke of that command. Death of the King of Albania.

Amurath, the *Nabuchodonoſor* [e] of the Iſraelites, made them all be circumciſed and change their names, *George* was called *Scanderbeg*, that is to ſay *Alexander Lord*: and as *Alexander* he began betimes to make ſuch proofes of his valour [f] as euery man thoght that his militarie toyles, would make him worthy of that name, that he would end more Battels in effect then the Princes of his time had ſeene painted, [g] that he would winne more victories then others had encountred dangers. He was Sangiac, the firſt dignitie next vnto a Baſha, then was he ſent into diuers expeditions, and knowne to be the ſole authour of all the good ſucceſſe which happened in Greece, Aſia, and Hungarie, there being nothing in the Art of warre, but in the end came to his knowledge. *George Caſtriot* circumciſed & caled *Scanderbeg*.

But this great valour had almoſt vndone him. *Amurath* apprehended it to haue ſuch a Prince neere him; and the enemies of his courage, but more of his hopes, ſaid that he nouriſht a domeſtick enemie, to weaken his intentions, and diſappoint his intelligences. He put his Brethren to death, beeing reſolued to make him runne the like fortune, if he had not made it knowne by his cariage that he had no other thought nor paſſion but that of his ſeruice, and that his Father [h] and his Brethren did reuiue in the affection which he bare vnto him. And when as *Amurath*, to ſound him, had offred him the crowne of Albania, he ſaid, that he preferred the honor of his ſeruice, before all the Scepters and Empires of the world, and that he felt his hand fitter for a ſword, then his head for a Crowne. *Amurath* puts *Scanderbegs* brethren to death.

This anſwere pleaſed *Amurath*, but it freed him not from all his feares which the greatnes of his ſpirit imprinted in his ſoule, as often as he returned from any exploits of war, which were more admirable then imitable. Wherefore hauing reſolued to make warre againſt *George* Lord of Miſia [i] he made him Generall of his Armie, as well for that he had not any one more capable, as alſo to He growes fearfull of his valour.

d Voyſane *daughter to the King of the Tribales a part of Macedonie, & Bulgaria, hauing conceiued* George Caſtriote, *dempt that ſhee was deliuered of a ſerpent, of ſuch greatnes as he ſpred ouer all Epirus.*

• *God hath vſed the power of infidels to puniſh his people, and by diuers meanes he hath giuen them power to trouble them. He raiſed* Nabuchodonoſor *to ruine the Iſraelits, & therefore* Ieremie *calls him his ſeruants, although he were moſt cruell.*

f Scanderbeg *was inſtructed in all the exerciſes of war before the force of his body could ſhew what his courage was. He alſo learned the Turkiſh, Sclauonian, Arabia, Greeke & Italian tongues.*

g *When* Cicero *ſpake of* Pompey, *he ſaid that he had brought more battels to a happy end, then others had read in Hiſtories, & conquered more Prouinces then any one before him had conceiued in his wiſhes, that hee had triumphed almoſt as many times, as he had followed the warre yeares.* h *After the death of* Iohn *father to* Scanderbeg, Amurath *ſeazed vpon the Realme of Epirus, and put a garriſon into Croy.* Scanderbeg *diſſembled the griefe of his fathers death, the taking of his eſtate & the murther of his Brethren & ſo from that time he reſolued to pull that Crowne from* Amurath. i *Miſia is commonly called by the Turke Segoria, and comprehends Seruia, Boſnia, Ruſsia, and the Prince is called* Deſpote

be

be rid of him, thinking that being forward and fierie by nature, hee would thruſt himſelfe into dangers, from which he ſhould not free himſelfe, for this braue and generous Captaine, like an other *Cato* [k] would ſee all himſelfe, and had no other aduantage in militarie labours, then to haue the honor to command them, and to be the firſt to execute them. But as often as hee went, ſo often did *Andrinopolis* ſee him returne laden with honor and victories. A remarkeable worke of Gods prouidence, to preſerue this braue courage for his ſeruice.

Scanderbeg leaues the Turke.

At length *Scanderbeg*, who had alwaies the heart of a Chriſtian and an Albanois, being wearie to liue in the continuall diſquiettings of ſo many diſtruſts and conſpiracies to kill him, reſolues to quit *Amurath*, [m] whereupon hee ioined with *Huniades* Prince of Tranſiluania, and with him defeates the Baſha of Romania, who had foureſcore thouſand men: he cauſed his Secretarie to be taken, and ſetting a dagger to his throat, forced him to write letters to the Gouernor of Croy, carrying a commandement in *Amuraths* name to conſigne the place vnto him.

He ioynes with *Iohn Huniades.*

Entrie of *Scanderbeg* into Croy.

The Gouernor of Croy obayed and receiued *Scanderbeg*, all the Infidels were put to the ſword, and the Chriſtians preſerued, and ſuch as would become Chriſtians. He beſieged the other places of Albania, and in few daies with much paine and no money, he recouered his forefathers eſtate, and made the black Eagle [n] with two heads to be ſeene in all places.

Hitherto hee had fought for himſelfe, now he fights for Chriſtendome. *Ladiſlaus* King of Hungary and Poland intreats him to aſſiſt him againſt *Amurath*, hee was hindred by *Huniades* [o] *Deſpote* of Tranſiluania, neither did the cauſe of the warre ſeeme iuſt, for it brake a peace ſolemnely ſworne with *Amurath*. It was decided in the valley of Varna on the limits of Miſia, or Segoria, vppon the Euxin Sea within foure dayes iourney of Andrynopolis, to the diſhonour of the Chriſtians, who were put to flight, but the triumph coſt *Amurath* ſo many men as his ioy was turned to repentance.

Battell of Varna.

If hee made ſome triumph, *Scanderbeg* reapt the profit, for ſeeing that hee had retired his forces, hee went to field, [p] and made ſuch ſharpe warres as the Turke wrote vnto him, rather to ſtay his exploites, then to threaten him with reuenge, and yet his Letters were full of reproches and pride, the ordinarie Paſſion of an incenſed ſpirit. Hee ſweares that if hee will returne vnto him hee will forget all his offences paſt, for that hee is more mindfull of the ſeruices hee hath done him, then of his ingratitude: hee offers to leaue him the Towne of Croy, and the Lands which his Father held, vpon condition that hee ſhould yeeld vp all the other Townes of Albania and Miſia.

Letters frō *Amurath* to *Scanderbeg.*

of Seruia.

[k] Cato *as* Tit. Liu. *ſaith would be euery where and execute euery thing in perſon, ſparing himſelfe no more then the leaſt of his ſoldiors, hauing no other aduantage ouer them but the honour of his commandements.*

[m] Scāderbegs *retreat was in the year* 1444. *hee conferred with* Huniades *of his enterpriſe that vnder a coulour of making warre againſt him hee might retire on his ſide.*

[n] *The houſe of* Scanderbeg *caried an Eagle ſables in a field gules. When as the people of Albania, ſaw them in his Enſignes, & Standards, they preſently renewed the ancient affection they bare vnto their Princes.*

[o] Iohn Deſpote *of Tranſiluania, otherwiſe called* Huniades, *being diſcotented with the King of Hungary, for that certaine places in Seruia which had bin granted him in reward of his vertue were detained from him, refuſed paſſage to* Scāderbeg *to ioin with the Chriſtian Army.*

[p] *Theſe ſay that* Amurath *hauing eſcaped this danger grew more ſad then he had been accuſtomed and being blamed by his followers he anſwered,* I would not win after this manner. Amurath *cauſed a pillar to be ſet whereas the Battell was giuen, with an inſcription of the victory, and at this day the heapes of dead mens bones are to bee ſeene, which ſhew that the ſlaughter had been wonderfull.*

These letters were receiued with that contempt they deſerued. ¶ *Scanderbeg* thinking that *Amuraths* feare who grew old, and broken, had made him to write them, hauing a deſire to leaue his Empire in ſome ſafety, yet he made him an anſwer, and after that hee had told him that he ſhould remember the good which he had receiued from him, if the numbring did not renew the remembrance of a greater number of ills he concluded with theſe wordes. *Such fortune as it ſhall pleaſe God to giue vs we will beare: In the meane time we aske no councell of the ennemy of that we intend to doe, neither do we ſue for peace of you, but hope with the helpe of God* [r] *to haue victory ouer you.* Within a while after he was victorious, ouerthrew great armies which *Amurath* ſent into Epirus, the firſt led by the Baſha *Feriſe*, and the other two by *Muſtapha*.

Scanderbegs anſwer.

He wonne the Battell of Drinon againſt the Venetians, and vſed this victory ſo well, as the Venetians to make him raiſe the ſeege from before Dayne, [s] which was in their protection, yeelded that he ſhould haue a part of the Country of Scutarii which was very commodious for him.

Battall of Drinon in Dalmatia

Amurath beſieged Sfetigarde where as Scanderberg ſlew in ſingle Combate, *Feriſe Baſha* Generall of the Army, yet it was taken and preſently beſieged againe by *Scanderbeg*, but he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, [t] being aduertiſed that *Amurath* came into Epirus with *Mahomet* his ſonne to beſiege Croy.

Seege of Sfetigarde.

After that his Artillery was caſt, the Towne battered, many aſſaults giuen & maintained, and the ruines of the Aſſaylants blowne vp and laid open, *Amurath*, tired with the tediouſneſſe of the ſiege, offers to retire and to leaue Albania vnto *Scanderbeg*, with the title of a Realme, ſo as he would do him homage and pay tibute, *Scanderbeg*, who held himſelfe nothing inferiour to the Emperor, as long as hee was more powerfull [u] then hee in the iuſtice of his armes, found theſe offers ſo contrary to the honour of his religion, as he reiected them couragiouſly, ſaying that hee would neuer indure that the name of an Albanois ſhould be defamed with ſuch a blemiſh, no not if *Amurath* would giue him halfe his Empire. This anſwer with the little likelihood there was to vanquiſh the obſtinacy of the beſieged, did ſo aflict *Amurath* as he dyed, complaining of his hard fortune [x] that after he had giuen ſubiect to all the world to ſpeake of his triumphes againſt the Grecians and Hungarians, hee ſaw himſelfe now forced to yeeld vp his ſoule before the walles, halfe ruined, of a petty Caſtle, [y] in the view of an enemy which had been his ſlaue.

Warre renewed in Albania.

Scanderbeg demands ſuccors of the Pope.

Death of *Amurath* before Croy.

¶ *The letters beginne after this manner.* Amurath *and* Ottoman Soueraigne of the Turks and Emperour of the Eaſt, ſends no ſalutations to *Scanderbeg* his ingrateful nurſchild. *He ſaith that he knowes not what wordes to vſe to him for that hee doth not merit any good for his ingratitude, and a rough & ſharp ſpeech would make his arrogant nature more inſolent.*

[r] *A Chriſtian Prince ſhould not reſerre any thing to fortune, but to the prouidence of God, who is the only cauſe of all cauſes & guids al things after his will, the moouable by their motions, the immoueable by their firmeneſſe the voluntary by their liberty, and the reaſonable by their will.*

[s] *Dayne is a little Towne planted vppon a high hill, as in a manner all thoſe of Epirus bee, yet the ſoile of it is fat and the aire good and holſome, they haue ſtore of Veniſon and bees, and all kindes of trees and fruites.* [t] *This diſlodging was very diſhonorable for* Amurath, *and very glorious for* Scanderbeg, *who was honored much for it by chriſtian Princes, namely by Pope* Nicholas *the firſt, and* Ladiſlaus *King of Hungary.* [u] Cato *reduced to that extremity in Vtica as his friendes aduiſed him to make an Accord with* Cæſar. It is for them, *ſaid he,* to ſue that are vanquiſhed, as for me, I will hold my ſelfe inuinſible, as long as I am ſtronger in right then *Cæſar.* [x] *Among the precepts, which he left to* Mahomet *his ſonne, he did often reitterate theſe wordes with aboundance of teares. That he ſhould neuer contemne an enemy not knowing any thing in all his life whereof he did repent him, and ſhould repent in the other world, but that he had contemned* Scandebeg.

The

The memory of *Amurath* paſt away with his teares. *Mahomet* ſucceeded him, and whilſt he ſtudies ſomthing worthy the beginning of his Empire, *Scanderbeg* labours to fortefie Croy [y] and to repaire her ruines, but *Mahomet* gaue him no long liberty to do it, for he preſently ſent *Acmat* his Baſha to viſite him with an Army of 12000 horſe. If the number had beene greater it had not ſerued but to increaſe the number of the dead or priſoners, for *Scanderbeg* hauing taken the Generall priſoner, [z] a maxime which hee held for the firſt of military ſtratagems, the defeat of the reſt was not difficult.

Mahomets Army in Hungary

He attempted the ſiege of Sfetigarde, and after that of Belgrad, the one and other expedition brought him no profit but repentance, and notwithſtanding that he had the worſt, yet he ſold *Mahomet* his victory ſo deere as he was forced to ſay that his Army had nothing but the name of a triumph. He turned his forces towards Conſtantinople where he made the victory horrible, by all kindes of Brutiſh and barbarous inhumanities, which cauſed the moſt ſtayed and modeſt ſpirits to bee amazed [a] at ſo viſible a teſtimony of the fauour of heauen againſt thoſe whom the eternall Iuſtice had choſen to repaire the ruines. The long patience of the Almighty, and his ſufferance of the wicked hath forced many to murmure againſt his prouidence, that he doth not caſt thoſe roddes into the fire wherewith he hath ſcourged his children. [b]

Conſtantinople taken

The Conqueſt of Conſtantinople made him reſolue to ruine Epirus, but *Mahomet* ſped ſo ill, & was ſo often beaten, as he ſought a peace or truce of *Scanderbeg*, during the which, paſt the troubles of Naples betwixt the French and the Arragonois. The Venetians wronged by this Accord, preſſe them to breake with *Mahomet*, the warre is renewed, they fight to maintaine the Chriſtian liberty, [c] and to auoid the Turkiſh ſeruitude. *Mahomet* ſent *Baillaban*, to whom he promiſed the Crowne of Epirus, ſo as he could make away *Scanderbeg*.

Warre renewed in Albania.

He made foure voyages and was as often beaten, the number giuing place to valour. But in the end *Scanderbeg* ſeeing that Croy could not hold any longer againſt ſo mighty an enemy, and that Albania was all couered with troupes of Infidels, he went away in a diſguiſed habit to demand ſuccors of the Pope.

Scanderbeg demands ſuccors of the Pope.

Paul the ſecond had no great pitty to ſee theſe ſad and mournefull relickes of ſo many Princes, and of ſo many heads of Macedon and of all Greece, nor of the common neceſſity, and eminent perill of Chriſtendome. The Venetians apprehended it more ſencibly, and gaue ſome ſuccours to *Scanderberg*, with the which and that which he drew from his Allies of Epyrus, Macedonie, Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, which might make about 13000. and foure hundred good men, he returned into Albania and freed Croy, before which *Baillaban* was ſlaine.

[y] *Croy the cheefe Towne of Albania is ſcituated vpon the top of a mountaine in a manner vnacceſſible of euery ſide.*

[z] *They ſay that* Scanderbeg *had it in particular in all his incounters and military actions, alwaies to begin his firſt ſtratagems of victory with the death of the head, ſaing,* That the head ſhould be firſt cut off, and the reſt of the body will fall alone, and that he knew no kind of liuing creature, that could ſuruiue the head beeing taken off.

[a] *If the Infidels proſper, if they raiſe theſelues vpon the ruines of Chriſtians, yet may wee not murmure againſt the eternall prouidence,* Stay humane raſhnes, *it is not lawfull to pierce into the ſecrets of Gods Iudgments, nor to define when, how, nor how long it is fit the wicked ſhould floriſh.*

[b] *The ſtay of the wickeds puniſhment doth wrong vnto Gods Iuſtice.* Deus ſua ſibi patientia detrahit plures enim Dominum idcirco non credunt quia ſeculo iratum tam diu neſciunt. *Tertul. de pacientia.*

[c] *All warr ſaith* Polybius lib. 11. *is made either to preſerue liberty, or for feare of falling into ſeruitude.*

[d] *A pittifull alteration of things, to ſee a Prince who had lately come into Europe with a mighty army, and had refuſed a ſhort truce vnto the Emperor of the Turkes to be now forced in his old yeares to abandon his Country, and to goe farre to ſeeke*

Mahomet ſent *Allibey* and *Arabey* thither with 20000. Turkes, he had profited little there if death [e] iealous of *Scanderbegs* glory had not ſurprized him by a ſicknes not daining to aſſaile him in armes. In this indiſpoſition hee aſſembled his Captaines and recommended his ſonne vnto them, whom hee would haue conducted into Pouillia vntill he came to age, leauing him vnder the Venetians, gouernment: And for his laſt wordes he ſaid vnto him. *That if he were good he gaue him a Realme moſt firme and ſtable, if otherwiſe very weake and feeble.* yeelding vp his laſt groanes the 17. of Ianuary, 1467. he gaue an amazement to his enemies.

Sicknes & death of *Scanderbeg*.

This Prince with ſmall forces defeated great Armies, who beſide the good qualities of the mind, for Iudgement, Conduct, and Councell, had an admirable ſtrength, of body, comparable only to that of the ancient Champions, *Biton*, *Fuſius Saluius*, *Seruilius*. Talking with *Ieams Picenin* Generall of the Duke of Calabrias Army, he did lift him aboue his head, like a child of ſixe yeares old. He had a Cimiterre with the which he had done miraculous deedes as cutting of the head of a Boare at a blow, and of a wild Bul, which was famous for the ruines it had done in the Country, hauing hurt and ſlaine many that aſſayled it. This dexterity, force, and agility of body continued all his life, and exerciſe [h] made it in the beginning of his age in a manner equall to that it had beene in the prime of his youth.

Force and dexterity of *Scanderbeg*.

After the ſiege of Croy they preſented vnto him in chaines, *Iouyma* and *Hedert* the Brother and Nephew of *Baillaban*, this repreſenting vnto him the cruelties which they had committed vppon his ſubiects, put him into ſuch choller, as hauing not the patience to attend any other hand, he cut them both aſunder by the waſt at one blow. He puniſhed them with the like paine that their Prince did puniſh Chriſtians. [i]

During the Truce he had with *Mahomet*, he ſent him this Cymeterre for that he deſired to ſee it, hauing heard ſay that with it he cut any armes aſunder. The ſtrongeſt armes of his Country would trye if it were true, and finding not the vertue which was aſcribed vntō it, he ſent it back againe diſdainefully, thanking him for a thing which he held to haue beene better. *Scanderbeg* anſwered. *The vertue of my ſword depends of mine owne arme, which I cannot ſend him, for that I reſerue it againſt mine enemies.*

It was an increaſe of glory and reputation to the common weale of Venice to ſee Kings and Realmes vnder their charge. But at that time they did an act of prouidence [k] which ſhewes that wiſedome hath long held the helme of that Eſtate. They did adopt for daughter of the common-weale the heyre of *Marc Cornare*, and married her to the King of Cypres, after whoſe death and of the after-birth his ſonne, ſhe was acknowledged for Queene, and made preſent of

her

for ſuccors, being alwaies accompanied by Langey Arch-Biſhop of Durras.

[e] *Scanderbeg being ready to take from the Turkes the towne of Valmes lately built by* Mahomet, *and being come to Liſſa, he fell into a violent feuer.*

[f] *The Turkes came running about Croy, ſome horſemen went out of the towne by* Scanderbegs *commandemēt the enemy thinking he had been there in perſon grew amazed and fledde through the mountaines although they were* 15000. *horſe and left the booty they had taken frō the Scutariens.*

[g] Biton *carried a great Bull vppon his ſhoulders.* Pauſanias. Fuſius Saluius *went luſtily vp a ladder with* 200. *pounds waight in his hands*, 200. *at his feet, and as much vpon his ſhoulders.* Plinie. Seruilius *did fight* 23. *times body to body, and was alwaies Victor.* Plut.

[h] *Exerciſe doth continue the dexterity and diſpoſition of the body long,* Philopemen *of whom* Plutarch *ſpeakes, was nimble in his age by great exerciſe.* [i] Mahomet *made one man die as it were of two deathes, he made them to be cut off by the waſt at a blow, oftentimes it happened that hee dyed of two deathes, for* Chalcondile *ſaith, you might ſee either part liue long after the blow.* [k] *Prouidence is one of*

her Crowne vnto the Venetians, her fathers by adoption.

From this action followed two diuers effects, the one of great ioy to the Venetians, the other of extreame affliction to *Charlotte* of Sauoy the French Queene, who by this act ſaw her Brother as it were exiled from Cipres, and ſeperated from the Queene his wife. The Hiſtory is long and tragicall, but thus in breefe.

By the like accidents that other realmes haue beene made deſolate, the Crowne of Cipres fell from the houſe of Luſignan, in the which it had long remained. A Fratricide was the cauſe, for *Iames* of Luſignan hauing put his brother to death to raigne alone, added other violences to this cruelty, which made him odious to the people, and forced the Genouois to arme againſt him, to reuenge an iniury done vnto certaine Marchants of their Common-weale. Hee was diſpoſſeſt of the Crowne, his brothers Children reſtored to the Realme, and he himſelfe carried priſoner to Genoua, where he had one ſonne who was King of Cipres, [m] and this ſonne one daughter, whom he left ſole heire to the Crowne. She was married to *Lewis* of Sauoy, ſonne to *Lewis* Duke of Sauoy, and to *Anne* of Cypres Siſter to King *Iohn*.

Cruelty makes the Princes of Luſignan odious.

Lewis imbarked at Venice to paſſe into Cipres, to take poſſeſſion of his wife and Realme. *Iames* baſe ſonne to King *Iohn*, Biſhop of Nicoſia, paſt into Egipt to haue ſuccours from the Soldan of Egipt who made him to be proclaimed King of Cypres, prepared a great Fleet at Sea to goe into Cypres, and wrote in theſe termes to King *Lewis*. *Thou art come out of the Weſterne parts, to poſſeſſe another mans Realme in the Eaſt, and to ſpoile the heire of his iuſt inheritance, which is in thee a fooliſh enterpriſe. The Iland of Cypres is tributary vnto me, and it belongs to me to diſpoſe, aſſure thy ſelfe if thou doſt not diſlodge preſently thou ſhalt dye by the ſword of Egipt. If thou haſt a deſire to carry away thy wife, I am content, vpon condition that thou doſt not attend a ſecond Summons.* This barbarous letter deſerued no other anſwer but by the ſword, [n] but Iuſtice being forced to yeeld vnto tirrany, King *Lewis* by the meanes of the great maiſter of Rhodes, let him vnderſtand that by the Chriſtian lawes the Realme did belong vnto the lawful daughter, that the Baſtard was excluded, and that they pretended not to change any thing of the rights which he had ouer the Crowne of Cypres as Protector. [o] This reaſon had pacified him, being reſolued to quit the Protection of the Baſtard. But *Mahomet* ſent him word, that it was a thing worthy of his greatnes, and profitable to their common religion to reſtore this Prince to his Eſtates, exhorting him to remember the iniuries which they of that Nation, and thoſe of *Lewis* his houſe had done vnto the Mahometans, proteſting that if hee had a deſire to haue peace with Chriſtians, he ſhould be ſure to haue warre with him.

Letters of the Souldā to the King of Cipres.

The aſſiſtance which the Souldan of Egypt gaue vnto the Baſtard, was the cauſe that he was preſently acknowledged by them who could not oppoſe againſt his power. He cōmanded ouer their bodies more then their hearts, which being full of feare, were al-

the moſt apparant effect of wiſdome. Prudentes poſſumus dicere prouidentes.

[l] Iames of Luſignan King of Cypres put Peter his brother to death, and being told him that the Genouois were entred into his Pallace with armes, & had ſome deſigne vpon his perſon hee put many innocent Marchants to death, a cruelty which made the Signory of Genoua to arme againſt him. Bolius writes the Hiſtory at large.

[m] King Iames of Luſignan had one ſonne named Iohn or Iames who was K. of Cypres, and Anne married to Lewis Duke of Sauoy, ſonne to Amidee, Iohn had one daughter named Charlotte, who was firſt married to Iohn King of Portugall, and after his death to Lewis of Sauoy.

[n] Perſwaſions are vnprofitable when as Iuſtice is inferiour to force.

[o] After that the Chriſtians affaires were ruined in Soria and the Eaſt, the Kings of Cypres of the houſe of Luſignan put themſelues vnder the protection

ſo of wiſhes and deſires of his death who made them feare. p *Lewis* was forced to quit the field, and to retyre himſelfe into the Caſtle of *Cerines*, where he was beſieged by the Baſtard, who ſeeing it impoſſible to take this place, and that all the Princes of Chriſtendome were offended at this vſurpation, he ſent his Embaſſadors to Pope *Pius* the ſecond to yeeld him obedience, and to beſeech him to hold him in the ranke of Catholike Kings. The Pope would not ſee them, but ſent them away with bitter words.

Hereupon *Lewis* ſaw himſelfe forced to retire to the Duke his Father, and the Queene *Charlotte* to Rome to ſeeke ſuccors, but the diuiſions of Italy hindred that which they deſired, and ſtayed her there during the time of *Pius* the ſecond; of *Paul* the ſecond, and of *Sixtus* the fourth, and *Lewis* remained at Ripaille. Pope *Pius* the ſecond q ſaid, that hee had beene chaſed out of Cypres, for that his father had failed of his promiſe at the aſſembly at Mantoua for the holy warre, and that the ſame *Lewis* his Sonne being then neere vnto Mantoua, and hauing not vouchſafed to ſee him, and demand his bleſſing; hee had ſaied by prediction vnto the Embaſſadors of Sauoy, that it would happen his Sonne would looſe the Realme of Cypres, for a puniſhment of that the father did, and that one day hee would demand thoſe ſuccors in vaine from others, which his father had denied vnto the Church. The Baſtard ſeeing himſelfe in quiet poſſeſſion of the Crowne of Cypres, remembred that *Marc Cornaro*, a Gentleman of Venice, had aſſiſted him in his neceſſitie, with ſhips, r money, and Councell, and had giuen him meanes to goe vnto the Souldan of Egypt, hee reſolued to marry his Daughter named *Catherine*, whom the Senate of Venice after the death of *Marc Cornaro* her Father, had adopted as their Daughter. The mariage was treated with the conſent of the Siegneurie, who gaue her a great dowrie: this marriage was made in the yeare 1466.

Iames King of Cypres fell ſicke of a bloudy Flix,, and ſeeing that his cure was deſperate, hee had not the trouble which great Princes as well as priuate men haue when they die, to know to whom hee ſhould recommend his realme, hauing the Senate of Venice wholly at his deuotion, but it troubled him what his ſucceſſor ſhould be, which was yet in the mothers wombe. s *Mocenigo* aſſured him that neither the Venetians forces nor his priuate ſeruice ſhould neuer faile him. After his death *Charlotte* demanded ſuccors of the Venetians, the Duke anſwered that the Siegneurie was bound to defend her who was her adopted Daughter, and that King *Iames* had inſtituted her heyre with the fruit in her womb: That moreouer he wondred that ſhe vnderſtood not that rights of Realmes were debated rather by Armes then by Lawes, t and that the Realme of Cypres had not been ſolely to her, but alſo to the Geneuois, who at that time held a great part.

The widdow of King *Iames* was preſently troubled with new Combuſtions within the Realme. A Biſhop of the houſe of the Gotho-

King and Queene of Cypres driuen out of their owne Realme.

Catherine Cornaro, adopted by the Venetians.

of the Souldans of Egypt.

p *Feare is a bad gard for them that command. For they that feare ſtudie ſtill how they may be rid of him that keepes them in feare,* Quem metuunt oderunt, quē quiſque odiit periiſque expedit

q *It was thoght that* Lewis D. *of Sauoy had ſome ſecret ſpleene againſt Pope* Pius *the ſecond, for that he had been Secretarie to his father when he was but in baſe condition, and had abandoned him to follow* Eugenius *his enemie.*

r *Good deedes neuer dye in great courages, others forget the good & remember the ill.* Quid autem eſt eo miſerius, cui beneficia excidunt, herēt iniuriæ. *Sen.*

s *Princes haue no leſſe need then mean perſons of ſtrong conſolations, to help them to depart the world, & to leaue their affaires in ſome ſafety.*

t *In former times whē they haue demanded of conquerors of Prouinces, the titles of their Cōqueſts, ſome haue ſhewed them their Canons, and others their ſwords.*

Tumults in Cypres.

Gotholans, who had great authoritie and credit in the Iland, being Embaſſador to *Ferdinand* King of Naples; when as King *Iames* dyed, propounded to marry the Baſtard of the deceaſed King of Cypres. Many were of his partie, but the wiſer ſort were contented to paſſe theſe rockes with open eyes and deafe eares.[u] They ſaw the ruines whereinto they did runne, and did not giue eare to the promiſes & inchantments that were made them. The deſigne of marriage tooke effect,[x] but that of the royalty was preuented by the Venetians, who ſent *Mocenigo* thither. The courage of the conſpirators quailed, their iudgement failed them at his arriuall, their laſt refuge was flight. The ſoueraigne Authoritie remained peaceably in the Queene, who in acknowledgement of the ſuccours ſhe had receiued from Venice, preſented *Mocenigo* with a Target richly wrought, and a ſtandard of the ſame.

Preſents of the Queene of Cypres to *Mocenigo.*

Shee was brought in bed of a Sonne who dyed at the end of the yeare. By this death ſhee remained Queene alone vnder the Protection and defence of the Siegneurie of Venice. *Ferdinand* King of Naples ſeeing that his firſt deſigne did not ſucceed for the marriage of the Baſtard, hee ſought the Queene widdow for his Sonne, imploying in this Treatie *Riccius Marineus* a Neapolitaine, a very deere friend to the deceaſed King, and *Triſtan Cybellet* a Cypriot who had a Siſter attending on the Queene. The Generall of the Venetians Armie beeing aduertiſed of their practiſes, and what they intended, cauſed them to bee ſtayed, and ſent them preſently to Venice.[y]

Ferdinand K. of Naples ſeeke the alliance of the Queene of Cypres.

George Cornaro, Brother to the Queene was ſent into Cypreſi, to aſſiſt his Siſter and to diſpoſe her to free her ſelfe from troubles and the Realme from danger, in retiring her ſelfe to Venice, and leauing the Crowne to the Gouernment of the Siegneurie. Shewho had beene bred vp after a royall manner; and who knew the great difference that was betwixt a Venetians life and that of a Soueraigne Princeſſe found this propoſition very ſtrange, and the Venetians ambition vniuſt to deſire to haue Kings and Realmes vnder their protection[z]. But when her Brother let her vnderſtand that if the Siegneurie of Venice did abandon her protection, as it might doe if ſhee did not follow her Councels, ſhee was in danger to become a prey vnto the Turke, and to ſerue as a triumph and ſpectacle to the people of Conſtantinople: That ſhee ſhould not relye vpon Chriſtian Princes, who would all loue the Iland and the Realme rather then her ſelfe, and ſhe ſhould beleeue that they, courting her Crowne rather then her fayre eyes, ſhe were to blame if ſhe did not preferre a quiet life and ſafe abode before an vncertaine Royaltie, an aſſured reſt before honor, which was but winde, and a title which was but a vapor.

Queene of Cypres exhorted by her brother to goe to Venice.

To perſwade her, the Hiſtorie ſaith, that to the reaſons of feare and danger, he added thoſe of vanitie, adorned with ſtuffes of immortall glorie. *What greater honor*, theſe are the wordes of *G. Cornaro*, *and what a nobler commendation can you leaue of your ſelfe hereafter*

[u] *There are ſome things which are good to be ſeene, but dangerous to be harkened vnto.*

[x] *The Cipriots ſeazed vpon the Kings Palace, and made his baſe daughter, beeing but ſix yeares old, ſure to King* Ferdinands *baſeſon, and gaue him the title of Prince of Galilee.*

[y] Triſtan *fearing ſome more ſhameful death poiſoned himſelf with a Diamond which he ſwalowed drinking ſalt water after it.*

[z] *The higheſt degree of greatnes and glorie wherunto a popular or an Ariſtocraticall Eſtate may come vnto, is to haue Kings vnder their Domination. The Romans did not diſpoſes Kings of the Realmes they had conquered, &* Tacitus *giues the reaſon,* vt haberent inſtrumenta Seruitutis & Reges.

after, then to haue giuen ſo goodly a realme vnto your [a] *country? and that they write in the Hiſtorie of Venice, that* Catherine Cornaro *hath honored and augmented the Venetians Eſtate with the Realme of Cypres.* Then he repreſented vnto her the danger and infallible diſgrace of her houſe, [b] if ſhee did not grant it vnto the commonweale, for that euerie one would thinke ſhee had beene diuerted by her Brother in whom ſhe had great confidence.

Theſe words entred into the Queenes heart and framed a reſolution to goe to Venice and to make a preſent of her Crowne vnto the Siegneurie. The Standard of S[t] *Marc* was ſet vp in the Market of Famagoſto, and the Realme of Cypres became a Prouince to Venice. [c] The Queene made her entrie into Venice in the Bucentaure, being honored by the Senators and the great Dames of the Citie. The Councell of ten preſented vnto her ten pounds waight of gold, and appointed fifty for her entertainment in the Caſtle of Azolle vpon the hils of Treuiſan.

Reſo'ution of the Q. of Cypres.

Entry of the Queene of Cypres into Venice.

Thus the Common-weale of Venice purchaſed a rich Crowne without any paine, imploying nothing but her wiſedome, with the which ſhee hath alwaies preferred eaſie conqueſts, before the moſt glorious, if they were without hazard. It is a curious obſeruation that the Eſtates doe commonly retaine the humour of their firſt founders. The Citie of Rome hath been alwaies poſſeſt with an ambitious deſire to raigne, for that her founder was full of it, who not content to haue recouered the Realme of *Numitor* his Grandfather, caſt his eyes preſently vpon Alba, and vppon the ſmall Eſtates which hindred the extention of this firſt command. [d] So as the firſt profeſſion was Armes, which hath not been diſcontinued by poſteritie being deſirous of glorie and command. It ſeemed that all other vertue except militarie had been defended. Contrariwiſe the founders of the Common-weale of Venice were men which had no ſuch ambitious thoughts, but loued peace and quiet, who being afflicted with the long calamities of Italy and the inundation of the barbarians, had caſt themſelues into theſe Fens of the Adriatike ſea, & ſeazed vpon many ſmall Ilands which were caled *Venetie*, they liued there a time, contenting them with an aſſured reſt in a place which nature made inexpugnable, [e] & which hath alwaies braued the attempts of the mightieſt Princes of the world.

This firſt inclination not to arme but for their owne defence, hath made them contemne Armes, and hath made them more carefull to maintaine themſelues in peace, then to inlarge their Empire. Who ſo will conſider of their firſt enterpriſes ſhall finde them limitted with a deſire onely to maintaine and defend themſelues. [f] Their firſt warres againſt the French were onely for the defence of their liberty, when as *Pepin* K. of France paſt the mountains to ſubdue the Lombards, & when as the Huns came like a violent floud vpon Italy, only the commonweale of Venice oppoſed it ſelfe like a rampar againſt theſe furious inundations, and it is no wonder if beeing forced to reſiſt ſuch furious attempts ſhee had noe meanes

That ſpirit is weake which thinkes there are any reaſons forcible enough to perſwade it to quit a crown.

[b] *Councels how pure ſoeuer they be doe ſtill ſauour of the paſſions & priuate intereſt of them that giue them.*

[c] Catherine Cornaro *Q. of Cypres receiued honorably into Venice by the Duke* Auguſtin Barbarico. *Shee entred into the Bucentaure, a honour which neuer had been done to any Venetian woman.*

[d] *The Eſtate of Rome increaſed ſodainly as* Polibius *obſerues. The Romanes hauing once gotten the command of all Italy, in a ſhort time they made all the world ſubiect.* ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτὴν ἔσχε τὴν οἰκουμένην. Polib. Lib.7.

[e] *The ſcituation of Venice is by nature inexpugnable, ſhe is garded without walles or garriſon, and hath alone for ſo many ages remained vnviolated.*

[f] *The Art of war ſaith Cardinal* Cõtarin, *hath been baniſhed out of the* Cõmonweale *of Venice, but it hath bin done inſẽſibly within theſe two hundred yeares, for*

meanes to thinke of other Conqueſts. Iealouſie for the command of the Sea, held it long in quarrell with the Genouois. And as in her firſt beginning ſhe had no care but to fortifie herſelfe at Sea againſt the iniuries of the firme land, ſo all her Conqueſts haue beene by Sea. An error and negligence which ſome that haue come after haue better conſidered g & haue thought that this Common-weale had begun too late to inlarge it ſelfe vpon the maine land, & to make profit of her neighbours ruynes. The two principall intentions which ſhee hath had for the greatnes of her eſtate, to maintaine her ſelfe free, and to become ritch, haue ſucceeded, for the one ſhe hath alwayes maintained her ſelfe ſtrong at Sea, there beeing no other meanes to anoy her, and ſhe hath continued her traffick, without the which ſhe could not continue, & this goodly flower of liberty had been withered by the idlenes of her ſubiects. The induſtry of marchandize ſhould bee no leſſe honorable vnto them then tillages to the old Senators of Rome, & both the one and the other in their labours and trafficke haue produced famous examples of publike vertues. We muſt giue vnto Venice the glory of the beſt gouernment of all the Eſtates of the world, the forme and order of her politick gonernment is in all parts ſo well diſpoſed, and obſerued, as this Common weale (amidſt ſo many diuers accidents of good fortune and bad) was neuer troubled wirh any diſcord or domeſtick diuiſion, which haue aflicted Ariſtocraticall Eſtates, and driuen gouernours of Common-weales into ſuch feares and diſtruſts, as the Pallace where they haue aſſembled to reſolue of publique affaires, hath beene often diſhonored with the loſſe of their liues, or liberties. h Inevitable ſtormes in eſtates, which depend not of the power of one alone, whereas the leſſer are alwaies kept vnder by the greater, and the poore cannot long indure the felicity of the ritch, who ſo will keepe the poore people in ſuch obedience muſt after the example of Rome allow them a ſhare in the eſtate. i The Venetians haue made them ſubiect by meanes very pleaſing vnto them, they haue in a manner the beſt part of the liberty, and their pleaſures are not limited but by exceſſe, they do their affaires quietly, and the Senate hath all the care to maintaine them in liberty and reſt. The greateſt diſdaine not them that are meaner, they contract Allyances together, and do not reſtraine them from certaine publique charges. There is a great temper betwixt *Ariſtocratia* and *Democratia*: For the Gouerment retayning little of the one and much of the other, is freed from diſorders and corruptions which haue alwaies troubled ciuill tranquillity.

before they haue been very warlike eſpecially againſt the Genouois. By this contempt of the Art of warre, they are conſtrained to imploy forrain forces, & they chooſe not a Captaine amõg the. The which they doe leaſt that priuate mẽ hauing forces vnder their cõmand, ſhould attempt ſomething againſt the ſtate.

g Francis Foſcarin *Duke of Venice, was wont to ſay* Che non potea la Republica creſcere molto di potenza, ſe non haueſſe nell impreſe di Terra impiegate le ſue forze: la quale coſa perche nõ haueа prima fatta, pero era ſtata molto ritardata, et impedita quella grandezza, alla quale, ſe tale conſiglio haueſſe preſo piu per tempo, poteua caminare felicemente.

h *After that they of* Miletum *had expelled their tyrants, they ſetled an Ariſtocraticall Eſtate but the people did ſtill mutine againſt this kind of Gouernment, and the great men did ſtill liue in ſuch feare as they could not hold a Councell in ſafety but in ſhippes. The Lords of Samos were murthered by the people when they were in counſell.*

i *The gouernment of Rome was diuided betwixt the Conſulls, Senate and people, with ſuch a conformity of their duties and common Offices, as neuer common weale was better inſtituted. The power of the one was bridled and reſtrayned by that of the other.* Nulla efferre ſe pars ſupra cæteras valet, neque impotenter ſuperbire, omnia quippe in ſuo ſtatu manent, cum aliorum cohibiatur impetus, alii nę in ſe quoque inſurgatur perpetuo metuunt.

FINIS.

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THE HISTORY
of LEVVIS *the XI.*
THE FIFTH BOOKE.

THE Duke of Normandy was no ſooner aduertiſed that the King had promiſed by the Treaty of Peronne to giue him the Contries of Champaigne and Brie for his portion but hee preſently beſought him to giue him leaue to goe thither, and not to ſuffer him to languiſh any longer, for the enioying of his reſt and quiet, the cheefe part whereof conſiſted in not beeing troubled to ſeeke it. [a]

The King who had promiſed nothing freely, thought to diſcharge himſelfe of his promiſes at a better rate. Hee wonne the Sigr. of Leſcun, [b] who was his Brothers whole Councell, to perſwade him to be conformable to his intentions, and to reſt ſatiſfied not with that which he deſired, but with what ſhould be offered him. Yet this practiſe was not ſo ſecret but the Duke of Bourgondy was aduertiſed by the Cardinall *Balue*, a double heart and a turbulent ſpirit full of paſſion, who wrate vnto him that the King treated with his Brother, that they made no mention of him, and that hee ſhould looke to his buſines. This letter being ſurpriſed, lodged him in a Cage of Iron [c] for a priſon from the which hee was not freed but by the Popes interceſſion, and towards the end of this raigne. Theſe Cages were of his inuention, [d] part wood, part iron, and couered with plates of Iron, ſo *Perillus* was roſted in the bull which he had inuented.

The King winnes his Brother by the practiſe of *Odet* of Rye.

The King being returned into France, whereas they talked of his indiſcretion and great credulity in truſting his enemie, ſet a good countenance of it, and made ſhew that what had beene done at Peronne had beene as beneficiall vnto him as if it had beene reſolued, in Paris, [e] but to put other fancies into the heads of the Pariſiens and other diſcourſes into their mouthes, hee cauſed a proclamation to be made by the trumpet, that all birds which are kept in Cages, as Pyes, Iayes and ſuch like, ſhould bee brought vnto him to

[a] *It is a part of reſt not to be in paine to ſeek it.*

[b] *He that wil winne a Princes heart, let him firſt win the cheefe miniſters which poſſeſſe him, who are as it were the eyes by the which hee ſeees, and the eares by the which he hears and vnderſtands.*

[c] *Cardinall* Balue *was cõmitted to priſon in Aprill, 1468. The Commiſſion to examine him was giuen to* Tanequy *of Chaſtel, gouernour of Rouſſillon:* William Couſinot, *the maiſter of Torſy, and* Peter *of Oriolo Generall of the finances.*

[d] *Wicked and bad inuentions fall vppon the inuentors, the forger is fettered in his owne irons,* Arruntius Paterculus *is roſted in his brazen horſe.*

[e] *To make ſhew to doe that willingly which was extorted by force is an act of wiſedome, not to looſe the credit and opinion which is had of him, to be aduiſed and alwayes equall.*

Amboiſe.

Amboiſe. They that had the Charge of this commiſſion, ſhould informe themſelues what euery Bird could ſay, and where it had been taken and taught. [f] An act of iudgement which did preuent many inconſiderate ſpeeches, which would haue been vſed againſt this Prince, for that he had thruſt himſelfe ſo raſhly into his enemies power, and brought himſelfe to that eſtate, as he was like vnto the Elephant who paies his ranſome with the Iuory of his teeth.

Aridiculous Edict 29. Nouemb.

To repaire this error and to preuent his Brother, and the Duke of Bourgundy of their pretenſions, he labours to breake the Treatie, but he will doe all with ſolemnitie, and if hee muſt caſt forth the Thunderbolts of warre, it ſhall not be done without the Councell of the Gods, [h] imitating the wiſedome of his Predeceſſors, who did not vndertake any warre without the aduice of a Parliament. So *Pepin* paſt the Alpes to ſuccour the Pope, ſo he armed againſt the Saxons, ſo hee expelled *Gaifre* out of Aquitaine, ſo *Charlemaine* went againſt the King of the Lombards, and the Duke of Bauaria hauing firſt acquainted the Parliament with theſe deſignes.

1468 Conuocation of the Eſtates at Tours.

To this end he aſſembled the Eſtates of the Realme at Tours, [i] the pretext was to preuent the ruines of the Realme, but the eſſentiall cauſe was to reſolue two things, a portion for Monſieur, and the reſtitution of the Townes vpon the riuer of Some, both depending vpon this Lawe which is one of the pillars of the Eſtate. *That the Lands of the Crowne are inalienable*, and portions are not giuen but with condition to returne againe for want of heires maſle. [k]

Eloquence naturall to K. Lewis the eleuenth.

The tongue hath done great ſeruices to this Prince in diuers actions, in this (yet without any Art or affectation) [l] he ſtrikes fire to inflame the coldeſt ſpirits, to what he will, and ſpeakes to all the Deputies, and lets euery man know the importance of the Duchie of Normandie, and the preiudice which other Prouinces receiued when it was in the power of the Engliſh, with the incredible toile which King *Charles* his Father had paſt to wreſt it out of their hands. That although he did not hold his brother to be of ſo bad a diſpoſition as to haue intelligence with them, yet he knew well that they of his intelligence had great practiſes in England, that he might haue children which ſhould not bee of his humor, beeing moſt certaine that the Princes of the ſame bloud extend their thoughts farther then they ſhould, [m] or may goe, aſpire to great matters, and are not content with their condition. That for theſe reaſons he could not leaue the Duchie of Normandie. That his promiſes in that regard ſhould be ſoundly vnderſtood, and that af-

Importance of the Duchy of Normandie.

[f] *It is good to diuert bruits & the peoples diſcourſes, but oftentimes if they be not allowed to ſpeake that which is true, they inuent fables which are more preiudiciall.* Fractis apud Cremonã rebus prohibuit per ciuitatem ſermones, eoque plures ac ſi liceret vera narraturi quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgauerant. *Tacit. Hiſt. l. 3.*

[h] *A Prince ſhould not alone reſolue to make war. Iupiter did not caſt forth his lightning without the Councel of twelue Gods. The Kings of France did not vndertake any war but with the aduice of the twelue Peeres.*

[i] *The Eſtates aſſemble for one of theſe three reaſons, for the regencie of the Realme, in the Kings minoritie, for the reformatiõ of the realme, and to prouide meanes to ſuccour the neceſsities of the Crowne. It is a bodie of three Orders & hath been alwaies obſerued among the Gaules.*

[k] *A Monarchy ſuffers no diuiſion, nor eſtimation, for the yongers portions of the houſe of France are not diuided, but for want of Maſles returne to the Crowne.* [l] *It is neceſſarie for the Prince to ſpeake well but without affectation, his eloquence ſhould more appeare in the facillitie of his owne nature, then in any curious Art, for there are more parts required to make a man eloquent, then to make a Captaine; to know and diſcourſe of particular things we muſt vnderſtand the generall.* [m] *Ambition neuer takes root but in hearts that are vigorous, hardy and deſirous of innouations. When as it incounters with any preheminence of bloud, or fauour of the people, it is hard to retaine it.*

faires of State were not managed with ſuch ſcrupulous conſiderations. That hee offered notwithſtanding to giue him ſuch a portion as the Eſtates ſhould aduiſe, making them Iudges and Arbitrators therein, but aboue all he commanded that the lawes of the Realme ſhould not be infringed. [n]

Hauing thus prepared their minds, he opens the Eſtates, & came thither with greater Maieſty then he did euer ſhew in any action during his raigne. A Prince cannot adde too much in ſuch great occaſions, for beſides that this light doth pleaſe, it dazels and tranſports mens mindes, he muſt allwayes hold himſelfe in admiration, it is a toile which is neuer ſet but ſome one is taken. His throne was vpon a ſtage three foot high, & railed in, containing all the bredth of the vpper end of the hall, his chaire was of blew veluet pouldred with flowers-de-luce vnder a cloth of eſtate of the ſame, and vpon three ſteps. He was attired in a long robe of white Damask imbrodered thick with fine gold of Cypres, with buttons of gold, & furred with ſables, a little black hat of his head, with a feather of gold. On either ſide of him were the Cardinall of S[t] *Suſanne*, Biſhop of Angers, and Rene Duke of Anjou and King of Sicile. [o]

Princes which were about the King.

The Prince of Piedmont a yong Infant was vppon one of the ſteps, and of either ſide ſtood the Earle of Foix, Prince of Nauarre and the Kings brother in law, with the Earles of Neuers and Eu, The Earle of Dunois, high Chamberlaine of France, was by reaſon of his gowt ſet vpon a little ſtoole behinde the King of Sicile, with many other Noblemen.

There were two other places rayled in, the one in the middeſt of the Hall neere vnto the Kings for the Princes of the bloud, the Conſtable, the Chancellor, the Patriarke of Ieruſalem, the Archbiſhop of Ieruſalem, the Arch-biſhop of Tours and other Biſhops, [p] The other being great and ſpacious which did inuiron the firſt of either ſide, was for the Deputies of the three Eſtates. Betwixt the Kings Theater and that of the Princes, were two formes directly againſt the King, on the one were the Peeres of France, and on the other were the Officers of the Crowne.

Euery man being ſet [q] and all the greateſt of the State humbled before the Prince, like vnto the rods and Maces of the ancient Magiſtrates of Rome, [r] the Chancellor roſe from his place and preſented himſelfe vpon his kneee on the right ſide of the King, who told him in his eare what his intention was. Hee made the Eſtates acquainted therewith in a long Oration the Deputies beeing prepared vpon the Kings inſtructions finde that they neither could nor ought to grant vnto *Charles* of France the Duchie of Normandie for his portion. It was ſaid that it ſhould remaine vnto the Crowne, and the King was intreated to maintaine the auncient lawes of the Realme, concerning his Patrimonie, holy, ſacred and

Oration made by the Chancellor.

[n] *The Realme of France is ſeated vpon a triangular baſis, the Salique Law, the holding of the Eſtates, and the reuenewes inalienable.*

[o] *At the foote of the Kings ſcaffold were ſet.* The Vicont of Narbonne, *George* of Pembruk, the Lords of Tancaruille, Chaſtillon, Bueill, Longueuille, Lauall, Aigle, Craon, Crulſol, & la Foreſt

[p] *In the ſecond place railed in, were* the Marquis of Pont, the Earle of Perche, the Earl of Guiſe, the Earle of Vendoſme, the Earl Dauphin, and the Earle of Montfort.

[q] *It is obſerued that the Earle of* S[t] *Paul Cõſtable of France was at the vpper end, & next vnto him Monſ. Iurde Traynell, Chancellor of France, in Crimſon veluet robes, and a little beneath thẽ on the ſame forme*, the Archbiſhop of Tours, the Biſhops of Paris, Chartres. Perigueux, Valences, Limogis, Senlis, Soiſſons, Aire, Auranches, Angouleſme, Lodeue, Neuers, Agen, Cominges, Bayone and others.

[r] *In the aſſemblies of the people of Rome, the Magiſtrates did hold downe their rods and Maces in ſigne of humilitie, and ſpake ſtanding the people being ſet, ſhewing that they had no power to command, and all Magiſtrates dealt by Petition, vſing theſe words,* velitis, iubeatis.

inalienable

inalienable either by contracts, or by preſcription of time, and againſt any whatſoeuer, and that the Princes of the bloud ſhould not therein haue any more fauour nor priuiledge then priuate men, [r] the King himſelfe being bound by oath at his Coronation not to alienate any thing, and in doing ſo, to giue vnto his Brother a portion with the title of a Dutchy or an Earledome the which ſhould be worth twelue hundred poundes ſtarling a yeare, and a yearely penſion of foure thouſand and eight hundred pounds ſtarling, without drawing it to conſequence, [t] for the yonger brethren of the houſe of France.

Gaienne giuen to the Kings Brother

The King gaue the Dutchy of Guienne, beſides the riuer of Charante, the countrie of Agenois, Perigort, Quercy, Xanictonge, the Gouernment of Rochell and the Bailewike of Auins, hee changed the Parliament of Guienne from Bourdeaux to Poitiers. This reſolution was carried to Monſieur, and to the Dukes of Brittany and Bourgundy his confederates, Monſieur was ſo ill and ſo deſirous to change the ayre, as notwithſtanding that hee found ſmall profit in the change of his condition, yet would he not refuſe it. the Lord of Leſcun perſwaded him to reconcile himſelfe vnto the King, and to accept of what he ſhould giue him.

Adiournement of the Duke to the Parliament of Paris.

The Eſtates did alſo reſolue that the Duke of Bourgundy ſhould be adiourned to appeare in perſon before the Parliament at Paris, to doe right vnto the Earle of Eu, [u] for St. Valery and other lands which he detained. The King was well pleaſed with this reſolution, for that he knew well that when the Duke ſhould ſee himſelfe charged in this manner he would make an anſwer according to his humor full of contempt, and that ſome groſe-headed fellow executing his commiſſion indiſcreetly for profit, would moue him, and prouoke him to do ſomthing whereat the Court ſhould bee offended and vrged to ſeeke reparation.

Complaints for the Pragmatike Sanction.

The ſame Court of Parliament ſent *Iohn Loyſelier*, [x] and *Iohn Henry* Councellors of inqueſts, to repreſent vnto the King, & to the Eſtates the great preiudice which France had receiued by the abolition of the Pragmaticke Sanction, that it was depriued of a rule which comprehended all the liberties and freedomes of the French Church approued in the Conciles of Baſill and Conſtance: That by the ceſſation of ſuch decrees, France muſt needs looke for ſome great confuſion of the Eccleſiaſticall Order, and a generall impoueriſhment by the tranſport of gold and ſiluer beyond the Alpes. But the King hauing obtained what hee deſired againſt his Brother and the Duke of Bourgundy, hee carrried his thoughts to other things then to that which the Eſtates expected for the good of the publke, [y] and diſmiſt them giuing order for the intelligences which hee had vpon Amiens, Abbeuille and St. Quentin.

[r] *That which may make an alienation perfect and giue a title of iuſt poſſeſſion, doth not comprehend thoſe demands which are inalienable & may be reunited, although the alienation were made for euer, & yet the purchaſer ſhall not recouer the price of the thing alienated*

[t] *This clauſe of cõſequence was ſuperfluous & ſhewes from what reſpect it came. For the portion was ſo ſmall, as no man would make it a Preſident. There are houſes in France, where the yonger ſons would not bee ſo ſatisfied.*

[u] Charles *of Artois Earle of Eu dyed without children in the yeare* 1471 *Hee was taken priſoner at the Battel of Azincourt and remained three & twenty years in England.*

[x] *The Deputies of the Court of Parliament let the K. vnderſtand that the abolitiõ of this Pragmatick was ſhameſull and iniurious, for that Frãce had neuer had in like cauſes Ordinances which had taken their authoritie from the vniuerſall Church.* That as long as ſhe had obſerued this Pragmatick, ſhe was full of all proſperitie, and feared of her enemies whom ſhe had chaſed out of Normandie and Guienne, and had ſeene Prelates of ſuch holines, as they had done miracles.

[y] *In theſe Eſtates they did not thinke of the publike good nor of the peoples eaſe, who complained, for* Lewis *leuied much more then King* Charles.

Then

Then repreſenting vnto himſelfe how much the diſcontentmenes of the great men of this Realme, had ruined his affaires hee inuented a meanes to vnite their mindes to his will and to keep them firme by new bonds of honor and fidelitie, the which hee found in the order of St Michael making it not onely a recompence for vertue, like to the Conſulſhip of Rome, but a marke of the Nobilitie of bloud and extraction.[z]

Inſtitution of the order of St Michell.

Princes ſhould haue things in their meere diſpoſition which ſhould be out of the commerce of their ſubiects, and wherevnto they may not aſpire but by the degrees of Vertue. Honors which may bee recouered for money, are no more honors, for the ſale may make them fall vpon vnworthy heads. [a] It is a great diſorder when as ſuch as are aduanced, cannot ſay that they are bound vnto their vertue, although they haue glorious ſhewes, and that is not held rare which may be recouered for money. [b] 1469

Fortune may impoueriſh the greateſt houſes of Chriſtendome, but the honour which they hold from their Anceſtors remaines for euer, and a branch of Laurell which remaines of their fathers Crownes, is more deere vnto them then any other thing. Wee ſee not any Prince reduced to that neceſſitie, as hee prefers ſiluer before honor. And that King hath no great power in a Realme wheras they obtaine all for coyne.

The King great maſter of the order of St Michel.

The King making himſelfe Generall of this Order, would alſo haue them that were neereſt vnto him honored. [c] He gaue the firſt coller of the Order to Monſieur his Brother, the ſecond to *Charles* Duke of Bourbon and Auuergne. Hee thought to draw in the Dukes of Bourgundy and Brittany, but they would not bee bound to appeare at the Chapter.

Firſt knights of St Michel.

With this Order were alſo honored the chiefe Noblemen of the Realme. [d] *Lewis* of Luxenbourg Earle of St Paul and Conſtable of France, *Andrew* of Laual Lord of Loheac Marſhall of France, *Iohn* Earle of Sancerre Lord of Bueil, *Lewis* of Beaumont Lord of Foreſt and Pleſſis, *Lewis* of Eſtouteuille Lord of Torcy, *Lewis* of Laual Lord of Chaſtillon, *Lewis* Baſtard of Bourbon Earle of Rouſſillon, Admirall of France, *Anthony* of Chabannes Earle of Dammartin, Lord Stuard of the Kings houſe, *Iohn* Baſtard of Armagnac Earle of Comminges, Marſhall of France and Gouernor of Dauphiné, *George* of Tremouille Lord of Craon, *Gilbert* of Chabannes Lord of Curton Seneſhall of Guienne, *Charles* Lord of Cruſſol Seneſhall of Poitou, *Taneguy* of Chaſtell Gouernor of the Country of Rouſſillon and Sardinia. The King reſerued to make vp the number of ſix and thirty Knights to his Election at the firſt chapter.

The Duke of Bourgundy at the ſame time receiued the Order of England; and the Duke of Brittanie that of Bourgundie, the

[z] *The dignity of Conſull at Rome, was as* Valerius *ſaid vnto his ſoldiers,* Premium virtutis non ſanguinis, *and went to ſeek out the vertuous in any houſe & at any age.*

[a] *The ſale of honors makes them to be leſſe eſteemed, vertue to bee contemned, & ſufficiency leſſe neceſſarie, euery one thinking that he may attaine vnto it for money.*

[b] *Glory is the deſire of great courages.* Cæſar *would haue ſcorned him that ſhould haue giuen him gold, but hee dyed with deſire to haue a crown of bayes.*

[c] *By theſe orders the Prince becomes a companion to the whole Colledge.* Tiberius *made an order of Knights which were caled* Auguſtales, *and made himſelfe great maſter, & to the end it might haue more reputation, hee would haue* Druſus *his ſonne, with* T. Claudius *and* Germanicus *his nephewes to be of it.* Tac. An. Lib. 7.

[d] *The ancient order of France was of the Knights of the ſtarre, inſtituted by King* Iohn *ſurnamed the good in the yeare* 1351. *the* 6. *of Iannary, the Knights weare a ſtarre of gold in their hats, and vpon their cloakes, and the deuice was* Monſtrant regibus Aſtra viam. *A hundred and eight yeares after* Lewis *the eleuenth made the order of* St Michel *the* 1. *of Auguſt* 1469. *A hundred & ten yeares after that* Henry *the third inſtituted the Knights of the holy Ghoſt, and in the yeare* 1579. *After an Age all things grow old.*

one

one inſtituted by *Edward* the third: [f] the other by *Philip* Duke of Bourgundy. As this Order had one head, ſo had it one certaine and determinate place, one habite, one marke or Enſigne of Officers, one forme of reception, one oath and one rule.

The place for the aſſembly of the Order transferred ſince to Bois de Vincennes.

The place was the Church of Mont S[t] Michel, as well for that the place was then noted to haue neuer yeelded vnto that yoake of the ancient enemies of the Crowne of France, as alſo for the King *Charles* the ſeuenth, ſaid, that beeing vpon the bridge of Orleans when he entred with the Virgin *Ioan*, he ſaw (not by any fantaſtical viſions of Southſayers like to *Cæſar* [g] but truely) that Arke-angell fighting on his right hand. Hee appointed ſeates for the cheefe of the Order and Knights in the Quier of the Church, with their Armes aboue their ſeates.

The habit of the order

The habit was a long cloake of white Damaske downe to the ground, with a border imbrodered with cockle ſhells of gold interlaced and furred with Ermines, all of one length and one faſhion, with hoodes of Crimſon vellet and long tippets, the hood of the chiefe of the order was of Murry Skarlet. [h]

Marke of the order.

The marke or enſeigne was a coller of Golde, [i] in the mideſt of which vpon a rocke was the Image of Saint *Michael* in gold, which hong downe vpon his breſt, all amounting to the value of two hundred Crownes in gould, without any enamell or inriching with ſtones, which coller ſhould be carried daily about their necks vncouered, vpon paine to cauſe a maſſe to bee ſaid and to giue ſeauen ſouz ſixe deniers for Gods ſake. In armies, voiages and in their priuat houſes it was ſufficient to weare the image of Saint *Michel* at a little chaine of gould or a ſilke ryband.

Officers of the order.

The officers were a chancellor [k] to keep the ſeale of the order, to carry meſſages, to make propoſitions in chapters and Aſſemblies, to informe of the Actions of Knights, to admoniſh and correct, to gather the voyces in elections, and the proofes of Nobility. A regiſter to write and inrowle the acts of the Order, all the commendable proweſſes & worthy deeds of the head and knights their faults, Iuſtifications, corrections and puniſhments. A Treaſorer [l] which ſhall haue in his cuſtody the titles, Relicks, Iewells, Ornaments, Tapiſtry, and Lybrary of the Order. A King at armes called Mont Saint *Michel* who ſhall haue ſixe ſcore pound ſtarling a yeare penſion, to carry the letters and commandements of the Order, to informe of the proweſſes of Knights and to make his report.

The reception and the oth; After the deceaſe of a Knight verified of his worthy deeds and merits. They proceed to the election of an other to ſupply his place, the voyces are giuen and receyued by writting in open chapter, [m] and the Chancellor declares who hath the greateſt number, if the rigour of ſuch informations had

[f] Edward the third inſtituted the Order of the garter of fiue and twenty Knights, in the yeare 1348. Philip that of the golde fleece, in the yeare 1428. of one and thirty Knights, Amedee of Sauoy caled the greene Earle, that of the Anunciado, in the yeare 1409. of fourteene Knights.

[g] Cæſar going to the warre againſt Pópey, a South-ſayer came vnto him tranſported & ſaid. Cæſar, thou ſhalt ouercome. It was true, and Cæſar ſoone after writing vnto his friends ſent them this word. Veni, vidi, vici.

[h] The Knights attired in this habit, are bound on S[t] Michels Eue to come vnto the Pallace of the chiefe of the Order, to conduct him to the Euenſong, and the next day to Maſſe, whereas euery one offers a pecce of gold for his deuotiõ.

[i] They are alwaies bound to carry the coller, but when they trauel, remaine in their houſes, or goe a hunting, then they may weare the Image of the Order in a ſilke ryband. [k] No man might be Chancellor of this Order if he were not an Eccleſiaſticall Prelate, as an Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or ſome notable dignitie in a Cathedrall or Collegiall Church, or a Doctor of Diuinitie or Canon Law. [l] The Treaſurer muſt keep a Regiſter of the guifts and good deeds which the Knights ſhall doe vnto the Order. [m] The voices for the Election of a Knight are giuen in ſcroules, and put into a baſen of ſiluer which the Chancellor holds.

laſted alwaies, time which blemiſheth the goodlieſt actions, and weakens th e ſtrongeſt lawes, had not altered any thing of the beauty and integrity of this Order. They had not called it in contempt a hood for all heads, for Nobility and vertue could not deſier a quallity which brought them more honor and greatneſſe, when as he that merits to be choſen is aduertiſed of his election, he preſents him-ſelfe vnto the Chapter, and addreſſing him-ſelfe vnto the King, ſpeakes theſe words. Sir, or my Lord, if he bee of the bloud.

I haue ſeene your letters that by your fauour and of your moſt honored Bretheren and Champions of the worthy and honorable order of my Lord Saint Michel, *I haue beene choſen* n *into the order and louing company, where-with I thinke my ſelfe much honored, and doe reuerently and thankefully accept it, and doe thanke you as much as I may, offering my ſelfe ready to obay and to doe all that I ought and may touching the ſaid order.* Where-vnto ſhalbe anſwered by the ſaid Soueraigne, being accompanied by the greateſt number of Knights that may be. *Wee and our Bretheren, Companions of the order, for the good renown we haue heard of your worthy deeds, vertues and merits, hoping you will perſeuere and augment them to the honour of the order and commendation of your ſelfe, haue choſen you to be perpetually, (if it pleaſeth God) a brother and companion of the ſaid order and louing company, wherefore you muſt take the othe which followeth. That with all your loyall power you ſhall helpe to keepe, ſuſtaine and defend* o *the dignity and rights of the crowne and royall Maieſty and the authority of the ſoueraigne of the order and of his ſucceſſors Soueraignes ſo long as you ſhall liue and be of the order.*

You ſhall imploy your ſelfe with all your power to maintain the ſaid order in ſtate and honour and ſhall labour to augment it, and not ſuffer it to decaie, ſo long as you may preuent it. If it ſhould happen which God forbid, that any fault ſhould be found in you, for the which according to the cuſtomes of the order p *you were to bee depriued, ſommoned and required to yeeld vp the ſaid coller, in that caſe you ſend it to the ſaid Soueraigne, or to the treaſuror of the Order, and ſhall neuer after the ſaid Somation carry the ſaid Coller, and all other paines and corrections which may bee inioyned you for other leſſe offences, you ſhall beare and fulfill patiently, and not beare (by reaſon of the ſaid things) any hatred againſt the Soueraigne, Companions and Officers of the Order.*

You ſhall come and appeare in all Chapters, q *Conuentions, and Aſſemblies of the Orders, or ſhall ſend according to the Statutes and Ordinances of the ſaid Order, and ſhall obey the Soueraigne and his Deputies in all reaſonable things concerning the duety and affaires of the ſame Order, and ſhall with your loyall power accompliſh all the Statutes, Poynts, Articles, and Ordinances of the Order, which you haue ſeene in writting, and heard read, and doe promiſe and ſweare in generall, as if you had taken an oath vppon euery poynt in particular.*

Bond of a Knight receiuing the Order.

To defend the rights of the Crowne.

The affairs of the Order.

Degradation in caſe of offence.

Aſsiſtance at Chapters and obſeruation of Orders.

n *When the Knight choſen is abſent, the King ſends the Herald of the Order vnto him with letters which carry the common conſent of the order for his Election, with a Coppy of the Statutes of the order, to aduiſe if he will enter and bind himſelfe by oath to the ſoueraigne and members of that body.*

o *The Knights owe perſonall ſeruice vnto the King, in all his enterpriſes, but wher there is ſome vrgent let.*

p *A Knight conuicted of any reprochfull act, is depriued of the order and the Choller taken frō him. The cauſes for which he may be degraded are hereſie, treaſon and flight on day of Battell. The Knight which is vniuſtly wronged by the King, & from whom he can obtaine no iuſtice, ſ Hee muſt deliuer vp his coller, & leaue the order not offending it in any ſort, but taking his leaue honorably.*

q *The day after* St. Michaells *feaſt the Chapter of the order ſhould be held, there the Knights are inioyned to keepe the Councellls and corrections ſecret. All the Knights are commanded to goe forth one after another, the laſt come going firſt, and the Soueraigne laſt. An the Chancellor informes himſelfe in taking the other of all the Knightes, and of the Soueraigne himſelfe, of the wordes and actions of the Knight that is gone forth, to know if he hath done any thing, Againſt the honor, renowne, eſtate and duty of Knighthood.*

Which

Which things the ſaid Knight ſhall promiſe and ſweare in the hands of the ſaid Soueraigne vpon his faith and honor, hauing his hands vpon the Groſſe and the holy Euangill, which done the ſaid Knight newly choſen, ſhall come reuerently before the Soueraigne, who taking the Coller of the Order ſhall put it about his necke, ſaying or cauſing theſe words to bee ſaid. *The Order receaues you into this amiable company, & in token thereof giues you this preſent Coller God graunt you may carry it long to his glory and ſeruice, aduantement of the holy Church, and increaſe of the honor of the Order and of your merrits and good fame: In the name of the Father, the Sonne and holy Ghoſt*, whereunto the ſaid Knight ſhall ſay *Amen God giue mee the grace.* After which the eldeſt Knight ſhall lead the ſaid Knight newly receiued vnto the Soueraigne, who ſhall kiſſe him in ſigne of perpetuall loue, and in like maner all the Knights that are preſent ſhall doe the ſame in order.

The Kings words in giuing the Coller.

Bonds of Knights reciprocall.

Beſides this the knights are bound to certaine reſpects one towards another: They did promiſe at their entrie into the Order to ſerue the King as their head in all occaſions both within and without the Realme, and the King did promiſe to maintaine them in their goods, lands, and eſtates, as his Bretheren and companions, and not to attempt any warre without their aduiſe.

Hee thought to hold thoſe hearts (which had beene diſtracted) faſt bound vnto him, but infidelity was ſo bold and ſo contagious, as all the reſpects of honor and conſcience were too weake to reſtraine her from drawing them from their dueties, who ſay the lawes of their birth were moſt bound vnto it. It was a difficult thing for good men to bridle themſelues from running into ill, ſo licentious was the time, and ſo hard a matter it is to do well, when as euery man glories in doing ill, and that crimes become examples and cuſtomes.

Iohn Duke of Bourbon continued his intelligences with the Duke of Bourgondy, and aduertiſed him of what the King practiſed vpon the Townes in Picardy. The Conſtable vſed all his practiſes betwixt the two Princes, fearing that if the Kings Choller found not ſome ſubiect to worke vppon abroad, it would fall vppon the neereſt that were about him: That a long peace would cut off the entertainment of his ſoldiers, making him vnprofitable to the King and without reputation in the realme, promiſing vnto himſelfe that whilſt the warre continued hee ſhould gouerne all. The perpetuity of his charge which could haue no other end but with his life, held him not in thoſe apprehenſions, wherewith their mindes are troubled which hold them as a Wolfe by the eare, [u] Peace alone makes a ciuill warre in his ſoule, wherefore he aſſures the King, that when he pleaſed hee would recouer him St. Quentin, by the meanes of ſome places which he held about it. and would ſpeedily execute the intelligences which he had in Flanders and Brabant.

Intelligences continued betwixt Bourgondy and Bourbon.

[r] *The Coller habit & cloke of him, that is to be reciued ſhall bee made ready, and laid before the Kings ſeat, vppon a Carpet of Crimſon Taffata or Sattin hanging downe at either end, and the ſaid coller & robes ſhall bee perfumed with incenſe, after that the Preeſt hath perfumed the Altar. Art. 82. of the amplifying the Statutes of the Order in the yeare 1476.*

[s] *Lewis the eleuenth bound himſelfe not to vndertake any warre, nor any other matter of importance without making it knowne to the Knights of the order.*

[t] *To doe well when as vertue raigns & good men are honored, is ordinary and eaſie, but not to ſuffer himſelfe to bee infected with the corruptions of the time, but to haue a good intent & to dare vndertake it and effect it in a bad ſeaſon, is the true ſigne of a generous ſpirit.*

[u] *Charges which are aboue others ſhould be ſhort leaſt they ſhould grow inſupportable and inſolent. Thoſe which are but temporary hold them that enioy them in their duties, and the perpetuall makes them forgetfull.*

Warre beeing concluded by the Eſtates at Tours, it was as ſoone begun as proclaimed. The Duke being at Gand receiued the Citation to appeare in perſon at the Court of Parliament who cauſed the Vſher of the Court to be impriſoned, hauing adiourned him as hee was going to Maſſe, and beeing madde to ſee himſelfe made equall to the meaneſt of the Realme, he reſolued to appeare with his ſword in his hand, and to tranſport the warre as neere his Iudges as hee could. Wars proclaimed.

The Kings practiſes began then to breake forth, many declared themſelues French. *Baldwine* Baſtard of Bourgundy retired himſelfe vnto the Kings ſeruice. The Duke of Brittanie had made an accord with him. [x] The Duke of Guienne was ſatisfied, and if hee could not haue all that hee deſired, hee was content with that which did ſuffice him. [y] The Conſtable ſent word to the Duke of Bourgundy that all was loſt; that there was no reliefe for him in England, being fallen into the ſame convulſions which had in a manner ſmothered it in the yeare 1461. The Duke is ſurpriſed.

Edward being bound to the Earle of Warwicks vertue for his fortune made him a ſharer, and gaue him goodly peeces depending of the Crowne, and the continuation of the gouernment of Calice, with foureſcore thouſand Crownes rent to increaſe his reuenues. Yet the Earle of Warwick did not hold theſe recompences proportionable to his great ſeruices, beeing moreouer diſcontented for that the King hauing ſent him into France to ſeeke the Kings Alliance by the marriage of *Bonna* of Sauoy [z] had mockt him in marrying with *Grayes* widdow, the which *Lewis* made ſenſible to the Earle of Warwicke to the end this complaint might bee as a thorne of diſcontent in his heart. Troubles in England.

And as Princes take delight to pull them downe whom they haue raiſed and aduanced, and doe not willingly ſuffer ſuch high heads of Poppie to grow in their gardens. *Edward* grew iealous and an enemie to this great authority which had cheriſhed & made ſpeed vnder the ſhadow of his. He brake quite with him, and ſome ſay that hauing attempted againſt the honour of a Kinſwoman of his, [a] the Earle of Warwick being wounded in ſo ſenſible and tender a part began to diſtaſte the ſeruice which he did him, and repenting him of that which he had formerly done, hee retired from Court into his Earldome of Warwicke, whereas his hard fortune made him know the difference of his friends, [b] and where he ſhews that a great courage had rather die reuenged, then liue with the reproch of a wrong or an affront. The Earle of Warwick reuolts.

The Duke of Clarence the Kings Brother, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Marquis of Montague came vnto him. Euery one brought his complaint with him, and the vlcer he had in his heart againſt *Edward*. The Earle of Warwick repreſented vnto them the miſerable eſtate they ranne into, if they did not labour to reſtore King *Henry* to his Fathers throne, and themſelues to libertie. To binde the Duke of Clarence to this deſigne, hee giues him his Daugh-

x *Accord of the D. of Brittanie with the King at Angeris the 18. of September. 1468.*

y *The eaſe of great Princes muſt be conſidered by their cõtent. They haue but too much ſo as they thinke they haue enough. One demanded of Zeleuchus what Reuenewes hee had, to whom hee anſwered, As much as I need. Plut.*

z *The King of England ſent the Earle of Warwicke into France, to demand* Bonna *of Sauoy daughter to* Lewis *Duke of Sauoy & the Queenes Sister in marriage.*

a *Of wrongs which make the greateſt impreſſion in the hart, thoſe which regard the honor of Ladies are moſt ſenſible.* Polidore Virgil *writes thus of this attempt.* Nec abhorret a veritate Eduardũ tentaſſe, vt aiunt, neſcio quid in domo Comitis, quod ab honeſtate omnino abeſſet, cum homo eſſet qui facile puellas oculis adiiceret, eaſque deperiret.

b *In the diſgrace and croſſes of fortune friends are known* Namertes *anſwered him that required a rule to know them by.* Ἀτυχία. *Plut.*

He makes a league with the Du: of Clarence.

Daughter. Proximitie of bloud did ſufficiently binde the other two, being his Brethren, whoſe friendſhip he might account among the ſweet fruits of his felicitie. [c] The partie was made and the reſolution taken vpon the conſideration of things preſent & to come, was that he ſhould goe to Calice, and in his abſence they ſhould make ſome ſtirres in the Prouince of Yorke, to the end hee might haue a ſubiect to come thither and to arme. The pretext of riſing was for the deniall of ſome Corne which they of the Earle of VVarwicks faction refuſed to pay for the entertainment of St Leonards Hoſpitall in Yorke, and there were others which did murmure, giuing it out that what ſhould ſerue the poore was ſpent by great men. [d]

Commotion in Yorkſhire.

This refuſall did ſo incenſe the people, as in a ſhort time there were fifteene thouſand men in armes which marched directly to Yorke, to haue reaſon of them which refuſed to pay what they ought vnto the Hoſpitall. But when as they found themſelues too weake, being a multitude of ſeditious and mutenous fellowes, who are naturally cowards, and hauing no Canon to force an entrie, they paſt to London to demand Iuſtice of the King, with torches of rebellion in their fiſts. [e]

An Armie at the gates of London.

The Earle of Warwick was no ſooner aduertiſed of theſe broiles, but he parted from Calice with the Duke of Clarence, and came and ioined with this multitude, who wanted not any thing but a head. King *Henries* preſence and the Earles did countenance the faction, and increaſe it with a greater number, with the which he reſolued to giue Battell, to recompence the errors, ruines and occaſions paſt. [f] The Earle of Pembroke, whom the King of England had ſent, not to fight but to puniſh thoſe rebels was put to route and they had the victory. *Richard* Lord Riuers father to Queene *Elizabeth*, and his ſonne *Iohn Wooduille*, with ſome other Gentlemen loſt their heads.

Edward defeated and taken priſoner.

The King ſought to make ſome accord with the Earle of Warwicke, and vpon the aſſurance which he gaue him, neglected to keep good gard in his Campe, the which ſhould not bee omitted euen among friends. Loue goes naked by day and armed by night, [g] The Earle of Warwicke hauing obſerued this careleſſe guard by his ſpies he vndertooke to charge him by night, with ſo great aduantage, as killing all he found in the trenches hee came without any reſiſtance to the place where the King was, whom he tooke priſoner and led away. But for that they could not make good vſe of this fortune, they ruined themſelues and vndid King *Henry*, for whom they had taken Armes: God, who hath a ſpeciall care of Kings, depriued them of Iudgement, for although they knew well that it was impoſſible to ſettle King *Henry* peaceably in the Realme during *Edwards* life, yet could they not keep him ſo well but hee eſcaped, hauing corrupted his gards with hopes, and goodly promiſes, whereof great men are no nigards when they haue need of their inferiors.

[c] *It is a part of the ſweetnes & felicitie of life, to ſee* Telemachus *recounting his miſeries, amõg which he reports that he is αὐτὰρ ἄλαοϛ. without a brother.* Plut.

[d] *Sedition can haue no iuſt cauſes, but the moſt apparant are whe as priuate men make their profit of that which belongs to the publike. In a word it is inequalitie and Iniuſtice.*

[e] *Sedition is alwaies faint and cowardly, and cowards are euer moſt ſeditious.* Quantũ habes ad ſuſtinendum laborẽ miles, tanto ad diſcordias prõptior *Tac. Hiſt. Lib. 2.*

[f] *Hee that knowes how to giue a Battell recouers his reputation, if it were blemiſhed, it reſtores him if he be ruined, & excuſeth all errors which he hath cõmitted in warre, for a Battell won defaceth all misfortunes & reproch of other precedent actions.*

[g] Crates *ſaid that loue went al day naked but at night hee caried a Cuiraſſe, & that a prince which truſts in the loue of his ſubiects may by day goe in ſafety and without feare, but by night he ſhould haue his gard.*

Edward beiug at libertie, recouers Yorke, where he was receiued with ioy, which was as great as it was vnexpected. From thence he went to London to confirme their wils whom his captiuitie had made to wauer, and conſidering that victory doth alwaies fauour them which haue the aduantage both of Councell and force, [h] he raiſed a mighty Armie, and went to ſeeke out the Earle of Warwicke, whom he put to rout, and returned triumphantly, the victorie was made famous by the death of ten thouſand men.

Earle of Warwick defeated.

Queene *Margaret*, Prince *Edward* her Sonne, the Duke of Clarence and his wife, the Earle of Warwick with their children and friends were forced to flye. They came to Calice, but the Earle of Warwicks Lieutenant would not receiue them, nor ſcarce ſuffer them to carrie two bottels of Wine for the Ducheſſe of Clarence, who was deliuered of a Sonne whileſt the ſhip rode at an Anchor. This rudenes and indiſcretion did ſo pleaſe King *Edward* and the Duke of Bourgundy, as the one ſent him authoritie to command as Gouernor of Calais, and the other a good penſion to increaſe his entertainement.

The Earle of Warwicke, who was much eſteemed in France, and in great credit with the King, for his worthy deeds which had made his reputation great and not eaſie to bee ſhaken, [i] ſent vnto the King to receiue him. The King ſeemed to haue a great deſire to ſee him and ſuccour him. He landed at Diepe, and was conducted with all his troupe to Amboiſe. The people flockt vppon the high-wayes to ſee thoſe mournefull relikes of Troy. Euery man had heard ſpeake of the deſolation of the houſe of Lancaſter, they did regard them as Prodigies of fortune whom ſhe had choſen to be pittifull examples of her inconſtancie.

Within ſix monethes the King gaue them meanes to returne into England, with ſuch forces as *Edward* durſt not affront them. Hee was forced to quit the partie, and ſeeeing how dangerous it was to ſtay vntill the Earle of Warwick came vnto the gates of London, hee retired into Holland to the Duke of Bourgundie, carrying nothing with him but a hope to returne. [k]

The K. giues ſuccors to K. *Henry*.

Behold *Henry* the ſixt drawne out of priſon and ſet in the royall throne, but he continued but ſix monethes, for *Edward* being relieued with ſhips and men from the Duke of Bourgundy, returned into England, and preſented himſelfe before the gates of London, where he entred victorious. The Duke of Clarence left the Earle of VVarwick [l] King *Henry* was murthered in the Tower, his ſonne was detained priſoner, and ſoone after ſlaine. The Earle of VVarwicke was ſlaine vpon the place, and the Queene was a priſoner. Thus the Realme which *Edward* had loſt in eleuen dayes, was recouered in one, ſo true it is that Eſtates change in a moment, [m] & that it is hard to make good vſe of things ill gotten.

Henry the ſixt ſet at libertie and *Edward* expelled.

Death of King *Henry* the ſixt.

[a] *A Prince hath a great aduantage ouer his enemie when he exceeds him in Armes, and that hee hath the Councels & executions ſooner readie then he.*

[i] *Reputatiõ is a Coloſſe which is hardy raiſed by reaſon of its weight but whē it is vp it ſtads firme and ſupports it ſelfe by his owne beauties. It is hard to lay the foundation and to raiſe it, for it cannot laſt vpõ light actions. That of the E. of Warwick muſt needs be great, hauing twiſe chang'd the eſtate of Englād, and as it were diſpoſed of the Crowne.*

[k] *It is a poore equipage for a Prince which goes out of his eſtate with hope to returne, but a retreat of this ſort againſt a Prince that is ſtronger is honorable* Valentinean *the ſecond left* Aquilea *to* Maximin *and fled into* Theſſalonica *with* Iuſtina *his mother where he obtained ſuccors of the Emperour.* Theodoſius, *who reſtored him to the Contrie.* Sigon. Lib. 9. Imp. Occident.

[l] *The Duke of Clarence being in France was ſollicited and wonne by a Gentlewoman which came out of England from the King his Brother and he promiſed that being in Eng. and he would turne to his ſide ſide.*

[m] *The euerſions and conuerſions of the eſtates are moſt commonly ſodaine.* Breui

During

During theſe Tragedies, the King who wiſht they had continued longer, the more to weaken the Dukes deſignes, and to humble his thoughts, continued the warre which he had begun in Picardie. The Conſtable who would needs be a neceſſarie euill [n] to theſe two Princes was glad to let the Duke vnderſtand what he could doe. He took S[t] Quentin, Amiens opened her gates vnto him, Abbeuille (the Cittadell of Picardy) had entred into the ſame partie, if *Philip* of Creuecæur, Lord of Cordes, had not entred. The Duke not holding himſelfe ſafein the middeſt of the Conſtables friends, retyred to Dourlans, and from thence to Arras.

Amiens & S[t]. Quentin taken.

Being there he receiued a letter from the Duke of Guienne containing theſe wordes. *Labour to content your ſubiects and then care not for you ſhall find friendes.* The Duke ſeeing himſelfe thus ſurpriſed and diſpoſſeſt of the Townes which he did ſo much eſteeme, intreated the Conſtable not to preſſe this warre ſo hotly, nor to doe the worſt he could, and to conſider that the King without any precedent offence had taken armes, and broken the treaty of Peronne, before that he had diſclaimed his friendſhip. [o]

The Conſtable beeing glad to ſee the pride of his firſt maiſter humbled, makes the danger greater then it was: hee threatens him with an ineuitable ruine, if he did not open his eyes to thoſe expediments which he propounded vnto him, letting him know that in the darknes of his infidelity he did alwaies reſerue a good day for his ſeruice. [p]

Pollicy of the Conſtable of S[t]. Paul.

Yet will he not declare himſelfe to be other then a good Frenchman, for to mannage his buſines with honour, the leape was too dangerous from S[t]. Quintin to Bruſſels. The paſſage from one contrary to another is neuer made without violence, [q] there muſt be a meane betwixt both to vnite the two extreames. He promiſeth to ſerue the Duke in effect, in ſeruing the King in ſhew, and to make knowne the fruites of his ſeruice by the bad intelligence and diuiſion which hee would ſtill entertaine and was already framed betwixt the two brethren the King and Mounſire, the only means for him to be in ſafety and his eſtate in peace. [r]

But to end this war which was begun, and would continue with ſuch cruell effects, againſt him, there was no other help but to win Monſieur in giuing him his daughter in marriage: that all his deſires ſhould ayme at this marke as the true end of his contentment, from the which he might wander by many waies, [s] and could not attaine vnto it but by this Allyance, that if he were ſo reſolued hee would follow his party, and bring his head to his ſeruice, with the Towne of S[t] Quentin and a good number of his ſeruants, In a word that he would doe any thing, yea ſet fire of the Temple of peace, [t] if he pleaſed.

Hee counſells the Duke to giue his daughter to the Kings Brother.

bus momentis ſũma verti poſſunt. *Tac. lib. 8. An.*

[n] Hibrea *a wiſe Cittizen of Meßala a Towne in Caria ſaid ſmiling to* Eutidianus *a man very profitable but difficult and inſupportable, in the gouerment of publike affairs, that hee was a neceſſary euill to the Towne for that noe man could indure him for his roughnes, nor liue without him for his good gouermẽt.*

[o] *The Romans before they made war.* Renunciabant amicitiam. Germanicus *being wronged by* Piſo *Gouernour of Soria, ſent him word that he was no more his friend*

[p] I neuer knew (ſaith *Phil. de Commines*) that man haue a good end that ſought to terrifie his Maiſter, and keep him in iealouſie.

[q] *Mẽs thoughts paße not ſodainly from one extreame vnto an other, they goe by degrees.*

[r] *The hatred and diſcord of brethren is the ruine of States all well as of priuate families. This miſcheeſe hath bin long in the world, the examples are borne with it. And if two brethren could not agree together in their mothers womb, it is no wonder if two brethren being armed quarrell*

[s] *They ſay we may come to one end by diuers meanes. But to hit one marke there is but one direction, the ſtraighteſt lines are the ſhorteſt: we may miße by diuers meanes, ayming too high, or too low, on the right hand or on the left. It is euen ſo in the actions of men.*

[t] *There are ſeruants found fit for all aſſaies and without condition.* C. Bloſius *ſaid that he would do all that* Tiberius Gracchus *ſhould*

Hee

He ſhould not haue perſwaded the Duke of Bourgondy to this marriage with reaſons of feare and amazement. A great courage doth neuer any thing to ſhew that he feares. This courſe was odious vnto the Duke, but much more vnto the King, being offended that the Conſtable would make ſuch an alliance, and not acquaint them with it, for the ſame fault a Nobleman, of the ſame quality & dignity, loſt his head in Spaine. [u]

The Duke had other thoughtes then to marry his Daughter. Many beleeued that he would not do it whilſt hee liued, contenting himſelfe to leaue her pleaſed in this liberty, to hold many hopes in ſeruitude, for he entertained them that might aſſiſt him or anoy him with goodly diſcourſes of this allyance. The Daughters of Soueraigne houſes are not married to all them they are made ſure vnto. [x] Princes in marrying do not regard their pleaſure, but the neceſſity and profit of their affaires.

Deſſeins of the Duke vppon his Daughters marriage.

But ſeeing the Conſtable propound no other remedy but this marriage of Monſieur and his daughter, and that yeelding vnto it hee ſhould fill the world with a beleefe that hee had conſented for feare of his enemies, [y] he beganne then to hate him deadly and to ſweare his ruine.

The King who iudged of the future by the knowledge of things paſt [z] truſted him no more, for he had diſcouered that in this war he regarded his own priuate intereſt more then the good of his ſeruice: that hee had made himſelfe the inſtrument of an allyance, which was ſo much the more vnpleaſing vnto him, for that hee ment to keepe him in Iealouſie with his brother and to hold his greatneſſe ſuſpect.

Although the Duke of Brittany did ſtill intertaine the Duke with feares and amazements, ſending him word, that the King had deſſeins vpon Amiens, Bruges and Bruſſells, that hee was reſolued to beſeege him, [a] where hee ſhould find himſelfe deceaued, euen in Gand, yet hee went to field with his Armie, beeing reſolute to paſſe the riuer of Somme vppon a bridge which hee had made at Piqueny, and to fight with the King if hee ſought to hinder him.

The King diſcouers the Conſtable.

Hee remained ſixe weekes before Amiens ſaying that hee attended vntill the King (who was then at Beauuais) ſhould come and force him to diſlodge: But the King, by his temporizing, let him know that hee did not fight by the fortune of his enemies, but by his owne. [b]

The Towne was fortified with the preſence of the chiefe men of

ſhould cõmand him, yea hee would burne Iupiters *Temple if he would* Val. Max. lib. 45. 7.

[u] *Amongſt the cauſes for the which the Coſtable of Auaſlos was beheaded at Vaille-dolit in the yeare.* 1453. *They marke for that he preſumed to make the marriage of the Soone of* D. Pedro *of Portugal without the permiſſion of the K. of Caſtile his maiſter.*

[x] *When as they wondred why* Hercules *of Eſte Duke of Ferrara had married* Lucretia *daughter to Pope* Alexander *the ſixth, hauing been made ſure to three huſbands, & was then widdow to* Giſmond *Prince of Biſſelli whom the Duke of Valentinois had ſlaine, the only cõſideration of the ſafety of his eſtate and of his affaires, tooke away the amazement* Guichard. Lib. 5.

[y] *A free ſpirit cannot indure to bee forced.*

Vt in Principatu beatiſſimum eſt non cogi ita miſerrimum non ſuaderi. [z] *Things paſt carry a light before iudgment, which ſearcheth into the obſcurity of future things. The world goes alwaies after his manner. There is not any thing ſpoken or done, but hath ſome ancient example. Thinges goe and come vnder diuers names, and other coullers, but a wiſe man doth diſcerne them.* [a] *Theſe aduertiſements were deliuered vnto the Duke of Bourgondy by mouth, by a footman of the Duke of Brittaines. To whom the Duke anſwered ſodainely, that his maiſter was ill aduertiſed, and that the Townes whereof he ſpake were too great to bee beſeeged.* [b] *A Prince ſhould not ſuffer himſelfe to be driuen to that extremity as his ennemy ſhould preſcribe him a Law, and bind him to fight.* Biorix *King of the Cimbrians ſeeing the Conſull* Marius *to lye ſtill offred him Battell: But* Marius *anſwered that the Romans were not accuſtomed to fight at their enemies pleaſures.* Romanorum reos eſt ſuo non hoſtium Arbitrio dimicare.

the

the realme, the Conſtable, the Lord Steward, the Admirall and Marſhall were within it with one thouſand and foure hundred men at Armes, and foure thouſand franke Archers: They had reſolued to ſally foorth vppon the Duke, and to ingage him betwixt the king and them, but the King would not: his mind was ſo reſolute to end or to continue the warre, as any wauering might cauſe his will tend to the one ſide or the other. [c]

Seege of Amiens.

When as a mighty Prince doth not all he can vnto his inferiours, it argues, that eyther hee hath ſome great deſſeine to circumuent him, or that warre is vnpleaſing vnto him: Wherefore the Duke (beeing aduertiſed that the King had not allowed of this deſſeine) ſent *Simon* of Quingey with a letter of ſix lines written with his owne hand, in tearmes of great humility and exceeding greefe to ſee that warre begun vnder coullor of his ſeruice to ſatisfie another mans paſſions, adding that he beleeued, if the King had beene well informed of all things hee would not haue done it. The King who would not doe all hee could (for oftentimes hee that would haue all looſeth all) [d] tooke delight in this letter, hauing diſcouered the practiſes of his Brother, of the Duke of Brittany and the Conſtable; wherefore hee ſent backe *Simon* of Quingey with good words and granted a truce to the Duke of Bourgondy which ſent euery man home, the King into Tourdine, Monſieur into Guienne the Duke into Flanders, and the Conſtable to Saint Quentin, where he ſtill continued his practiſes, and not onely tormented himſelfe with his owne diſcommodities, but with that which ſucceeded happily to either of theſe two Princes. [e]

A Truce granted diſſolues the Armies.

The King who knew well that the Duke of Bourgondy made his Brother the packhorſe of his paſsions, ſought to put him out of hope to marry his daughter, and perſwaded him to ſeeke the marriage of the King of Caſtiles daughter. [f] Monſieur ſubmitted his will to the Kings, and Deputies were ſent into Caſtille to King *Henry* the fourth. The King had for his part the Cardinall of Alby and the Lord of Torcy: The Duke of Guienne gaue his procuration to the Earle of Bolloigne, and to the Lord of Malicorne, to conſent vnto this marriage and had neuer beheld the Bride, Princes drinke theſe waters without ſeeing them.

Marriage ſought in Caſtille.

This pourſute was pleaſing to the King of Caſtile, who was offended that his Siſter D. *Iſabella* had married to *Ferdinand* of Arragon without his conſent, and tooke it for a great honor that ſhee whom the Grandes of Spaine held, and who in effect was the ſuppoſed Daughter of Caſtile, ſhould bee wife vnto the French Kings brother, hauing no meanes to lodge her in a better houſe.

The King ſends Ambaſſadors into Caſtile

Hee commanded the Archbiſhop of Seuill, the Biſhop of Siguença and the maſter of the order of S. *Iames*, to treat the marriage with the Embaſſadors of France. All being concluded, the King would haue the promiſes made in a great Plaine, [g] neere vnto the

[c] *When the mind is in ſuſpence betwixt doing and not doing, a ſmall matter turnes the ballance. A light reaſon or any preſident makes the waight, but there is a great difference betwixt the irreſolution and ſuſpencion of the mind, which growes by the concurrence & equality of reaſons.*

[d] *A Prince ſhould not deſire to haue the extremity of all things. The wiſe men of Italy ſay.* Volere oſtinatamente ill ſommo di tutte coſe. *Somtimes in thinking to draw more frute from an occaſion then it can in honeſty yeeld, it ruines the affaires.*

[e] *A miſerable folly and a fooliſh miſery of thoſe which are not content to torment themſelues with their owne miſeries, which are but too great, but they aſſiſt themſelues with the felicities of other men.*

[f] *The K. deſired the Marriage of* Iſabella *Infanta of Caſtile with his brother but ſhe was married to* D. Fernando *Prince of Arragon,* King Henry treated for *his Daughter* D. Ioane

[g] *The Princeſſe* D. Ioane *was brought into the field by the Marques of Santillana who had her in charge and to whom the King gaue in recompence of his*

Monaſterie of *Paular enual de Locoia* in the view of an incredible multitude which came thither.

The K. hauing renued his declarations againſt his ſiſter *D. Iſabella*, and confirmed to his Daughter D. *Ioane* the title of Princeſſe and heire of Caſtille, the Cardinall of Alby addreſſing himſelfe to the Queene her mother, beſought her to ſweare whether *D. Ioane* were the Kings daughter or not. She ſweare that ſhe was. He made the like adiuration vnto the King, who affirmed the ſame. They had not any need to ſeeke for the Iewes waters of probation [h] nor to make this Virgin ſwim vpon the Riuer to know the truth of her birth. And yet vpon this affirmation all the Grandes at that time kiſt her hands, and ſhe was againe ſworne Princeſſe of Caſtille. In this qualitie the Cardinall of Alby made her ſure to the Duke of Guienne, the Earle of Boulongue promiſing and receiuing the promiſes for him.

Whileſt the King laboured to prouide a wife for his Brother, God ſent the King a Sonne, [i] *Charles* of Bourbon Archbiſhop of Lion was Godfather, and gaue him his name. This birth reuiued the King, who began to grow old, his Maieſtie was more reſpected, factions were weakened, *Monſieurs* hopes recoyled, and France wholly preſerued by theſe two great and ſpeciall fauours of heauen, valor and proſperitie, or vertue and fortune, which haue made her reputation to paſſe through ſo many ages. [k]

Birth of *Charls* the 8.

The Conſtable ſeeing that by Monſieurs marriage with the Daughter of Caſtille, all his deſignes vaniſhed into ſmoke, labors with all the capacitie of his iudgement to diſſwade him from this alliance, letting him know that it was diſhonorable by reaſon of the vnlawfull birth of *Bertraiamina*, (for ſo they called her) and dangerous for the hatred which he ſhould purchaſe of *D. Ferdinand*, and *D. Iſabella* declared Kings of Caſtille; with the like Art he repreſented vnto him the greatnes he ſhould expect by the marriage of the Princeſſe of Bourgundy. Pope *Paul* the ſecond died [l] during this pourſuite, and after that he had yeelded vnto it, hee was ſodainly ſurpriſed by death hauing held a Conſiſtorie and eaten two melons at his dinner. His election was as vnexpected as his death. Cardinall *Scarampi* who was his enemie, [m] did in the beginning of the Conclaue breake off the propoſition which was made, and yet contrarie to the ordinance of elections, the ſuffrages agreed vpon the ſame ſubiect which they had reiected, and the contention which had begunne, the Conclaue ended. This Pope ſhewed a great generoſite, for beeing choſen, and ſeeing that the gowt, or rather ſhame and diſcontentment hindred this Cardinall from comming to the adoration, hee went to meete him, imbraced him, aſſured him of his loue, and to forget all matters paſt.

Conſtables new practiſes.

Death of Pope *Paul*. the ſecond.

This Pope augmented the pompe of the Court of Rome, hee gaue Scarlet foot-clothes to the Cardinals Mules. *Platina* ſaith that he loued not learned men, and called all them hereticks that made pro-

ſeruice three Townes of the Infantalgo, Alcocer, Valdolinas and Salmeron.

h *The Iewes to proue adultery had probation waters as they caled them. The adulterous woman drinking therof did burſt The Germans tried if their Children were lawful making them ſwim vpon the riuer of Rhin.*

i Charles *Dauphin of France was borne at Amboiſe the 14 of July, or as the Annales of Aquitaine report the laſt of Iune.* 1470.

k *Valour without the which a great enterpriſe cannot bee ended, laied the foundation of the Monarchy of France and proſperity without the which the beſt ſetled eſtates are not aſſured, preſerues it.*

l Paul *the ſecond dyed of an Apoplexie, the* 28. *of July* 1471. *hauing raigned* 6. *yeers & ten moneths*

m *Cardinall* Lewis Scarampy *Patriarke of Aquilea was enemie to* P. Paul *the ſecond being yet a Cardinal.* Lewis *reproched to* Peter *the ſumptuouſnes of his buildings, and* Peter *ſaid that he had rather exceed in that then in*

profeſſion; and therefore he ſuppreſt the Colledge of Abreuiators which was full of great excellent ſpirits. The feeling which *Platina* ſeemed to haue of this iniury did wholly ruine his fortune, in the affliction whereof he wrote a letter vnto the Pope, [n] full of bitternes and without reſpect.

Paul the ſecõd a great builder.

This Pope was alſo taxed to be very greedy of money, and not to haue held the iuſteſt meanes to get it, and yet his magnificence in the ſumptuous building of the Pallace of St. *Mark*, and in the reparation of that of S. *Peter* freed him from blame with ſuch as know that magnificence is the daughter of liberalitie.

The promiſes beeing broken in Caſtille the pourſuite of the marriage with the Duke of Bourgundies Daughter was followed by the Conſtable with great vehemencie, who could not endure that any other ſhould deale in it. Hee repreſented vnto him the greatnes and commoditie of the Eſtates which this marriage would bring him after the death of his brother and father in law, & makes him to apprehend it in ſuch ſort, as this yong Prince, who filled not his fantaſie with ſmall imaginations, continued his firſt pourſuite of an alliance with duke *Charles*, aſſuring him that it would produce great effects for their common fortunes and profit. [o]

The Duke of Brittanie promiſed vnto himſelfe the honour of the mediation for a matter which did profit few men and offended many. The King had no deſire his brother ſhould be ſo great. [p] The King of England ſent often to the Duke of Bourgundy to diſwade him from this alliance, entreating him to conſider that the Duke of Guiénne, ſucceeding the King who had no children, and holding the countries belonging to the houſe of Bourgundy, England did foreſee her ruine and deſtruction.

Deſigne of the King of England.

The Duke of Bourgundy would haue no ſuch ſonne in Lawe, he gaue a deſire and appetite to all men with one hand, and tooke all hope from them with the other, he promiſed her to all & gaue her not to any: he made vſe of his daughter to entertaine the loue of Princes, and to paſſe ouer his affaires with more ſucceſſe, to repaire by pollicy the defects he found in his owne ſtrength, thinking that his weaknes did diſpence him of his word, and that fraud was glorious againſt his enemies. [q]

But he had no deſire to marry her, propounding vnto himſelfe in this marriage more the aduancement of his owne deſigne, then the contentment of his daughter, hee promiſed her to *Maximilian* ſonne to the Emperour *Frederic*, and inclined much to that party, to doe his buſines in Germany, where he deſired to purchaſe ſome credit, for at the ſame time *Sigiſmond* ArchDuke of Auſtria had ingaged vnto him for foureſcore thouſand florins, the Country of Alſatia and Briſgæu with the County of Ferette. [r] Hee promiſed

Princes pretending to marry the Daughter of Bourgundy.

[n] Platinas *letter had theſe words.* Si tibi licuit indicta cauſa ſpoliare nos emptione noſtra iuſta et legitima, debet & nobis licere conqueri illatam iniuriam iniuſtamque ignominiam eiecti a te ac tam inſigni cõumelia affecti, dilabemur paſsim ad reges ac Principes eoſque adhortabimur vt tibi conſilium indicant in quo potiſsimũ rationem reddere cogaris cur nos legitima poſſeſſione ſpolia-ueris.

[o] *An apparent and important profit is a great motiõ to diuert the effect of a promiſe.*

[p] *The Kings of France haue in former times repented themſelues for that they had made their brethre ſo great.* Charles *the fift gaue to* Philip *the hardie the Duchie of Bourgundy, which* K. Iohn *had vnited vnto the Crowne, & maried him to the heyre of Flanders. The houſe of Bourgundy grew ſo mighty as it would equall it ſelfe with that of France.*

[q] *Deceit which makes an enemy receiue an affront is as commendable as it is to bee blamed when it deceiueth him that is not ſo declared, whereas they ſay that fraud is glorious in warre, it is not to be vnderſtood in breaking words and promiſes, but of politick, fained, and artificiall ſtratagems.*

[r] *The Country of Alſatia, Briſgæu, the black Forreſt & the Contie of Pfirt or Forreſt. Were ingaged by* Sygiſmond *Arch-duke of Auſtria for* 80000. *florins vpon condition that the D. of Bourgundy ſhould not alter any thing of the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Country in*

her in like manner to *Nicholas* ſonne to the Duke of Calabria, to draw him from the Kings allyance, who had promiſed him his eldeſt daughter, To the Duke of Guienne to trouble the Kings of France, and England, and to *Phillip* Duke of Sauoy, for an other deſigne: Yet the practiſe was ſo followed by the Duke of Brittaine and the Conſtable, who promiſed in regard of that marriage to draw him into Amiens, and S. Quintin as he gaue his word to conſent vnto it, and at the ſame inſtant hee aſſured the King of England that hee would not doe it, his words vppon this ſubiect were neuer of one tune, [r] and did not accord with his heart.

The Dukes of Guienne and Brittanie, being well aduertiſed that their hopes were croſt by the King of England, gaue the Duke of Bourgundy to vnderſtand by their Miniſters that without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, they were ſtrong inough, and had ſufficient intelligence to force the King to doe him right, and that the principal end of their Armes, being for the publike good of the realme, they could not haue that ſucceſſe which they expected imploying their ancient enemies, and that ſo long as they had forces and meanes in France, it was not needfull to ſeek them in England. [t]

Theſe words were deliuered vnto him by *Vrſe* in the behalfe of *Monſieur*, Wherevpon the Duke ſaid, to *Philip de Commines*, *Behold the Lord of Vrſe preſſeth me to make mine armies as great as I can, and tels me that we ſhall doe great good vnto the Realme, doe you thinke if I enter with the company that I ſhall lead that I ſhall doe any good?* Philip de Commines anſwered ſmiling. *In my opinion no*: Then the Duke ſaid, *I loue the good of France better then my Lord of Vrſe thinkes, for whereas there is but one King I would there were ſix.* He would gladly haue had the whole peece, [u] but knowing the impoſſibilitie, that the aſcent was too ſteepe, and the top too ſlipperie hee had no care but to breake that which he could not wholly enioy. [x]

He prepared great forces, and the King ſent his into Guienne, being incenſed that his Brother had reſtored the Earle of Armagnac to his lands, which had been confiſcate, and hee ſpoyles both the one and the other. He wins his cheife ſeruants the more eaſely to chaſe him out of Guienne. The Duke of Guienne preſt the Duke of Bourgondy to ſuccor him, the Duke ſent vnto the King to intreat him to ſuffer Monſieur to liue in peace, The King anſwered that hee had no intent to alter any thing of his brothers portion, but to keepe him from attempting beyond his bounds. And behold a remarkable poynt of wiſedome in this Prince, whileſt the Duke prepared his army he ſent *Peter D'oriole* Chancellor of France vnto him, and the Lord of Craon to make an ouerture of an accord. A peace was treated, and the King promiſed to reſtore Amiens and Saint Quentin, the duke was ſo much greeued for the loſſe of theſe two townes, and had ſo great a deſire to recouer them, as in regard thereof hee granted whatſoeuer they would.

A Peace treated and a promiſe made to reſtore Amiens.

The hearts of men lie on the left ſide, they are full of deceit, [y] Truth, freedome and loyalty are rare, vnknowne and exiled qualities

the yeare 1496

[r] *It was a witty compariſon of him that ſaid that mens actions were like notes of muſick ſometimes in ſpaces & ſometimes in lines, ſometimes aboue and ſometimes beneath, and neuer or ſeldom ſtraight for any long cõtinuance.*

[t] *Woileſt that wee may paſſe without ſuccors we ſhould not ſeek them. Plato in his Lawes forbids to dig for water in a neighbors houſe before that hee had ſought it in his owne.*

[u] *Ambition ſtriues to diuide and teare in peeces that which ſhee can not breake nor carry wholly away.*

[x] *There is not any one of ſo great a courage, but thinking to make himſelfe a King he trembles, the aſcent vnto a royaltie is ſlipperie, the top ſlaking, and the precipiſe & fall fearefull.*

[y] *Sincerity and freedom is rare in mens intentions. They haue reaſon to ſay that their wils goe not right. Their harts lye on the left ſide. Ariſtotle in his firſt book of the hiſtory of beaſts ſaith that man onely hath his hart on the left ſide, and all*

lities. It were baſeneſſe not to dare to be lie his promiſes, nor to accommodate his words to profit rather then to Iuſtice, Theſe two Princes ſought to deceiue one another, the King had no will to reſtore any thing, promiſing vnto himſelfe that an infallible accident would preſerue him that which a peace tooke from him. The duke of Bourgondy wrote vnder-hand to the dukes of Guienne and Brittanie, that the abandoning of their protection, and friendſhip, which he had promiſed was but fayned, that his affection was alwaies pure and firme to maintaine them. Neither of them held himſelf bound to keepe his word but to effect his buſineſſe, and in this bargaine they ſpake not all they thought.

Temporiſing of the King profitable.

Simon of Quingey, who had commandement to goe vnto the Duke of Brittaine to renew the hopes and proteſtations as ſoone as the peace ſhould be effected preſt the king much to ſweare it. The king, who had made profit of the time, deferred it from day to day, he lick't and faſhon'd this little beare at leaſure. *Quingey* who knew his Maiſters mind durſt not importune him. The king went ſlowly, hee tooke not halfe the winde hee might haue taken to arriue at a prefixed time at the port of his deſſeigns, thinking the winning of time very neceſſary for him that will effect his buſineſſe, that it cannot be bought to deere nor too long attended. [a] Hee temporized ſo cunningly as he attayned to what he deſired. And behold a poſt which brings newes that the Duke of Guienne is dead: a death which changed the face of affaires, and depriued the Duke of all that he promiſed vnto himſelfe.

Death of the duke of Guienne.

It happened the twelfe of May 1471. and the manner ſo violent as his members turning contrary to their propper motion by ſtrange convulſions, wholy diſſigured his body, his teeth, haire and nayles fell off before his death. It was thought to bee by poyſon. Being on a ſommers day at Saint Seuere with the Lady of Montſoreau, the Abbot of Saint *Iohn d' Angely* (who was one of the Dukes fauorites) at his after-noones drinking preſented a goodly Peache vnto his Lady, ſhe tooke the one halfe and ſteeped it in wine, and gaue the other to Monſieur. Shee dyed ſoone after, but the Duke contynued longer, yet ſo ſicke, as his death was bruted the very day that he had taken this deadly morcell.

If the King were pleaſed with this death we may gather by the words which he ſpake a little before, when as newes was brought him of the King of Caſtilles brothers death. *He is but too happy to haue loſt his brother.* It was *Alſonſo* [b] who had beene choſen King by the Caſtillans and by the League made againſt king *Henry*. This word of Brother was vnto him as a goodly name to ſignifie a bad thing, if he wept they were teares of ioy, and if they were not fayned they were preſently dryed vp.

The little care hee ſeemed to haue to puniſh ſuch as were accuſed to haue poyſoned him, confirmed an opinion that he was content, and made many beleeue that this death came by his commandement,

beaſts haue it in the middeſt of their breſts.

[x] *It is ſimplicity to ſpeak all, but it is meere wickedneſſe not to ſpeake what we thinke. It is a baſneſſe of the heart when as the word belies the thought.*

[a] *When as the Barbarians demanded mony of* Sertorius *going into Spaine for his paſſage through their country, ſuch as were with him grew into choller, ſaying that is was too great a ſhame and indignity that a Proconſull of the people of Rome ſhild pay a tribute vnto thoſe wicked Barbarians, but* Sertorius *regarded not the ſhame which they pretended, but anſwered.* That hee bought time, which whoſoeuer aſpired to great matters, ſhould hold moſt deere, *& ſo contented the Barbarians with mony, after which he made ſuch ſpeed as he ſeazed vpon Spaine.* Plu.

[b] D. Alfonſo *ſecond, ſonne to* Iohn *ſecond K. of Caſtille and brother to* Henry *dyed of the plague at Cardegnoſa a Bourrough neere to Auila the firſt of Iuly* 1468. *he was ſixteene yeares old, and had bin decla-*

red King three yeares before, his death was not without ſuſpition of poyſon.

dement, to aſſure the quiet of many by the death of one alone. [c] Hee commanded the Biſhop of Angers Secretary to bringe him the proceedings taken before his Maiſter and *Lewis* of Amboiſe vpon this death, *Claude* of Seyſel in that which hee hath written of the Hiſtory of *Lewis* the twelfth ſaies vpon this occaſion. *Many there are which ſaid, but yet I dare not affirme it, that he cauſed his ſaid brother to die of poiſon, but it is moſt certaine that he neuer had any confidence in him whileſt he liued, and was not greeued at his death.*

Obſeruations of the Duke of Guyennes life.

The courſe of his life was ſo ſhort as fortune had not time to pourſue him long: ſhee followed him betimes and neuer ceaſed vntill he was daunted and deiected finding that miſery is the proper portion of a mans life, yea of the greateſt. [d] Hee had noe conſtant ſpirit to defend him-ſelfe from theſe affronts, he was as tractable to all perſwations, as the King his brother was cunning and ſtayed. The Hiſtory of Brittaine ſaith that for a truth he had noe courrage, and that inconſtancy did properly belong vnto him. He did dictate ſoudenly what he had receiued and allowed. [e] He was not like to his Father in fortune, nor to his Grand-father in courrage, nor to his Brother in wiſdome. It is a wonder to ſee how children degenerate, & how nature delights in theſe contrary productions, making cowards, ignorant men, & wicked proceed from the bloud of Princes which are valiant, wiſe & good. So vineger comes from wine. [f]

Impreſſions were very eaſie in this lightneſſe. The rigor which King *Lewis* the eleuenth ſhewed vnto him, made him giue eare to ſuch as ſought to finde their owne contentments in his diſcontents. It is Iniuſtice in a Soueraigne brother not to prouide for the entertainment of his yonger, whom he ſhould put in the number of his forces and felicities. They are of the ſame bloud and grounded vppon part and portion of the ſucceſſiue rights, but they haue neuer proſpered which haue troubled the houſe for this, and conſpired with the members againſt the head.

Tragicall end of *Giles* of Brittaine

Twenty yeares before this death France had ſeene a notable example in Brittaine. There is no danger to lay the Hiſtory a little aſide. *Giles* [g] ſonne to *Iohn* the fifth Duke of Brittaine, and Brother to *Francis* the firſt, being not well pleaſed with his portion retired himſelfe to Guildo a Caſtle neere vnto the ſea by Matignon.

Proces made to the Prince of Brittany.

The Duke his Brother makes King *Charles* the ſeuenth beleeue that he was there to fauour the Engliſh with aduice and intelligence. [h] A beliefe which might eaſily bee ſetled in the ſoule of a iealous King, for that this Prince had beene bred vp in England, and the king had giuen him the Order of the Garter, and the office of Conſtable. Vppon this firſt impreſſion the king ſends to take him, and deliuers him into the Dukes hands, who ſends him priſoner to *Chaſteau Briant*, commanding his Attourney Generall [i] to make his proceſſe for treaſon, but there was no crime nor any accuſer.

[c] *It is a great miſery for a Prince when he ſees him-ſelfe forced to bee cruell vnto his owne bloud, to aſſure the quiet of his eſtate.*

[d] *There is nothing but miſery in man hee is borne vnto it. They write that the wiues of Mexico when they are brought in bed aſſure their children of their miſery in theſe three words.* Infant thou art come into the world to endure, ſuffer, endure & hold thy peace *They ſing this to lul them a ſleep.*

[e] *Conſtancy is the ſcale of Actions: It is of ſpirits as of bodies, neither the one in reiecting councell nor the other in caſting vp meate can be nourriſhed and entertained.*

[f] *A good tree brings not forth bad fruit, and yet wee ſee that from good fathers come bad children. The Iewes prouerb is* Homets ben iin, *vineger is the ſon of wine.* Natum crebro tanquam ex induſtria malis ebenis, agreſtes e doctioribus & ceteris. *In victorin Caligula.*

[g] Iohn *the fift Duke of Brittaine left three Sonnes,* Francis Peter *and* Giles.

[h] *Vpon the firſt ſuſpition of any ones fiaclity, they preſently ad the communicati n of friends. They doe exactly reuiſe actions paſt which deface or confirme the doubt of the preſent.* [i] *The Duke demanded of the Atturney Generall*

The

The hand which had hurt him ſought to cure him. The king beeing informed of his innocencie, laboured for his deliuerance. The Duke durſt not refuſe him, but being ready to be ſet at libertie, his enemies ſuppoſe letters from the king of England, whereupon the king changeth his aduice, and cauſeth him to bee kept more ſtraightly in the Caſtle of Touffort. There he is made to languiſh and endure greater extremities then thoſe of the Quarries of Siracuſa, [k] for they refuſed him water, and if he had bread, they were the ſcraps of a poore woman who hearing him cry for hunger put them in at a window, which was vpon the ditch ſide. His gardes who had vndertaken to ſtarue him, ſeeing it continue to long, ſtrangled him. They gaue him leyſure to thinke of his conſcience, hee charged a Friar to adiourne his Brother to heauen, ſeeing there was no Iuſtice on earth for his innocencie. [l] The Duke appeared.

Gilles of Brittany adiourn es his Brother before God

Death pulling this thorne out of the kings heart, gaue him meanes of more reſt, if his ſpirit had been capable of reſt. It carried him into many places, [m] and thruſt him into ſundry deſignes, medling with his neighbours affaires as with his owne. True it is he had great croſſes by them that were neereſt vnto him. *Iohn* the ſecond Duke of Alençon, the firſt Prince of the bloud, was ſent priſoner to the Louure, for conſpiring with the Kings enemies, and at the ſame time they ſaw other Princes afflicted with the like Domeſticke diſeaſes. *Lewis* was nothing ſorrie to diſquiet them, he did what he could to fill vp the meaſure of their cares, hauing no reſpect to make enemies, ſo as they came to his Mill.

Impriſonment of the Duke of Alencon.

Iohn the ſecond King of Nauarre and Arragon had proſperities and aduerſities, both publike and priuate, ſo variable and diuers, as it could not be ſaid whether he had more of the one then the other, his youth was toſt, and his age was not quiet, but ſtill his courage remained inuincible in the greateſt fury of the ſtorme. [n]

Troubles in Nauarre.

Charles the onely Sonne and preſumptiue heyre of the Crowne of Nauarre tooke Armes againſt him to bee King. *Henry* the fourth King of Caſtille who had married his eldeſt Daughter fauored his rebels of *Barcelona*, and *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, husband to *Elenor* his ſecond daughter, ſeeing him buſied againſt the Caſtillans ſought to diſpoſſeſſe him of the Crowne of Nauarre. *D. Pedro* of Portugall was choſen King & dyed at the ſiege of Tortoſa. [o] *Rene* of Anjou Duke of Lorraine and Earle of Prouence, being deſirous to recouer the Title of a king which he had loſt at Naples, accepted the ſame election by the aduice of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, and ſent the Duke of Calabria his Sonne into Spaine with French troupes, which ioyning with them of the countie of Rouſſillon beſieged Girone.

Charles Prince of Nauarre makes war againſt his Father.

The French beſiege Gironne.

The Arragonois were beaten and defeated, and the Prince *D.*

what ſhould be done in this proceſſe. The good man anſwered that he did not ſee what might be done & that by the cuſtome the elder had no criminall iuſtice ouer his yonger brother, and that the Duke could not call him to his Iuſtice. An anſwer which was more ſimple thē true. Hiſt. of Brit. lib. 11.

[k] *The vſage of ſuch as were ſhut vp in the Iayle of the Quarries of Siracuſa was very ſtraight, for they had but two diſhfuls of barley, and one of water allowed them by day.* Iut. *in the life of* Nicetas

[l] Gilles of Brittany *for his laſt ſpeech charged a Friar to goe vnto* D. Francis *the firſt, and to tell him in what eſtate hee had left him, & the miſeries he endured by iniuſtice, that he could haue no right, but referred all to the iudgement of God, before whō he called him.*

[m] *A ſpirit which is not reſtrained to certaine deſignes, liues in continuall diſquietnes.* Phil. de Commines *ſpeaking of this Prince ſaies theſe words.*

The time that he reſted his vnderſtanding labored, for he had to doe in many places, and did as willingly buſie himſelfe with his neighbours affaires as with his owne. [n] *They that make profeſſion of wiſedome & faint in aduerſitie are like vnto Pilots which grow ſick during a ſtorme* [o] *After that the Arragonois had declared K.* Iohn, *vnworthy the crown, as the murtherer of his own ſon, they did chooſe* D. Pedro *the third Conſtable of Portugal ſon to* D. Pedro D. of Coimbra.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand ſonne to the King of Nauarre in danger to be taken priſoner. P Winter came on, the Duke of Calabria retired his troupes to Perpignan, hee made a voyage into France to haue new forces, and returned with ten thouſand men with the which he forced king *Iohn* to raiſe the ſiege from before Peralta, the which was wonderfully preſt with their Ordinance, and hauing made a great breach, the aſſaylants aſſured themſelues to force it at the firſt aſſault. The night before it ſhould be giuen, the Duke of Calabria entred with ſuch furie into their quarters without diſcouerie, the Sentinels being a ſleepe, q as euery man ſought how to ſaue themſelues. In combats by night the amazement is ſo great as he that begins firſt wins. The King fled away bare headed towards Figueres. France made bonfires for this victorie the which was ſeconded by the taking of Girona, but within few daies after they lamented the death of the Duke of Calabria, who dyed at Perpignan of a peſtilent burning Feuer.

Death of *Iohn* D. of Calabria.

When as the King of Arragon had ended a Ciuill warre againſt his ſubiects, he found himſelfe ingaged in warre againſt the French. King *Lewis* the eleuenth being often importuned with the ordinarie complaints which were made of the inſolencies of the French, r which were at Rouſſillon, and that the inhabitants of Perpignan being reuolted againſt the garriſon, had forced them to retire into the Caſtle, he ſent the King word that he ſhould pay him his three hundred thouſand crownes & retire his countrie, or that he ſhould make him an abſolute ſale, or giue him caution for the paiment. The King of Arragon finding either of theſe conditions verie harſh, anſwered that he could not yet vngage the country, and that it would bee no honour to him to alienate it, being a part of the Crowne of Arragon, and that it was a matter neuer heard of to preſſe a King to gaue Caution, the pawne being ſufficient.

The King taking this anſwere for a refuſall, prepared to warre, and made his preparation ſlowly, to haue a more ſpeedy victorie ſ. With the like care as he armed for an offenſiue warre againſt the King of Arragon, he gaue order for a defenſiue, and to furniſh the Towne of Perpignan with victuals and neceſſary commodities to maintaine a ſiege, and gaue the command thereof to the Lord of *Lude.* The Letter which he wrote vnto him vpon that ſubiect deſerues well to be conſidered of, beeing drawne from the originall and full of paſſages which diſcouer the humor of this Prince, the order and conduct of his affaires, and the manner of writing of thoſe times.

Kings Letter to the Lord of Lude.

My Lord Gouernor, t *the Earle of Cardonna and the Caſtellan of Empoſta are arriued at Paris. I haue ſent Monſieur Daire and the Sieg*r *of Bouffille vnto them, to know and vnderſtand of them if they came to make any good appointment, or whether they came to deceiue mee and to diſſemble. The ſaid Bouffille is returned vnto me, and as farre as they*

P *At the Battell of* Denia *the Prince* D. Ferdinand *was priſoner,* Roderic *of* Rebolledo *cauſed himſelfe to bee taken in his place, to giue him meanes to eſcape, and the King redeemed him for ten thouſand florins.*

q *It is eaſie to make a ſurpriſe when as Sentinels be a ſleepe. The Romans cõſidering that the ſafety of the Armie or Camp depending of their vigilancy, had cries and trumpets to keep them waking. There were ſome alſo that went the round with bels to the ſame end. Of all which we finde examples in* Tacitus Hiſt. 5. Polibeus lib. 2. *ſtratagem of* Clearchus. Thucidid li. 4.

r *The inhabitants of Perpignan intreated* Iohn *King of Arragon, either to giue the K. other pawnes for the aſſurãce of his money which hee had lent, or to ſuffer them to retire themſelues.*

ſ *He that will demand any thing of an enemie muſt not be diſarmed, neither muſt hee prepare haſtily to war to vanquiſh more ſpeedily.* Diu apparandum eſt bellum vt vincas celerius, quia longa belli preparatio celerem facit victoriam. Senec. t *The Lord of Lude as may be ſeene by the ſubſcription of this Letter was Gouernor of Dauphiné & Chamberlaine to* K. Lewis 11.

can

can finde they bring not any good newes, and their intention is onely to entertaine mee with words, vntill they haue gathered in their coine. And therefore I must play Mr Lewis, *and you* Mr Iohn, *and whereas they seeke to deceiue vs let vs shew our selues more politick then they. In regard of my selfe I will entertaine them heere vntill the first weeke of May, and in the meane time you shall part with all the speed you can, and shall draw together a hundred Lances in Dauphiné to lead with you, and cause them to be led by Monsieur* de *S.* Priet, *or by* Pouillalier, *or by them both together, that is to say, foure score Lances by S.* Priet, *and twentie by* Pouillalier, *or all to him alone or to both together, as you shal think the matter may be best conducted for my profit, for I referre this Article to you.*

corné.

I send you a Letter which I *write vnto them by* Beauuoisin, *whom I charged to tell them and to doe what you shall thinke fit. And for the paiment of the said hundred Lances, you must speedilie finde a thousand Liuers to giue them at their departure, for they shall make but a roade to spoile and burne the corne and then returne, which is ten francks a month for euerie Lance: And seeing they haue no Archers, and continue but eight or ten daies, it must suffice them, it is fit to finde a meanes to recouer the said thousand Francks either by confiscation of Corne or otherwise. And if it should come to the extremitie that you could not finde it before you want, take it vppon the accounts of the Treasurer of Dauphiné, to whom I write expressely: but vse such diligence as the said men at Armes may part the 25. day of this month, and if you take any money vp in Dauphiné I will repay it. My Lord Gouernor, the greatest seruice you can doe me is to vse such speed as you may burne all their Corne betimes, for thereby they shall be forced to speake plainely.*

A hundred pound starling.

I haue spoken vnto Captaine Odet Daidre, *who is well content to goe thither, I send him vnto you with his hundred Lances to assist you to make the spoile, in my opinion when you are all together you are inough.*

I send Yuon Diliers *vnto* Monsieur de Charluz *to raise an hundred Lances in Languedoc. I doe also write vnto* de Charluz *to gather together of his Franc Archers the neerest to those marches, to the number of three thousand, and that he cause them to march into Roussillon with you, and that all be readie to part the 25. of this month of Aprill. And for the paiment of the hundred Lances of Languedoc, and of the said Franc Archers, I write vnto the Generall and Treasurer of Languedoc that they cause foure thousand Francs to be deliuered vnto them, that is to say a thousand Francs to the hundred Lances, and to the said Franc Archers* 3000. *Francs.*

I doe also send Destueille *to Monsieur* Dalby, *who carries a commission directed to him, to Monsieur* Charluz, *and to the said* Destueille, *and to euery of them, to cause great store of victuals to be carried to Narbona and other places of the fronter, to the end the men at Armes may haue no want: but you must haue a care that vnder couller thereof none be carried to Perpignan.*

I haue giuen charge to the said Beauuoisien *to be gouerned by you,*

and in caſe that Mouſieur de S. Priet *lead the hundred Lances of Dauphiné, the ſaid* Beauuoiſien *ſhall bring vnto me* Hardouin de la Iaille, *whom I haue written to* S. Priet *to ſend me.*

I haue ſent vnto you Raoulet *of Balparque, and* Claux *the Canonier to aſsiſt you, imploy them well, and ſpare nothing. The Seigr of Bouffille ſhall part within two or three daies, and in my opinion with thoſe hundred Lances, with yours, thoſe of Dauphiné, Languedoc, and of Captaine* Odet, *with the three thouſand Franc of Archers, you ſhall haue forces ſufficient to ſpoile and burne their whole Country, and to take and beate downe their paltry places, or ruine and burne ſuch as you cannot beat downe.*

I doe alſo write vnto the Generall, Treaſurer and Officers of Languedoc, that they doe whatſoeuer Monſir Dalby *and you ſhall commaund them.* Beauuoiſien *ſhall tell you the reſt. Farewell my Lord Gouernor, I pray you let mee vnderſtand of your newes. Written at Senlis the 9. of Aprill* V. Lewis, *and vnderneath*: N. Tilhart.

The Kings armie beſieged Parpignan· D. *Iohn* King of Arragon maintained the ſiege, the Prince *D. Ferdinand* came to ſuccor him, and forced the French to retire; *Lewis* hearing of this ſhamefull retreat, commanded his Captaines to returne ſpeedily, and to take the place or to die there. The ſiege continued eight monthes, the beſieged were wonderfully preſt with famine, for when as they had eaten horſes, dogs, Cats, and Rats, they deuoured their fleſh that were ſlaine at aſſaults, choſing rather to dye after this manner, then to returne vnder the command of the French. Yet their obſtinacy was no hinderance from letting the K. ſuffer them to feele the effects of his Clemencie, receiuing them vpon compoſition, euen when as they could no more. [u] So the Contie of Rouſſillon remained to France all the raigne of King *Lewis*. King *Charles* his Sonne reſtored it to King *Ferdinand*. [x] It had coſt the King his Father many men and much money. His Chronicle relates that it was ſaid in thoſe times, that the Contrie of Arragon was a Church-yard vnto the French. *Philip de Commines* ſaith that in the Contie of Rouſſillon there died many good men, for this warre continued long.

Siege of Parpignan.

Famine and yeelding of Parpignan.

A Peace was mas made betwixt *Lewis* and *D. Iohn* King of Arragon and Nauarre, whoſe Embaſſadors being come into France, were well receiued and graciouſly vſed by the King, who gaue them two cups of gold waying fortie markes, and eſteemed worth three thouſand two hundred crownes of gold, and to the end they might iudge of the whole peece by a patterne, he cauſed them to ſee the Inhabitants of Paris in Armes, they did muſter a hundred & foure thouſand men, the Originall ſaith they were all in one liuerie in red Caſacks and white Croſſes.

Embaſſadors from the King of Arragon ſent into France.

The fortune of the houſe of Armagnac was intangled in that of Arragon. *Iohn* Earle of Armagnac had married *Ioane* of Foix Daughter to *Gaſton* Earle of Foix and *D. Leonora* of Arragon. This alliance could not defend him from the indignation of King *Lewis* the

Iohn Earle of Armagnac expelled his Country.

[u] *The obſtinacy and fury of a Town beſieged, ſhould not hinder the bounty and clemencie of a Prince.* Laurence Palatin of Hungarie, *being amazed that the Emperor* Sygiſmond *left them their liues & goods, and held them for good ſubiects whom hee had vanquiſhed, anſwered in this manner.* I kill my enemies in pardoning, and in doing them good I binde them. *Aeneas Sil. lib. 3. Com.*

[x] Charles *the eight yeelded the Countie of Roſſillon to* Ferdinand *King of Arragon, & did acquit him of the ſame for the which hee was engaged, this was in the yeare.* 1494.

[y] *As a weake Prince ſhould not make any ſhow of his forces, ſo hee that is mighty glories to ſhow what hee can. The King out of one Citie of his realme muſters a hundred thouſand men in Armes, the* 20. *of Aprill* 1470.

the eleuenth in the furie whereof he found firſt the loſſe of his libertie, then of his goods, and laſtly of his life.

The King could not forget with what vehemency he had followed the Bourguignon party in the war of the Common weale, after that he had promiſed to retire himſelfe from all Leagues and aſſociations, contrary to the Kings intentions, nor with what affection he had followed the youthfull follies of the Duke of Guienne his brother, who had reſtored him to his lands, contrary to his commandement.

In the yeare 1469. one called *Iohn Bon* of Wales in England brought letters vnto the King, which King *Edward* had writen to the Earle of Armagnac, and the anſwer which the Earle made him. The King reading them with the paſſion where-with he was poſſeſt, and eaſily beleeuing one man alone [a] to ruine one who was worth many, and who would coſt him much, thought that Infidelity was noe new thing in a ſpirit who had already ſhewed the proofes, and without further inquiſition ſends the Earle of Dammarting with twelue or thirteene hundreth Lances, and with ten or twelue thouſand Franc Archers to ſeaze vpon the Earles perſon, lands and eſtate.

Accuſed by a welchmā.

Being come into the Towne of Rhodets, he put the whole Cōuntry into the Kings hands, changed the officers, and cauſed a Proclamation to be made by the ſound of a Trumpet, that noe man of what eſtate or condition whatſoeuer ſhould advowe himſelfe ſeruant nor officer to the Earle of Armagnac, nor make any pourſute for him, vpon paine of confiſcation of body and goods. [b] In theſe extremities there is not any man that will willingly looſe himſelfe for another. Good men are loth to drawe their friends into danger. As it is an office of frendſhippe to runne into danger for ones friends, and raſhnes to goe into perils without occaſion, ſo it is cruelty to bring others into danger.

His lands put into the Kings hāds.

The Earle of Dammartin made booty of all the places and Siegneuries which did belong vnto the Earle of Armagnac. If he tooke his part, as ſome taxed him he did contrary to the duty of a Generall, who ſhould content himſelfe with the glory of the command and execution [c] and leaue vnto the ſoldier that which concernes profit.

The Earle of Armagnac ſeeing that hee muſt haue time to cleere theſe brutes, and that oftentimes Innocency is forced to yeeld vnto a ſodaine euent, [d] was aduiſed to goe out of the Realme and to retire to Fonteraby with his wife, being loth that his perſon ſhould be at the Earle of Dammartins diſcretion, who beeing aduertiſed of his flight, paſt on, and ſeazed vppon the towne of Leſtoré. The Court Parliament of Paris vppon the informations of the Intelligences which the Earle of Armaignac had with the enemies of the Realme decreed a perſonall adiournment againſt him. His proceſſe

He retires to Fonteraby.

[a] *To draw many heades in queſtion vpon the report of one tongue, is an act of extreame & odious Iuſtice.* Graue militibus viſū quod in cauſa falconis multos milites ad vnius ſerui teſtimonium occidi preceperat Pertinax *Iul. Capitol.*

[b] *There is nothing ſo powerfull nor fearefull as a publik declaration of the Princes hatred againſt any one, eſpecially among a people which eſteem not their Gouernors but by the authority and credit they haue with their Superior.*

[c] *The glory & honor of well executing the cōmandements of his Prince, ſerues for a booty, in the diſtributiō whereof he that commands muſt conſider that there is not any thing for himſelfe.* Themiſtocles *ſeeing a great nūber of Collers & chains in the enemics Camp ſaid vnto him that did accōpany him,* Take off thē for you are not Themiſtocles.

[d] *We muſt giue time to broyles to make them vaniſh away when there is no meanes to reſiſt. Innocency it ſelfe is troubled when ſhe is ſurprized.* Relinquenda rumoribus tempus, quo ſeneſcant innocentes recentē inuidiæ impares, *Tac. An. Lib. 2.*

proceſſe was made by reaſon of his contumacy,[c] and by a ſentence giuen the 7. of September 1470. he was condemned to looſe his head. But he was in a place of ſafety, whereas the ſentence could not be executed, hauing an intent to let them know, which had condemned him, that he was aliue.

After that he had for two yeares ſpace indured the miſeries and diſcommodities which they ſuffer which are expelled from their owne houſes and liue in a ſtrange country, hauing tryed that the wandring ſtarres were as vnfortunate as the fixed,[f] and ſought by all meanes to returne into the Kings fauour: when as he ſaw that by the reſolution of the Eſtates, held at Tours, the Kings brother left Normandy, and tooke Guyenne for his portion, and that hee was arriued at Bourdeaux, he thought that he could not find a better refuge nor portion then with him, he acquaints him with the miſery of his life, which was ſuch, as liuing, his life was nothing but a liuing death,[g] and the power which his enemies had againſt his innocency. The Duke of Guienne pittied his eſtate, and gaue him prouiſion to be reſtored to all his lands.

Returnes into Guienne vnder the Dukes protection.

This diſpleaſed the King, who ſaw that the Duke of Guienne ioyning with them whom hee held enemies to the Crowne, aud continuing his pourſute of marriage with the Duke of Bourgondies daughter, might reuiue the League which he had ſmothered. This feare[h] cauſed him to ſend 500. Lances with Foot-men and Canon vnto the fronter of Guienne, deferring a more priuate reuenge againſt the Earle of Armagnac vntill another time.

Army of the King in Guienne.

He felt it cruelly after the death of the Duke of Guienne, when as the King ſent the Lord of Beaujeu, Brother to to the Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinal of Alby, Biſhop of Aras, the Seneſhals of Tholouſa and Beaucaire, the Lord of Lude, with many other Captaines, and a great nomber of Soldiers with Artillery, who laid ſiege to Leſtoré and continued it ſixe or ſeauen monthes.

Seege of Leſtore.

The Earle of Armagnac ſent them his Chancellor being Abbot of Peſſant[i] to tell them that it was not needfull to imploy ſuch great forces againſt him, that the Kings commandements ſhould find no reſiſtance in his contry, that all was vnder his obedience and diſpoſition, yea his perſon, ſo as it would pleaſe the King to giue him good ſecurity, that he might go vnto him to iuſtifie his life and loyalty.

The Earle deſires a ſafe Conduct to iuſtifie himſelfe.

The offers were not accepted, the Capitulations of an Inferiour beeing then more odious then they haue beene ſince with Kings. Al the Contry was ouerrunne, ſpoiled and ruined, and yet the Earle would not ſuffer his people to defend themſelues, declaring alwaies that he was the Kings ſeruant, deſiring nothing more then to iuſtifie himſelfe, offering to deliuer vp the Towne of Leſtoré, and

[c] *The firſt default was obtained the 24. of Nouember 1469. the ſecond the 19. of February. 1469 the third the 6. of Auguſt 1470. and before that the E. of Dūmartin had ſeazed vpon all the County of Armagnac.*

[f] *There is no ſuch ſweet abode as ones owne houſe. They which hold them happy that runne from Prouince to Prouince, are like vnto thoſe (ſaith* Plutarch *) which iudge the wandring ſtarres more fortunate then the fixed.*

[g] *It is not life to ſtand alwaies in feare of fall in to the handes of a mighty enemy, which hath long armes.* Ita viuere vt non ſit viuendum miſerimū eſt. *Cic.*

[h] *A Prince can make no greater ſhew that he feares his vaſſall then when hee retires from him.* Alexander *by his proclamation gaue leaue to all banniſhed men to returne into their Contries except the Thebanes, and therefore* Eudamidas *ſaid that* Alexander *feared none but the Thebans.* Plut.

[i] *The Deputies for the Earle of Armagnac were the Abbot of St.* Denis *and Biſhop of Lombes, with the Lords of Barbaſan, Raulſac and Palmarieux.*

[k] *It hath beene alwaies found ſtrange that a ſubiect whoſe will ſhould be conuerted into obedience and his reaſons to humility, ſhould capitulate with his Prince. The Duke of Nemours, the Earle of St. Paul, the Duke of Brittaine, and the Earle of*

for

for a greater declaration of his will, hee cauſed the white Croſſe and the Armes of France, to be ſet vpon the Towers and Walles.

Accord made with the E. of Armagnac.

The Lord of Beaujeu and the Cardinall of Alby ſeing that without hazarding the Kinges forces they might enter the place, by an accord which the King was not bound to keepe, [l] they entred into treaty with the Earle of Armagnac, and it was agreed: That the ſaid Lord of Beaujeu, as Lieutenant to the King, hauing ſpeciall power ſoe to doe, did pardon all crimes and delicts which he might haue committed againſt the King, as wel in adhering vnto the Duke of Guienne [m] as otherwiſe. That noe trouble nor hinderance ſhould be giuen to him nor his ſeruãts going nor comming. That he might goe ſafely vnto the King with a hundred or ſixe-ſcore Horſes, without Armes to iuſtifie himſelfe of thoſe crimes wherewith he was charged, according to the offers made by him. That the Lord of Beaujeu and the Cardinall of Alby ſhould obtaine all Letters and expeditions neceſſary for his better aſſurance. That in the meane time he might remaine in his Countrey of Gaſcoine in what place he ſhould thinke good, except the Towne of Leſtoré, the which ſhould be deliuered into the hands of the Lord of Beaujeu.

It was alſo agreed that in caſe they gaue him not this aſſurance, or that the thinges promiſed were not effected, the Towne of Leſtoré ſhould be reſtored vnto him. The Lord of Beaujeu hauing receiued the Kings commaũdement vpon this accord, & the aſſurance demãded, he ſent it vnto Barran, whereas he then was, by the which it was granted him to goe vnto the King with threeſcore horſe. But in ſteed of going thither, he executed an enterpriſe, which he had vpon Leſtoré, by the meanes of *Iohn D. Aymier*. The younger brother of *Albert* ſurpriſed it, [o] and tooke the Lord of Beaujeu with the Noble-men and Gentle-men that were with him priſoners. *D' Aymier* was quartred at Tours, and the younger brother of *Albert*, being Lord of St. Baſile, loſt his head at Poitiers.

Leſtore recouered by the E. of Armagnac.

Hereupon new forces ar ſent to the Cardinall of Alby and to the Seneſhals of Toulouza and Beaucaire to beeſiege Leſtoré. The ſiege continued three months, and the Cardinall ſeeing that force would not preuale, [p] he added policy, for Townes and Commonweales looſe their liberties and are made ſubiect by the one or the other. They propounded againe the precedent condition of the accord. The Abbot of Peſſans, Biſhop of Lombes & Chancelor to the Earle comes on his part to treat; they granted the aſſurãce which he deſired to go vnto the King; a bolition of all thinges paſt, & of the ſeruices which he had done in the Duchie of Guienne againſt the King, pardon for the Noble-men & Gentle-men of his party, & of al that had bene done in the ſurpriſe of the Town of Leſtoré. [q] In conſideration of this he deliuered vp Leſtoré vnto the King. The articles were ſigned by the Cardinal *Ranfort*, *Balſac*, *Gaſton* of Lyon, & *Iohn Daillon* Lord of Lude, on Thurſday the fourth of March 1472.

A ſecond accord made with the Earle of Armagnac

Armagnac repented it to late

This Maxime That a Prince being forced to make a peace or treaty to his diſaduantage may fall from it at his pleaſure, *had already taken footing in the councells of Princes.*

[m] *The Earle of Armagnac had followed the D. of Guienne in the warre of the Common wealc, and ſince had termed himſelfe his Lieutenant Generall.*

[n] *A man of quality ſhould deſire nothing more then to make his innocency knowne, and to ſee himſelfe purged from all accuſa ion. For the conſideration of their honor many haue deſired to be araigned.*

[o] *In the Earle of Armagnacs defence, it is ſaid, that ſeeing that the Lorde of Beaujeu commaunded him to void the Country, he required him to reſtore him the Towne of Leſtore ſeing that he had not any Town whether to retyre himſelfe, and that it was deliuered.*

[p] *To make men ſubiect either force or fraude muſt be vſed,* Sparta *was forced by* Alexander, Siracuſa *deceiued by* Denis.

[q] *This treaty iuſtified the E. of Armagnac if it had bene repreſented, but it was not ſeene. They ſay that the Earles Secretary, who had it in his cuſtody, was threatned to be caſt into a well, if he deliuered it not to the Cardinall of Alby.*

In execution of the treaty the Earle of Armagnac deliuered vnto the Cardinall the Caſtell of Leſtoré, cauſed his men to diſarme, and retired his Cannon, making all the ports to be ſett open to the Kings men. [r] At this entry there was a great diſorder, the treaty was broken, the Earle of Armagnac was ſlaine in his houſe, and caſt naked into the ſtreets, the Towne ſpoiled, the Counteſſe of Armagnac carried priſoner into the Caſtell, and within fewe dayes after was deliuered of a Sonne before her time, the Caſtell and walles of the Towne were razed, and it was fiered in euery place, and in the end all were intreated with that liberty which the rigor of war permits againſt Townes and people that rebell. [s]

Earle of Armagnac ſlaine vnder the aſſurance of a treaty.

Charles of Armagnac the Earles Brother was caried priſoner to the Baſtille. This Impriſonment which continued foureteen yeares bred him wonderfull ſorrowes and griefe, and as the paſſage is not great from melancolly to madnes, his ſpirit grew weake, and made him incapable to rouſe the enemies of his howſe. They gaue him certaine Noble-men of the Countrey to be his gouernors.

Charles of Armagnac a priſoner and mad.

Many haue written the Taking of Leſtoré, and the death of the Earle of Armagnac after an other manner, and ſuch, as if they which had vndertaken to iuſtifie his memory had held it true, it had not beene forgotten in their Apology. They ſay therefore, that the Cardinall of Alby entred into ſome treaty with the Earle of Armagnac for the aſſurance whereof he vſed a damnable pollicy, for ſeeing that the Earle feared to fall into the Kings hands, he ſware his promiſes by the moſt ſolemne miſteries of his Religion, giuing halfe a conſecrated Hoſte vnto the Earle and himſelf taking the other halfe. That in the meane time the ſoldiers ſlipt into the Towne, and that the Earle, meaning to charge them, fearing a ſurpriſe, [u] they cryed out for ſuccors, the Kings Armie entred by the breaches which the cannon had made, the Towne was ſpoiled and ruined, all were put to the ſword, and the Earle ſlaine. The Lord of Beaujeu with the other Gentle-men priſoners were deliuered.

Trechery moſt damnable.

Such was the Tragicall and fatall end of the Earle of Armagnac. Fortune, who deſired to ouerthrow the greatnes of his houſe, blinded his eyes that hee could not apprehend the dangers which did threaten it. She had not a more powerfull inſtrument then the hatred which the King bare him. A hatred conceiued long before, nouriſhed and augmented, by many free & hardy actions. He was therfore inuironed with ſo many perplexities and perturbations as hee needed no more to let him know her conſtancy, and to make her not as ſtraw which ſmoakes [x] but as a precious mettall which ſhines and is purified in the fire. They were ſo extreame as if in the begin-

[r] *They that truſt are eaſily deceiued. The wiſe prepare themſelues for dangers in aſſurances.* In ipſa ſecuritate animus ad difficilia ſe preparat.

[s] *Razing, burning, and ſacking, are the ordinary puniſhments of rebellious Townes. Alba was razed, Carthage burnt, the Viens were rooted out. Some finde in the Roman Hiſtory vpon the puniſhment of reuolts & ſeditions,* Muri deiecti ſenatus abductus.

[t] *The Pagans did ſo much reſpect others as they held a Periur'd mā to deceiue the Gods.* In ſui ranium perinde eſtimandum, quā ſi Iouem fefellicet, Deorum Iniurias Diis curæ. Tacit. *The more promiſes are colored with ſtrāge oaths and miſteries, the more they are to be ſuſpected. The Accord made betwixt the K. of Nauarre, & Charles Regent of France, was ſworne vpon the Sacrament.*

[u] *Vntill the capitulation be made, all pollicies, all ſurpriſes are alowed. They laugh at them who ſuffering themſelues to be ſurpriſed in thoſe bargaines, cry out of diſloialty. In courſes of hoſtility there is nothing more excellent then deceipte, nothing more ſafe then diſtruſt.* [x] *Affliction hurts ſome and profits others, as in the ſame fire.* Aurum rutilat, et palea fumat, et ſub eadem tribula ſtipulæ comminuuntur, frumenta purgantur. *We muſt not conſider that which is indured, but he that indures, and after what manner* Tantum intereſt non qualia ſed qualis quiſque patiatur. Nam pari modo exagitatum exhalat horibiliter Cœnum et ſuauiter fragrat vnguentum. Aug.

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ning they had let him ſee the leaſt part, or the choiſe of a cruell death, with what a reſolution would hee haue imbraced this, to auoid the miſeries of the other? The moſt violent torments which a body can ſuffer are but light ſcratchings in reſpect of the burning wounds of the hearts greefe. His Conſcience gaue him deepe ones, for they write that he had offended not onely the Kings Maieſtie by this third reuolt, but alſo that of the liuing God by a notable villanie, marrying with his owne Siſter vnder a falſe diſpenſation. [y] A coniunction as abominable now by religion, as it was in former times to be deſired by the reaſon of neceſſitie. [z]

Inceſt of the Earle of Armagnac.

Preſently after the death of King *Lewis* the eleuenth *Charles* of Armagnac his brother beſought King *Charles* the eight to reſtore him to the lands and eſtats of the houſe of Armagnac, and to bee admitted to anſwer the accuſations layed againſt his brother ſhewing that by the ſeuerity of King *Lewis* the eleuenth and by the great credit which his enemi s had, hee could neuer obtaine a ſafe conduct to come and iuſtifie himſelfe. King *Charles* by the aduice of the Princes, Prelats and other Noblemen of the Realme graunted it, the third of Aprill 1483. and he was reſtored to the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Armagnac. After whoſe death many pretended the ſucceſſion. [a] Afterwards the Court of Parlament by a decree of the ſeuenth of September 1510. [b] receiued them to iuſtifie the Earles memory.

Memory of the Earle of Armagnac reſtored.

Charles Duke of Alençon, whoſe Grandfather had married the Earle of Armagnac's Siſter, drew his iuſtificacion from the ſame reaſons by which he was accuſed. They ſaid he had receiued Letters from the King of England, and that *Iohn Bon* had brought them vnto the King, with the anſwere. His innocencie therein was very apparant, for if he had receiued his letters and would haue made any anſwere he would not haue giuen them back vnto the bearer. They were cunning practiſes, ſaid the Duke of Alençon, of ſuch as haue gouerned *Lewis* the eleuenth to tempt the fidelity of the Earle of Armagnac and to haue a ſhare in his ſpoile. That if *Iohn Bon* had been a true meſſenger to the King of England, as he made ſhew to be, he had not carried the Letters vnto the king.

That the Earle of Armagnac was naturally an enemy to the Engliſh, and being at Fontarabie, he carried himſelfe in ſuch ſort towards them, as men wondred how he could be baniſhed for fauoring them. [c] He would not ſuffer his ſeruants to conferre or conuerſe with the Engliſh which did trafficke in that Contrie: and it hapened one day as the yong men of Bayonne were come to dance before the Counteſſe of Armagnac, his wife, an Engliſh man hauing a red croſſe vpon his breſt ſlipt into the hall, with the people who are accuſtomed to follow dances. The Earle who held the meeting of an Engliſh man with a red Croſſe for as bad a preſage,

Earle of Armagnac a great enemie to the Engliſh.

[y] *They ſay that* Ambroſe *of Cabray Referendarie to Pope* Calixtus *the fourth gaue this diſpenſation for money, for the which hee was accuſed and impriſoned in the Monaſteric of Mont Oliuet.*

[z] *Wee reade in the 17. Book of the City of God an excelent paſſage vpon theſe inceſtuous marriages.* Commixtio ſororũ et fratrem quanto ſit antiquior compellente neceſſitate, tanto poſtea facta eſt damnabilior religione prohibente.

[a] *The Pretendants were* Catherine *of Alencon Counteſſe of Laual.* Charles *D. of Alencon,* Charlotte *of Armagnac, wife to* Charles *of Rohan.* Alain *of Albret.* *The Cardinals of Luxembourg.* Louiſe *of Ljon wife to* Charls *baſtard of Bourbon Seneſchall of Thoulouza.* Francis Philebert *of Seiſſell.*

[b] *The Court of Parliament declared the goods of* Iohn *of Armagnac forfeited to the King, and the ſeuenth of Sept.* 1470. *Fortie yeares after on the ſame day they receiue his heires to purge his crime, and to raſie his memory.*

[c] *He that will iuſtifie himſelfe muſt liue in ſuch ſort among them where hee is exiled as his Innocencie may be apparent, and his returne more eaſie. There haue been baniſhed men, who for the Integritie of their liues haue been more happie among ſtrangers then in their owne houſes..*

as the ancients did a Moore with a crowne of Cypres, [d] commanded his Gentlemen, namely *Carbon* and pettie *Santignem* to driue him out, and as they ranne after him with their naked daggers, *Mauleon* his Stuard ſtept betwixt them, ſaying that they were in a ſtrange countrie, and that the Townes-men might riſe againſt ſuch an act, which the Earle of Armagnac ſeeing, he tooke his Stuards ſtaffe and chaſed the Engliſh man out of his lodging, making him to leape downe the ſtayres.

That being parted from Fontarabie, to goe vnto the Duke of Guienne, by chance he found an Engliſh man at the Sea ſide, whom he cauſed to be taken and carried him priſoner to Leſtoré, onely for that he was an Engliſhman.

King *Francis* the firſt, the firſt yeare of his raigne, by his letters pattents giuen at Compeigne in February 1514. reſigned vnto the Duke of Alençon and to the Lady *Margaret* his wife and their children, all his intereſt, vpon certaine conditions, the which happening, it fell to the houſe of Albret.

King *Francis* quit his pretenſions to the Contie of Armagnac.

Iohn Duke of Alençon was ſo wonderfully grieued at the miſerable fortune of the Earle of Armagnac, as all his affections grew cold to the Kings ſeruice, and carrying alwaies from that time this vlcer in his breſt he ſought the Duke of Bourgondies protection. All which did but haſten his miſerie and the loſſe of his libertie.

We muſt end this diſcourſe with theſe words, that the reputation of the ſeruices of the Lords of the houſe of Armagnac done to France againſt the Engliſh, freed him from all ſuſpition of intelligence with them, being moſt certaine that they were neuer no good Engliſh men, they haue alwaies reſiſted them, they haue ſpent their liues and goods to expell them out of the realme, and had deteſted them, hauing ſlaine their Predeceſſors cruelly and inhumainly. [f] But ſuch was the miſery of the Age as they muſt aduow that which was beleeued more by coniecture then by aſſiſtance. He that is held of all men to be wicked, is forced to doe wickedly.

All waters returne into the ſea from whence they flow. This goodly Prouince of Armagnac conſiſting in the lands which are called the Counties of Armagnac and Falenſac, baſe Armagnac, Perdiac, Biran and Baran in the Viconties of Lomagne, Auuillar, Feſenſaguet and Brouliois. In the Siegneuries of Lectoure, Auzan, the baſe riuer whereas Caſtellnau ſtands, and Malbourquet, Aure, Magnoac, Barrouce & Neſtes is wholly come to the crowne of Nauarre, vnder the raigne of *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, Earle of Foix and Armagnac.

[d] *The ancient Superſtitiõ held it a bad preſage to meet with a Moore, as* Plutarque *notes in* Brutus. *The Emperor* Seuerus *meeting a Moore carrying a Crown of Cypres on his head.* Iratus ab occulis remoueri precepit et coloris eius tactus omine, et Corona.

[e] Marguerite *of Orleans or of valois the onely ſiſter to King* Francis 1. *was firſt married to* Charles *D. of Alencon, and next to* Henry *the ſecond of that name, the* 26. *King of Nauarre.*

[f] Bernard *E. of Armagnac Conſtable of France for maintayning the quarel of the Crowne, was ſlaine at Paris, and ſtead. Hee ſerued the King ſo courragiouſly as all good Frenchmen were called Armagnacs.*

FINIS.

THE

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THE

THE HISTORY
of LEVVIS *the XI.*
THE SIXTH BOOKE.

IF the death of the Duke of Guienne had not put this exception into the Kings mouth, *Matters are changed*, his word which was [a] as much as all the othes of his religion, bound him to reſtore Amiens and S[t] Quentin to the Duke of Bourgundy. The Duke, who was then in Armes to recouer them, ſeeing that the King had changed his minde, reſolued to looſe all, or to haue all.

Death of the Duke of Guienne breakes the Treatie.

Hee wrote vnto the Townes to riſe againſt him, and ſpeakes more vnworthily of him, then *Artaban* K. of Perſia did of *Tiberius*, [b] he exclaimes of him as a Tyrant ouer his ſubiects, a Murtherer of his brother, and periured of his promiſes, and in this fury he begins to make war by fire, which he had neuer done. A kinde of hoſtilitie vnknowne to Chriſtians, and to thoſe generous Nations which carry not their ſword to kill, but in fighting, [c] and who hold that the fewer they kill the more there remaine to honour their triumph.

Cruelties committed at the taking of Neſle.

He beſieged Neſle in Vermandois, into the which the King had put a Captaine called *Pettie Picard* with three hundred Archers of the Iſle of France, who defended the Bourguignons aſſaults valiantly, but being preſt by neceſſitie, hee accepted of a compoſition for himſelfe and his men, to depart with their liues and Armes. But the trecherie was ſtrange beeing followed by an exceſſe of brutiſh cruelty. As ſoone as the beſieged were diſarmed, the Bourgundians ſlue them. Euery man thought that the Church ſhould haue been a Sanctuarie vnto him, euery man ranne thither, and the ſouldiers made ſuch a ſlaughter, as the bloud ranne in all places. The Captaine and his companions were hanged.

[a] *The ſimple word of a Prince bindes him as much as othes doe priuat perſons.* Alfonſo Panormi *in his life.*

[b] Suetonius *writes that Artaban railed of* Tyberius *by his letters reprocheing him with his murthers, Parricides cowardiſe & voluptuouſeſſe,* Parricidia, cædes ignauiam & Luxuriam.

[c] *To ſpoile the vanquiſhed, to put them to ſome and to waſt their countries is the iuſtice of warre, but this was neuer allowed after a victorie, when as an enemie yeelds. It is a wicked thing ſaith* Plato *in his commonweale, to burne, ſpoile and make one an others countrie wholly deſolate, it ſufficeth to carrie away their annuall fruits.*

The Duke was no leſſe pleaſed with the bloud then the ſacke of the Towne. Entring into the Church he ſpake theſe words more fitting for a *Buſiris*, then for a Chriſtian Prince, and of the bloud of the moſt Chriſtian Kings. [d] *Behold this is goodly, I haue good Butchers.* The griefe for the death of Monſieur, and for the loſſe of S. Quentin, tranſported him to theſe outrages, which then were noted by the *Caſſandras* of thoſe times,[f] to bee the chiefe cauſe which prouoked Gods Iuſtice to cut off the courſe of his daies in reuenge of innocent bloud. [e]

Inhumane words of the D. of Bourgundy.

As this Princes hart was inflamed with choller, ſo his cruelties cõtinued, for hauing cauſed Neſle to be razed, he preſented himſelf before Roy, which yeelded without defence. *Louiſet* of Balagny, *Mouy* and *Rubempré*, who had about two hundred Lances, went forth with the loſſe of all that was within it. The victors gained by this bootie aboue an hundred thouſand crownes. From thence hee thought to ſurpriſe Beauuais; the meaſure of the ladders were as ill taken as his deſignes. Choller carrying him to raſhnes, [f] and that vnto indiſcretion hauing failed in his firſt deſigne, *he deſired*, ſaith Phil. de Commines, *to take it by aſſault and burne it.* He cauſed them to diſcharge two peeces of Ordinance, which made a great hole in the gate, whereas the beſieged defended themſelues couragiouſly, and in the end ſet fire of it, which troubled the aſſailants, ſo as they could not ſtop the approches towards Paris. An error which ruined their deſigne. An error which a Generall of an armie ſhould foreſee, and which had vndone *Cæſar* before Alexia, [g] if he had not preuented it. An error which was the preſeruation of *Beauuais*, and did ſhew the iniuſtice of the enterpriſe, and that there is in heauen an all-ſeeing eye, which blinds malice. Innocencie were in a hard caſe, if wickednes were alwaies accompanied with wiſedome, ſhee hath more furie and rage, then conduct and reſolution to hurt.

Siege of Beauuais.

Theſe approches remaining free, the beſieged were releeued with victuals & munition from Paris and Orleans, [h] and with good numbers of foote and horſe. The chiefe honor of theſe ſuccors is due vnto the memory of the Earle of Dammartin, and to the Marſhals *Ioachim* and *Loheac*, who being followed by many other Captaines were no ſooner entred, but hearing the aſſault, left their horſes with women which kept them, and went directly to the wals to repulſe the enemies and their aſſault, the which continued from ſeuen of the clocke vntill eleuen before noone, on Thurſday the 9. of Iuly 1472. in the which the Duke of Bourgundy loſt fifteene or ſixteene hundred men.

Succors ſent by the K. to Beauuais.

The next day Captaine *Salezard* performed a generous Act:

[d] *In the Chronicle of* Lewis *the eleuenth theſe words are read vppon the deſolation of Neſle.* On Friday the 12. of Iune 1472. the Duke of Bourgundy entred the church on horſeback, the which was halfe a foote deep with the bloud of poore Creatures which lay naked and dead there: And when as the ſaid Bourguignon ſaw them in this maner, hee began to ſmile and ſaid that he ſaw a goodly ſight, & that he had with him many good butchers.

[e] *A cruel prince continues not long. The Emperor* Anaſtaſius *the fourth, was ſo, and had no religion. In the end an old man with a ſower countenance appeared vnto him in his dreame, & ſaid vnto him, for thy impieties I cut off fourteen yeares of thy life, & he dyed inſtantly.* Paul Diacre. Lib. 15

[f] *when as the iudgement is darkened with Choller, Cruelty makes it to take ſtrange reſolutions.* Valentinean *was cruell becauſe he was cholerick, As ſoone as any word was ſpoken croſly vnto him, choller transported him beyond the bounds of reaſon & was the cauſe of his death, all his inward parts were found dryed up & burnt.* [g] Cæſar *wonne great reputation at the ſiege of Alexia, where he did beſiege and was beſieged. There were a hundred and ſeuentie thouſand men within the Towne, and three hundred thouſand without, yet he kept them from ioyning, and forced the Towne to yeeld.* Plut. [h] Orleans *releeued Beauuais with a hundred pipes of wine. Paris with Pioners, Canons, Poulder, Bowes and Arrowes.* [i] *The Hiſtory names them that were at this ſuccors, the Earle of Dammartin, the Marſhals* Ioachim, *and* Loheac, William *of Vallee, Cruſol, Rubempré, Eſtouteville, Torey, Bueil, Salezard, Vignoles and Croy.*

Occaſion

Braue exploits of Captaine *Salezard.*

Occaſion, [k] without the which it is folly to vndertake, and alſo follie to let it ſlip gaue him the meanes. The loſſe of ſo many men in this aſſault, the expectation and feare of worſe had ſtrooke a great amazement into the aſſaylants armie. He made a ſally at the breake of day, ſurpriſeth the enemie in his Campe, fires it, kils all hee incounters, [l] wins two Bombards wherewith the Towne had beene battered, two Serpentines, one great Canon of Braſſe, which they called one of the twelue Peeres, which the King had loſt at the Battell of Montlehery.

Although that in theſe occaſions many haue no more ſhare in the paine and perill, [l] then the flye hath in the labour of the Oxe, or the running of the horſe, yet all ſay we haue purſued, wee haue vanquiſhed, and euery man aſcribes vnto himſelfe the beſt part of the glory. The men which were at the ſiege of Beauuais could not deny it vnto women, for they preſented themſelues valiantly, and more then manlike vpon the walles, caſting wild-fire ſtones and ſcalding oyle and water vpon the enemies. There was to be ſeene in the Iacobins Church of Beauuais an enſigne which a woman called *Ioane Foucquet* wreſted out of an Enſigne-bearers hands who had gotten to the top of the wall. This did ſhew that vertue makes no diſtinction [m] of ſexe, and that there are women to bee found, which may teach men to liue and die.

Courage of the women at Beauuais.

The Duke of Brittanie had promiſed the Duke to come before Rouen [n] to help him to beſiege it. The Duke of Bourgundy went, but hee appeared not, for Monſieurs death had made all his deſires ſubiect to the yoke of feare and reaſon, ſo as he was contented to burne all that quarter of Normandie, euen vnto the gates of Diepe.

Spoile done to the Duke of Burgundies Armie.

The ſame furies of warre which the Duke had cauſed to be ſeene in Normandie were heard vpon the frontier of Champagne, whereas the Earle of Rouſſy, the Conſtables ſonne, led them. The Earle Dauphin of Auuergne did the like in Bourgundy, and in all places the victory was not famous but by the lamentable eſtate wherin the vanquiſhed were left.

The King had affaires [o] in diuers places: when as he turned head againſt the Duke of Bourgundy, he was ſure to haue the Duke of Brittanie at his heeles, and hauing ſeperated them with a deſigne to pacifie the one and content the other, he ſees them vnited againe to make warre againſt him. The Duke of Brittanies Embaſſadors came vnto the King being at Pont de See, and brought words and offers of affection and ſeruice on the Dukes behalfe, who feared that the King would make ſome ſodaine inuaſion, hauing an armie of fifty thouſand men ready to fall vpon his country.

The D. of Brittaine demands a peace.

The King with all his forces [p] would not doe what he might doe againſt theſe gyant-like enterpriſes, reſeruing his thunder-bolts to

[k] *Wee muſt alwaies watch for occaſions and embrace them,* Veſpaſian *did often vſe the words which* Pittacus *had taught him,* γνῶθι καιρόν *Know the time, they ſaid at Rome,* I came in time. *As we muſt not vndertake any thing before an occaſion, ſo we may not let it paſſe.*

[l] *An vnprofitable preſence ought to haue no ſhare in the glory of a painfull action.*

[m] *In* Platoes *Commonweale, women are called to politick and militarie charges.* Antiſtenes *did not diſtinguiſh maſculine from feminine vertues*

[n] *If the Duke of Guienne had not dyed, ſaith* Phil. de Com. *I beleeue the K. would haue bin much troubled, for the Brittons were ready, and had greater intelligence within the Realme then euer, all which failed by reaſon of this death.*

[o] *That victory is famous which doth ſubdue an enemy, and not make him perpetually miſerable. The Conſull* Popelius *ſtript the Ligurians of their goods, and ſold them as ſlaues, hauing vanquiſhed them. The Senate found this Act to be cruell and reuoked all that had been done, concluding* Claram victoriam vincendo non ſæuiendo in afflictos fieri. *Tit. Liu.*

[p] *A Prince ſhould neuer doe all that he may againſt his enemies.*

an other ſeaſon. The more ſlowly Princes take Armes, the more difficult it is to draw them out of armies; hee reſolued to vanquiſh without fighting, and conſidering that the Lord of Leſcun was the firſt linke of the chaine of the Duke of Brittanies Councell, that all the iudgement, conduct and experience in Brittanie did lye in the perſon of this Nobleman, [q] who after the death of the Duke of Guienne his maſter had retired himſelfe to the Duke of Brittanie; a good and a loyall French man, who neuer would conſent that the places of Normandie ſhould bee giuen vnto the Engliſh, hee thought that if he could draw him to his ſeruice, the accord which he ſhould make with the Duke of Brittanie would be more firme, and withdrawing him from the Duke of Bourgundies alliance hee ſhould make him ſo weake as all his forces would not ſuffice for his defence. There [r] is nothing ſo eaſie as to bring one whether neceſſitie driues him. The Lord of Leſcun being won giues the Duke his maſter to vnderſtand that there is no other ſafety for his affaires but the Kings protection. The accord was made ſo as the Duke might haue eight thouſand pounds ſtarling. The Lord of Leſcun had a penſion of ſix hundred pounds ſtarling, foure thouſand crownes in readie money, the Order of S. Michel, the Earledome of Cominges, halfe the gouernement of Guienne, the Seneſhallſhips of Vennes and Bourdelois. The Captainſhip of one of the Caſtells of Bourdeaux [s], which King *Charles* the ſeuenth had cauſed to be built, and thoſe of Bayonne and St. Seuert. *Eſſars* and *Souppleinuille*, inſtruments of this negotiation, were alſo rewarded, [t] the Kings bounty could not ſuffer any ſeruice to paſſe without recompence.

The King drawes the D. of Brittanie from the Duke of Bourgundies alliance

The affaires of Brittany being compounded, the King went into Picardie. It was his and the Duke of Bourgundies cuſtome euery yeare to make a truce for ſix monthes, in the beginning of Winter: during the which there were many voiages and conferences to quench the cauſes of warre, which they held to be ſhut in the Conſtables thoughts, who began to ſtand in feare of the Duke and to keep aloofe from the King. *Philip de Commines* ſaith that the Chancellor of Bourgundy came to make it, but as it was the firſt yeare of his comming to Court, he was not very curious to vnderſtand the truth, the which is drawne out of the Articles that were publiſhed and ſigned by the Earle of S. Paul Conſtable of France, and by *Philip* of Croy deputed for the King, and *Guy* of Brunen Lord of Imbercourt, and *Anthony Rollin* Lord of Emery for the Duke of Bourgundy. The Deputies promiſed to cauſe this Truce to be ratified by the firſt of December, it ended the firſt of Aprill following, betwixt which they ſhould meete at Amiens [u] to treat a Peace.

Truce annuall betwixt the King and the Duke of Bourgundy.

The Conſtable following the intention of the King his Maſter, and that which had been treated with the Lord of Leſcun, would not haue the Duke of Brittany comprehended in the Truce among the Allies of Bourgundy. The Deputies ſhewed that the Duke of Brittany

[q] Phil. de Com. *ſpeaking of the Lord of Leſcun ſaith, that there was neither iudgement nor vertue in Brittanie, but what proceeded from him.*

[r] *When as the Prince hath won him that is in moſt credit and authoritie with him with whom he treats hee doth worke his affaires ſafely and with aduantage.*

[s] K. Charles *the ſeuenth hauing taken Bourdeaux againe, he cauſed two Caſtles to be built. Caſtell Trumpet towards the Sea, and that of Du Hau towards the firme land.*

[t] Phil. des Eſſars *a Gentleman of the houſe of Brittany had 4000. Crownes giuen and ſix ſcore pounds ſtarling for yearely penſion, with the Bailliwike of Meaux, and was made Maſter of the Riuers & Foreſts of France.* Souppleinuille *who did belong to the Lord of Leſcun, had ſix thouſand crownes in gift, a penſion, and offices fit for his qualitie.*

[u] *This aſſembly was appointed in Amiens the firſt of December 1472. to treat a peace and the reſtitution of St Valery which the D. of Bourgundy demanded.*

Brittany their Ally did relye vpon them [x], that they could not forget them in the number of their frends; that he had not diſclaimed their friendſhip; that they held him yet for their Allie, and that he had often abandoned them by Letters and words, and yet had beene firme to them in effect. That youth did inflame his bloud, but reaſon did ſtill reclaime him. That the Duke did then name him among his Allies, leauing it to his choiſe by the firſt of February whether he would be comprehended among the Kings Allies or the Dukes. There was no remedy. The King would haue fifteene daies to name his Allies, and eight dayes after to adde ſuch as he ſhould forget.

Ambitious deſignes of the Duke of Bourgundy.

The Duke of Bourgundy, who would ſpend the time of Truce in great imaginations, which filled his head with fumes, and his heart with perpetuall flames, propounded to allye himſelfe vnto the Emperor. He deſired to extend the bounds of his Empire from one Sea vnto the other, his ſpirit went ſtill on and neuer lookt backe. [y] He held himſelf King alreadie of one part of Gaule, hee deuoured all Germany in Imagination: God had giuen him great Prouinces which he thought deſerued a more ſtately Title then of Duke or Earle: for the obtaining whereof hee made a voyage to Treues to the Emperor *Frederic*, hauing made a very ſumptuous preparation for the ſolemnitie of that publike declaration of King of Gaule-Belgicke.

D. of Bourgundy goes to the Emperour to Treues. [z]

He came thither about S[t] *Michell* in the yeare 1473. the Emperor went to meet him, conducted him into the Towne, and offred him his lodging. The Duke was contented to returne and lodge in a Monaſterie without the Towne. To haue that which he pretended he offred vnto the Emperor the marriage of his Daughter with the Arch-duke *Maximilian* his ſonne, who ſucceeded him in the Empire. It was an Act of wiſedome in the Duke [z], to prouide for the ſucceſſion of his Eſtates, ſeeing that he had but one daughter; but it was vanitie to buy the Title of a King ſo deerely. The crowne, the Scepter and other royall ornaments were made, there was no let but in the Emperor why the Duke did not vſe them, but hauing demanded vnpleaſing conditions, their enteruiew brake off, and neither Royaltie nor marriage ſucceeded.

The Emperor mockes at the dukes demand.

The Emperor not to delay him and abuſe him, refuſed him the Crowne ſodainely, [a] departed ſecretly from Treues, and imbarked vpon the Rhin without giuing him any anſwere, not thinking himſelfe bound to bid him farewell that was come without his priuitie. The Duke was left alone with his mouth open to the ayre of his hopes, ſwearing by S. *George* that *Frederic* ſhould repent it, and that he would haue by force that which he refuſed him vpon his intreatie and merit. They continued a month together, the publike diſcourſes were of the meanes to make warre againſt the Turke, the

[x] *To forget Allies in Treaties and Accords is an iniury againſt the lawe of friendſhip.* Vnde maiores eum qui ſocium fefelliſſet in virorum bonorum numero non putauerunt haberi oportere. Cic. *our Elders did not hold him worthy to bee put in the number of good men that deceiued his companion.*

[y] *It is an error in Princes that they ſeldome or neuer look behind thē. They conſult vpon the paſſage, but neuer vpon the returne.* Leopold *Archduke of Auſtria talking how hee ſhould paſſe an Army of twentie thouſand men into the Canton of Suuits.* Kune *of Stockehuſen his ſiſter ſaid vnto him:* I will not follow thee thou talkeſt how thou ſhalt enter, but thou neuer dreameſt how thou ſhalt come forth. Leopold *was defeated at Morgarten.* Munſter. *The like was ſaid vnto* K. Francis *the firſt by* Amaril, *vpon his propoſition to paſſe the Alpes.*

[z] *A Prince ſhould alwaies prouide that his ſucceſſor be not vncertaine* Ne ſucceſſor incerto ſit. *This certaintie preuents practiſes and partialities.*

[a] *Although they hold ſodaine refuſals to be the beſt, and that he which denies ſpeedily abuſeth leaſt, yet when he that is refuſed is mightie and may be reuenged, they muſt win time wherewith all things are accommodated.*

priuate

priuate paſt about this Royaltie. Thus they parted both as much diſcontented, as they ſeemed pleaſed at their meeting. [b]

The Duke of Bourgondy viſited the Lands that were ingaged vnto him, where his ſoldiers intreated the poore Peaſants ſo cruelly, as from that time euery man ſtudied how to returne to his firſt maiſter: [c] Colmar refuſed to open her gates. He paſt his Chriſtmas at Briſac and there ended the yeare 1473. In the beginning of the next he returned to Montbelliard, from thence to Beſançon and then to Dijon.

The Duke paſſeth by the County of Ferette.

The miniſters of both Princes foreſeeing that whilſt the Conſtable liued Peace would be vncertaine, and that one and the ſelfe ſame Sunne would ſee it ſpring vp and dye, they make religious remonſtrances and full of Conſcience vnto their maiſters, and diſpoſe them to a good reconciliation, for the which by their conſents there was a conference appointed at Bouuines, [d] neere vnto Namur. The King ſent the Lord of Curton, Gouernour of Limoſin, and *Iohn Heberge* Biſhop of Eureux. For the Duke of Bourgondy came *William Hugonet* his Chancellour and the Lord of Imbercourt.

1474.

Aſſembly at Bouines.

The firſt propoſition was to make away the Conſtable who was much afflicted for the Duke of Guiennes death, it was the ſwarme which gaue him both hony and waxe. [e] They held him to be a ſpirit of diſcord from whence came all Inuentions to make peace of no continuance and warre euerlaſting, and to maintaine his authority in Confuſion. They ſaid that he was like vnto the bay tree in the hauen of Amicus which they called mad, for that one branch of it being put into a ſhip, all that were in it fell to iarres and deuiſion. wherevppon they reſolued that who ſo could firſt ſeaze on him, ſhould put him to death within eight dayes after his taking, or deliuer him to the other party, to diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure.

Reſolution taken to do iuſtice of the Conſtable.

The beſt reſolutions vaniſh away as ſoone as they are diſcouered: The Conſtable had an inkling of this propoſition, [f] and aſſembled all the ſtrickes and deuiſes of his braine to breake off this aſſembly: he aduertiſed the King how the Duke had ſought him, to draw him to his party, and of his great attempts to ſhake his loyalty, and with what conſtancy and generoſity hee had reiected his offers, hauing no deſire to affect any greatnes more aſſured nor any aſſurance more happy then the ſeruice of his King, without the which there is not any thing in the world, that deſerued his loue or remembrance; beſeeching him. *Not to beleeue the paſſions of the Deputies of Bouuines, who ſet his head to ſale to make a cruell ſacrifice thereof to the Duke of Bourgondies reuenge, and to ſatiſſie his diſcontent for that he could not*

The Conble creepes into the Kings fauor

[b] Cranzius *who writes this enterview hath theſe wordes.* Tandem minori alacritate digreſti quam congreſsi ſunt viſi. *In the end they parted with leſſer ioy then they came together.*

[c] *The Duke was no ſooner gone out of Briſac, but the ſoldiers ſpoiled the towne, cõmitting a thouſand inſolencies and burnt the Auguſtins Monaſtery.*

[d] *This Conference of Deputies for the K. and Duke of Bourgondy at Bouines, in the yeare 1474. was ſought by* Imbercourt *to reuenge the iniury which the Conſtable had done him at Roy.*

[e] *A great authority cãnot maintaine it ſelfe in a ſeaſon when it is not reſpected: that of the Conſtable could not continue but in warre: warre was his element, it entertained his Eſtats, & made him to bee reſpected both of the King and the D. of Bourgondy.*

[f] *Great affairs ſhould be managed with ſecrecy & iudgement. The reſolution taken at Bouines againſt the Conſtable was not ſecret, he was aduertiſed, and by this meanes auoided the ſtorme which threatded him, but this was but to deferre an ineuitable miſchefe.* [g] *It is neceſſary to haue a ſound and perfect Iudgment to diſcerne with what intention aduertiſments are giuen, which concerne the loyalty of a man of credit, for oftentimes they are the practiſes of Enemies to make them fruſtrate. when a Prince is iealous of his good ſeruants, he remaines at the diſcretion of others.* Zenon *vſed this policy againſt* Phalaris.

draw

draw him aliue vnto his ſeruice, nor perſwade him to ſo baſe a treaſon againſt his Prince.

The King beleeued him the more eaſily, for that he knew well that the Deputies of Bouines were the Conſtables enemies in particular, and deſired to find their reuenge in his diſgrace, with the two Princes.

A lye giuen to the Lord of Himbercourt.

This priuate [h] hatred grew for that the Conſtable in an aſſembly held at Roy had giuen the lye vnto the Lord of Himbercourt. A man of authority and great dignity will not be contradicted, all the reynes of patience breake, but truth is ſo precious an ornament vnto therſoule, as when it is diſroabed thereof it is no more knowne. A lyar is like vnto a counterfeit peece, no man will take it: and when as the tongue hath once learned to lye and to gainſay her Conſcience, it is hard to reclaime her. Euery lye, eſpecially in a gentleman, deſerues degradation of Armes for a Month, or banniſhment from Court and algood company for certaine daies. [i]

The Conſtable gets a ſafe conduct to come vnto the King.

Whereuppon the King who conſidered what force this iniury might haue with *Himbercourt*, diſpatcht a Gentleman preſently with commandement not to proceed in any reſolutions which concerned the Conſtable, whom he commanded to come vnto him and gaue him all aſſurances which hee demanded, hee ſo much deſired to draw him from the Precipice whether his Ambition led him.

The King came neere vnto S[t]. Quentin, ſpending the time in hunting about Noion, Compeigne and la Fere, to buſie himſelfe during his expectation of the Conſtable, who knowing the humor of this Prince to be full of reuenge and diſdaine, and that contrary to the nature of *Cæſar* hee neuer forgat iniurie, hee did capitulate for his ſafety of going and returning with conditions too hardy for a ſubiect. His health was in humility, and he ſought it in pride, [k] which made his precedent faults to be more apparant, and the leaſt to bee reputed great.

He comes vnto the K. vpon a Cauſey.

They were forced to make a barre vppon a Cauſey three leagues from Noyon, toward la Fere vppon a riuer where the Conſtable had cauſed the Foards to be raiſrd. This barre did aſſure that which was on his ſide, for the King had twiſe as many men as hee, not daring to limit the number of thoſe that ſhould follow his maieſty.

He came firſt vnto the Cauſey, & the King ſent *Phillip de Commines* to make his excuſe for that he made him attend. The King came preſently after and found the Conſtable armed with his Cuiraſſe vnder a looſe Caſſock, and followed by 300. Gentlemen. An act of a diſtruſtfull ſpirit and a guilty Conſcience. A vaſſall ſhould neuer

[h] *A man that hath power & authority, and aſpires to more cannot indure to bee croſt or contradicted. Craſſus being in an aſſembly which was held for the diuiding of the gouernmẽts of Prouinces, ſeeing himſelfe gainſayed by another, hee ſtrooke him on the face with his fiſt, & ſent him away all bloudy.* Plut.

[i] *Alfonſo K. of Caſtile ſonne to King* Ferdinand *being at Burgos in the yeare* 1368. *made an order of Knighthood which he called the order of the band, wher among other ſtatutes there were three remarkable. That the knight ſhold bee alwaies true, and that he that ſhould tel a lye, ſhould goe a month without a ſword. That a Knight ſhould alwaies haue good armes in his Chamber good horſes in his ſtable, a good lance at his gate, and a good ſword at his girdle, vpõ pain to looſe the name of a Knight: That whoſo had eatẽ any ſtinking things, as Garlick and Onyons ſhould abſent himſelfe a month from the Court, and not ſit at the Knights tables.*

[k] *It is a great error in a Prince to intreat a ſubiect like vnto a Soueraigne Prince. By enteruiewes of ſuch inequalitie, there cannot grow any thing but contempt of the greater and vndoubted danger for the inferior. Bodies which are eaſie to purge are alſo to cure, but when the humor reſiſts the Phiſicke, the cure is very difficult. The Conſtable was ſicke of a burning Feuer of Ambition, the humor which entertained it was pride, inſteed of purging it, hee nouriſhed it withall that might augment it, preſenting himſelfe before his Prince, as before his companion.*

m ſhew himſelfe with too much pomp or too great a traine before his Prince. They are well aduiſed who do therin rather follow the way of the ancient ſimplicity, then the new pollicy & vain oſtentation which the flattery of the late-come hath ſo much commended. But in the moſt perfect iudgements we ſee great imperfections. To ſtand alwaies firme and neuer trippe, is an admirable and diuine thing.

The King obſerued the Conſtables brauery, yet made no ſhew of it, and for that hee held diſſimulation the cheefe of all royall vertues, he did not forbeare to commend his wiſedom and gouernment, deſiring that he ſhould beleeue the contrary to that which his heart thought. n Fiue or ſixe Noblemen & Gentlemen which were at this Parle, grew amazed at his arrogancy, which in the end would ruine him that did relye vpon it, would ouerthrow this Coloſſe, and break it in as many peeces as it had deſignes.

The King diſſembles the Conſtables pride & inſolencie.

It was a very ſenſible diſcontent vnto the King o to ſee that a ſubiect who had left him, treated with him like vnto a iuſt enemy. As he aduanced on his ſide of the barre, the Conſtable did the like to meet him, and doing his duty to his maieſty he began to make his excuſe, for that the iuſt apprehenſion of his enemies bad deſignes, who were about his maieſty, and not able to charge him with any crime, charged him with enuy, had forced him to come in that equipage, and to ſeeke a place of ſafety and an aſſured traine, leaſt their bad intents ſhould be more powerfull then his maieſties wiſedom and bounty: *That he knew many built their hopes vpon his graue, and the ſucceſſion of the office of Conſtable* p *A quality which he deſired not to hold but for his maieſties ſeruice, and to make it knowne that it could not bee conferred vppon an honeſter man: That in all thinges which did concerne the ſeruice of ſo great a Prince, and of ſo good a King, his affections ſhould be without bounds*

The Conſtable excuſed himſelfe for that hee came armed.

The King receiued him graciouſly, intreated him as his equall, and ſeemed not to come with the maieſty of a King. Hee paſt q the barre for a greater proofe of his confidence, and ſaid vnto him: *That he was welcome, that he would not haue him returne without all the aſſurances that he could deſire of his loue: That he would forget all that was paſt, and reſpect him as the man whom hee did eſteeme moſt, and held moſt profitable for his Realme, that whatſoeuer hee ſhould do for him would be leſſe then his merit and deſire.* Theſe words which ſeemed to come from the heart and from the pureſt of the Kings thoughtes, bewitcht the Conſtables ſences, ſoe as hee could not conſider that Princes doe couer their diſdaine with falſe and deceitfull imbracings.

The King receiued him graciouſly.

The Conſtable ſeeing that he had paſt ſo many ſandes and ſhelfes without ſhipwrack, was nothing the more humble, not caring to oppoſe his modeſty r to the enuy of ſome, nor his diſcretion to the

m *In certaine Nations barbarouſly wiſe, no man how great ſoeuer preſents himſelfe before the King but in a tattered roabe which couers his good garments, to the end that al the pope ſhould remain in the King.*

n *It is a means to reclaime a ſpirit which hath ſtrayed from his loyalty & duty, not to ſeeme to doubt of either of them, a ſeruant hath been oftimes made faithfull in thinking him to bee ſo.*

o *It is a Coroſiue to a great Prince to ſee a trecherous ſubiect treat and capitulate with him, like vnto enemies.* Tiberius *could not indure it in* Taefarinates *although hee had great aduantages in Affrike demanding certaine Townes of ſafety and retreat: he held himſelf contemned and the Senate of Rome wronged (ſaith* Tacitus*) to ſee that a trecher and a theefe treated with him like a iuſt enemy.* Quod deſerto et Predo hoſtium more ageret.

p *Many times great men haue no greater enemies then their great offices and dignities. Thoſe that effect them handle to their ruine* My houſe of Albe (*ſaid a condemned Citizen*) is the cauſe of my miſerie.

q *Maieſtie muſt alwaies accompany a Prince, and if he will abate any thing it muſt not be in publike. The Emperor* Adrian *was grieued when they tooke from him the content to lay aſide Maieſtie and be familiar with his ſeruants.* Dyon.

r *Curteſie appeaſeth hatred, modeſtie Enuie, Vertue Contempt, and wiſedome teacheth to march ſtraight betwixt enuie and contempt.*

contempt

contempt of others. He paſt the barre on the Kings ſide, followed him to Noion, & renewes the promiſes of fidelity which he had made *to abandon all Intelligences and practiſes which he had with his enemies*, and gaue a promiſe in writing vnto the King. They were the ſeals whereof they ſpake in thoſe times, and are ſo often ſeene in the Hiſtory of Alliances and Treaties of Peace. This being done he returned to St. Quentin, being amazed in himſelfe how the King had ſo cunningly diſſembled [r] ſo bold an affront.

ſaid

The King ſad that with patience and letting him alone hee would effect his will. When as reſolution and cuſtome incounter with power and authority, there is nothing impoſsible. Moreouer a great courage maiſters all, things goe from one extreame vnto another, that which is raiſed vp falls, the hard is mollified, the obſcure, profound and ſecret is diſcouered, wee muſt onely win time which doth dayly produce changes contrary to mens immaginations, yet the Kings ſeruants murmured that hee had indured the contempt of a Vaſſall. That a ſubiect, ſaid they, ſhould bee ſo raſh, as to demand aſſurance to come vnto his Prince. *The Suiſſes* [t] *were greeued (although ruined and in diſorder) to giue it vnto* Cæſar, *ſaying, that they had beene accuſtomed to receiue and not to giue. What Inſolency and preſumption after that he had obtained aſſurance to chooſe out a place of aduantage vppon a Cauſey, garded with ſoldiars, preſented himſelfe armed vnto his maiſter, and at need three hundred Gentlemen againſt him, who had no meanes but by the fees* [u] *which they held, and are not entertained among his men at Armes, but with his money? That a King ſhould indure a barre betwixt him and his Vaſſall to talke together, you will not beleeue it, you that ſhall liue after vs, and indure the paine of ſuch an indiſcretion. A great Prince, who dares not refuſe his ſubiect any thing, is faint hearted.* [x] *It is an act of a free courage to refuſe ſomthing of a great Prince, to know what ſhould be demanded or denyed, and aboue all not to grant that lightly which being once giuen cannot be recalled, nor taken away. O Conſtable, thou haſt done, thou haſt done ſo bold an act, as thou ſhouldſt bee carefull it ſhould not bee knowne that thou hadſt once preſumed to think it*

The King deſſembled all, and although he would willingly haue forgotten it, yet he tried how difficult a thing it is not to remember an offence. He could not looſe that which he could not keepe, and alwaies his memory was full of the portraits of the Cauſey and Barre, but he would giue the ſinner time to repent. [y] The euent doth iudge of his Counſell, for by the mildnes of his words, and his good vſage of the Conſtable, he kept him from a leape which he was ready to make vnto the Duke of Burgundies diſcretion.

The King ſtill remembers the Cauſey and barre.

[r] *The diſſembling of apparant faults and which cannot be diſguiſed is dangerous for a Prince, for he whoſe fault bee diſſebles growes more diſtruſtful and feares that it is to take reuenge at a more conueniet time which feare makes him reſolue to preuent it.* Valens *hauing diſcouered ſome ſoldiers faults did not puniſh thē, yet he accuſed them leaſt that diſſembling ſhould make them reſolue to do worſe.* Et ne diſsimulans ſuſpectior foret.

[t] Cæſar *would not reſt ſatiſſied with the Suiſſes promiſes without hoſtages.* Diuico *one of their Cōmanders anſwered for them that they had learned of their elders alwaies to receiue hoſtages and not to giue, and that the people of Rome would know what to ſay.* Cæſ. lib. 1.

[u] *In France the fees are notable ſignes of the Princes ſouereigne power: they were in former times but for life.* Hugh Capet *made them hereditary, vpon condition that they ſhould ſerue in the warre.*

[x] *To giue all that is demanded is the act of a man that is not of himſelfe but depends of another.* Mucho pide el loco, mas loco es el que lo da. *A foole demands much, but he is more foole that giues it.*

[y] *As ſoone as a ſubiect of quality ſtraies from his loue and duty, they muſt ſeeke to reclaime him but firſt by mildnes before rigor. It is good to take time to be aduiſed. The ſecond thoughts correct the firſt. They blame* Cecinna *for too great heat in the puniſhing of offences giuing them no time to repent.* Proximam quamque culpam antequam peniteret vltum ibat. *Tacit.* Lib. 17. *The firſt offence was puniſhed before they could repent.*

Yet the King did ſtudy of this inſolency. The Conſtable deſiring rather to erre in aduancing himſelfe too much, then too little,[z] ſhewed his contentment. [a] The King kept his diſcontent ſecret, and bridled his choller, vpon this conſideration; that a reuenge deferred may be executed: and being once executed it cannot be recalled. He keept his deſigne to be reuenged very ſecret vnder ſhewes of great loue; yet reſolued not to dye before he had troden the Conſtables pride vnder his feete, and that he had made him ſtoope, and eate the ground, and his fingers to remember himſelfe of his duty, and that he muſt not play with his prince, no not with his picture. [b]

The Conſtable on the other ſide grewe more inſolent and glorious, his ſeruants ſaid that their maſter was ſafe, that in this action the King had ſhewed that he feared him, that the ſtorme from which ſide ſoeuer it came, would ſtil paſſe ouer his head & neuer hurt him; that his merits would ſhield him from al the practiſes of his enemies that no man durſt attempt againſt his perſon, & in a word, that they could not bee without him. They did not conſider that they neuer ſped which ſtriued to go before all men and would not follow any. [c]

New deſignes of the Duke of Bourgondy

At that time there was a truce betwixt the King and the Duke of Burgundy, the King had no thoughts but to vnite the wills and affection of his ſubiects to his ſeruice, and to puniſh the obſtinate. The Duke of Burgundy, who had ſet noe other limits to his ambition, but the point of his ſword, was in Guelderland, a Prouince which *Arnold* Duke of Guelders, to puniſh the vanaturall ingratitue of *Adolph* his Sonne, a priſoner at Gand, with a iuſt exheredation, had giuen to the Duke at his death.

Theſe deſignes did riſe one vpon another, like mountaines of billowes which breake of themſelues., they were infinit, and the execution of one was the begining of another, his ſpirit [d] wandering euery where, was neuer ſetled in any place, he deſired that which he had not ſo vehemently, and did hope for it ſo impatiently, as he did not care for that which he had gotten, he played alwayes and did not knowe the fortune of the game, yet could he not retire himſelfe.

He had a goodly Armie at that time, of his owne ſubiects and ſtrangers Engliſh, and Italians: Preſumption, which doth alwaies corrupt the Iudgment, darken reaſon, blind the vnderſtanding, and ſtirre vp will againſt iudgment, made him [e] imagin that there was not any greatnes in the worlde that could be comparable to his. He reſolued not to ſee any thing betwixt Bourgundy and Holland but vnder his power, he promiſed all this vnto himſelfe in taking the Countries of Colleyn and Lorraine. He held the County of Ferrete by morgage from *Sigiſmond* Arch Duke of Auſtria. The

[z] *We may faile equally in eſteeming a thing too much or not enough.*

[a] *Modeſty requires that the great contentmens which ar receiued by the Princes good countenance, ſhould not be ſhewed by the exceſſe of ioy and inſolency: the pleaſure of the mind which is inuiſible, ſhould participate of her nature and not be ſeene.*

[b] *Any thing that concernes the Prince, is ſacred, it is a crime to touch it without reſpect. It was a Capitall offence to ſit neere vnto* Auguſtus *ſtatue, and to haue carried his image into any place that was not honorable.* Sueto ius *ſaith.* Hæc quoque Capitalia erant, circa Auguſti ſimulachrum ſeruum ſediſſe veſtem mutaſſe, nummo vel anulo effigiem impreſſã latrinæ aut lupanari intuliſſe

[c] *The torment of an ambititious man is double, he ſeaes to come after others and deſirs to go before all.* Seneca *ſpeaks eloquently.* Ambitus tumida res eſt vana, ventoſa, nullum habet terminum: Tam ſolicita eſt ne quem ante ſe videat, quam ne ſe poſt alium. *Sen. Epiſt. 4. Ambition is a ſwelling thing, vaine and windy, it hath no bounds. It is as careſull not to ſee any one before it, as not to ſee it ſelfe after any.*

[d] *A ſpirit which is euery where is no where. To end one deſigne we we muſt not begin many. There is a diff rence betwixt doing many enterpriſes and many things.*

[e] *When as Ambition hath placed the ſeat of his Empire in the fantaſie of a Prince who hath youth, forces and courage, it makes him reſolue vpon all ſorts of deſignes, and will not ſuffer him to haue any bounds nor meaſured hopes.*

Princes

Princes of Germany, who had not ſaid any thing, whileſt that this Prince was buſie with his forces along the Riuer of Meuze, could not now be ſilent to ſee him in this deſigne to paſſe the Rhin. When as the forces of a great Prince ſtirre extraordinarily, then leſſe eſtates unite themſelues cloſely together. [f]

The Duke beſieged Nuz, and colored his deſigne with the pretentions of the Arch-Biſhop of Colleyn againſt the Landgraue of Heſſes Sonne, but there was noe other title but that which ambition carried on the point of his ſword, he had noe other deſigne but to block vp Colleyn and to mount vp the Rhin as farre as Baſill.

1474. Many aduiſed the King to hinder the increaſe of this Princes greatnes: the Counſels ſauored of their humors that gaue them, [g] the fearefull tould what they would haue done in the like occaſions, flatterers did fit their opinions to his taſt. They which marcht more ſincerely; and whoſe wiſdome and experience had refined their Iudgemenrs, tould the King that he ſhould wiſh there were more ambition [h] in the Duke then he had, hauing no better meanes to be reuenged of him then to ſuffer him to proceed in the tryall of his deſigne againſt Germany, for it was a Rock on the which his deſignes would break; that he ſhould finde oppoſition there, that hauing taken one place he would attempt an other, and would neuer be ſatisfied with one enterpriſe, that the more he ſhould be ingaged the further he would ingage himſelfe. In a word he would ſee himſelfe reduced to theſe tearmes. *To imbrace too much and to hold little.*

The Duke of Bourgondy drawes the engliſh into France

The King, who knowing well that the Dukes profoundeſt cares and cogitations were to drawe the Engliſh into France, ſought vnto him for a prolongation of the Truce. Either of them ſought to circumuent his companion, [i] their talke was of Truce, but their thoughts tended to warre. The Duke preſt by the Engliſh to come into France to ioyne his forces with theirs, ſaid, that he could not yeeld vnto it, excuſing himſelfe vpon his word giuen vnto the Engliſh.

The King ſtirs vp enemies againſt the Duke of Bourgondy

Vpon this refuſall the King prouides him worke of all ſides; He puts *Rhene* Duke of Lorraine in mind of the iniury the Duke haddone him in holding him priſoner. *Rene* incenſed with this remembrance, ſent a Herald preſently to defie him. In like manner the King perſwaded the Arch-Duke *Sigiſmond* to redeme Ferrete and the Townes of Baſill, Strausborug, Colmar and others intereſſed in the Duks deſignes, to furniſh the money, to free the Country from ſo troubleſome a Prince, [k] and themſelues from ſo terri-

[f] *The increaſe of a warlike Princes eſtates makes other Princes iealous. To exceed the bounds of his Empire is an alarum to his neighbours.* Auguſtus *aduiſed* Tiberius *to reſtraine the Romaine Empire within certaine limits: whilſt that the Duke of Bourgondy made warre in France the other Princes ſtood at a gaze, but when he diſcouered his deſigne to extend farther, they ſought to hinder him.*

[g] *Counſels ſauour of the paſſions of Counſellors. It is diſcerned in the diſeaſes of an Eſtate as well as in theſe of the body.* Tullius Marcellinus *being ſick of an incurable diſeaſe, called his frendes together to determine of his death.* Vnuſquiſque aut quia timidus erat id illi ſuadebat vt ſibi ſuaſiſſet, aut quia adulator et blandus id conſilium dabat, quod deliberanti gratius fore ſuſpicabatur. *Sen. Epi. 77. Euery man eyther for that he feared perſwaded him that which he himſelf would haue imbraced or being a flatterer he gaue that Counſell which he thought would be moſt pleaſing vnto the party.*

[h] *An ambitious enemy muſt haue more work made him then he can compaſſe. A Maxime whereof* Lewis *the eleuenth made good vſe, againſt* Charles *D. of Bourgundy.*

[i] *To deceiue an enemy with hopes, and propoſitions of an accord and Truce is held wiſedome, but the Romans could not allow of any profit which it brought them.* Veteres, *ſaith* Tit Liu. nouam iſtam ſapientiam improbabant, nec aſtu magis, quam vera virtute bella geſsiſſe malores &c. *The ancient did not allow of this new wiſedome, neither did our elders make warre more by craft then by vertue.*

[k] *The King was well ſerued in this negotiation by one called* Iulius *of Silligny a Suiſſe borne, he was Biſhop of Lyon and afterwards of Grenoble.*

ble a neighbour. By this meanes the Duke was ſtript of the Prouinces ingaged, and diſappointed of the conqueſt of Germany, whereof his people had already made a Mappe. [l] At the ſame time that this rembourſment was appointed and the money conſigned, the Arch-Duke *Stgiſmond* cauſed *Peter Hagembach* the Duks Lieutenant Generall in all the Countries ingaged to be taken priſoner. His Proceſſe was made by ſeauen and twenty Iudges, two of ech Town Strauſbourg, Baſill, Schletſtart, Colmar, Kentzingem, Freibourg, Neuuembourg, Soleurre, Berne, eight of Briſſac, and the Preſident of Enſiſheim. Their proceedings in Iuſtice was ſpeedy, the fourth of May they committed him to priſon, and put him to the rack, on the ninth, they brought him before his Iudges, and gaue him an Aduocate. Thy accuſed him of many violences, inſolences, and concuſſions, and hauing noe meanes to iuſtifie himſelfe, they condemned him to loſe his head. There was noe help, he muſt vndergoe it. He caried for his deuice three Dice, with this Motto *Ie paſſe*. [m]

Death of *Peter* of Hagembach Gouernour of Ferette.

He paſt indeede the moſt cruell in exceſſe and cruelty, his cruelty to men, and his impiety to God, brought him to this ſcafold to be a mornfull preſident of the wretched end of an vnreſtrayned, vniuſt, and vnſupportable power, and that to commaund people long and ſafely it is better to deſire to be loued then feared, [n] to be good then mighty.

His crimes & iniuſtice.

Lewis made all the inſtruments of theſe counſels to worke, he was the maſter-whele of theſe great motions, and thought ſo to diſtract the Duke of Bourgundies mind into diuers parts, as he would forget the deſignes which he had in France, and that he ſhould be at reſt whileſt his enemie was in troble. The death [o] of *Hagembach* did much offend the Duke, he commaunded his ſeruants which were in Bourgundy to ouer-runne the Countrey of Ferrete.

Vpon this commaundement the Marſhall of Bourgundy of the houſe of Neufchaſtel, one of the foure Ancients of Bourgundy, [p] came about Montbeliard to haue the place yeelded vnto him, and towld the Gouernor that if he did not yeeld it, he would bring the life of the Prince of Wirtemberg into danger, whom the Duke had cauſed to be taken neere vnto Luxembourg. [q] He anſwered that this Prince was not iuſtly taken priſoner in any good warre, that he had Brethren intereſſed in the guard of the place, and to whom he was bound to keep it. A braue anſwere. He that commands a place ſhould not leaue it, but like an honeſt man. The bloud of his children ſpilt before his face ſhould not moue him. [r]

Army of the Duke of Bourgondy in the County of Ferette.

[l] *When as Princes make a deſigne to conquer a Contry, they which deſire the execution talke of it continually, and repreſent it in pourtrait. The Atheniens did nothing but talke of the Conqueſt of Sicile, when as the voyage of* Niceas *being reſolued he did draw out vpon the ground the forme of the Iland, numbred the ports & the meanes it gaue to attempt vpon affrike.* Plu. *in the life of* Niceas.

[m] Peter *of Hagembach loſt his head at Briſath the 9. of May* 1474. *by torch-light. His Laquais & ſeruants carried his deuice of three dice, with this motto* Iepaſſe. *At that time this diſtique was publiſhed.* Omnis ſpes fallax, ſed fallaciſſima ludi *Hagembach* Ich paſſe, ſpes ſtulta fuit.

[n] *After that* Philip King *of Macedonie had vanquiſhed the Cities of Greece, they conncelled him to put in good Garriſons to aſſure his Conqueſt.* I had rather, *ſaid he,* be called gentle for a long time, then Lord for a ſhort. [o] *The greateſt pollicy of State is that which the moſt pollitick Romaine Emperour did practiſe.* Pacem in Vrbe, bellum pocull habere. *to haue peace in the Citty and warre a farre off.* [p] *They haue giuen the honor of antiquity, nobility, valour and greatnes to foure houſes of Bourgondy, Vienne, Chalon, Neufchaſtel and Vergy.* [q] Henry *of Wirtemberg taken priſoner in the warre in his youth by* Charles *Duke of Bourgondy in the yeare* 1474. Eberhard *his vncle held him priſoner in the yeare* 1499. Munſter *ſaies it was for madnes. He dyed in the yeare* 1519. *and was father to* George *Earle of Wirtemberg.* [r] *In the yeare* 1292. Schane Caſtille *brother to* Sancho *King of Caſtille, beſeeging Tariffe, ſent word to* Alfonſo, *father to* Guzman, *Gouernour of the place, that if he yeelded it not he would put his onely ſonne whom he held priſoner to death:* Alfonſo *anſwered, I will not faile of my duty for a hundred Children, and if*

They

They of Baſill being aduertiſed that the Duke of Bourgundy practiſed *Montbeliard* to be aſſured of the paſſage, ſent men thither. The Marſhall of Bourgundie gaue the Contie of Ferrete in prey to his armie. The Suiſſes being aſſembled at Lucerne, could not ſuffer their neighbours to be ſo ill intreated. They declare war againſt the Duke of Bourgundy and ſend him the Pattents which they call *friends briefe*, Letters of enemies. The Marſhall of Bourgundy made anſwere thereunto, and felt the blowes as ſoon as the threats.

Laague made againſt the the Duke of Bourgundy.

The firſt of Nouember the troupes of the Cantons and other Townes their confederates againſt the Duke of Bourgundy, came to Baſill which furniſhed them with Canon and Munition, and then they marched directly to beſiege Hericourt, a Towne belonging to the Marſhall of Bourgundy, who preſented himſelfe with 10000. men to raiſe the ſiege, but hee was repulſt with the loſſe of aboue two thouſand, *Stephen* of Hagembach, brother to him that was beheaded, yeelded the place vpon compoſition to haue his life ſaued. Many were carried priſoners to Baſill, and burnt aliue, by iudgement of the Magiſtrate for crimes which cannot bee too ſeuerely puniſhed. ſ

Hericourt taken by the League.

In thoſe times they made noe warre in winter, the ſouldiers retyred to their garriſons, It beganne againe in Aprill the next yeare very furiouſly, and the King was forced to enter into it. The Germaines and Swiſſes complayned that hee ſtood gazing on them that fought: euery one laboured to ruine the houſe of Bourgundy, whoſe greatneſſe made all men enuy, and whoſe diſſipation promiſed proffit to many. ſ The Emperor *Frederick* put men and victualls into Nuz, and preſents him-ſelfe with all the forces of Germany to make the Duke diſlodge. The King makes warre againſt him in Picardy, Bourgoundy and Artois. The Duke of Lorraine ſends him a defie. The Swiſſes beſeege Pontarlier vpon the riuer of Doux, they take Blammont, Orbe brings them the Keys, and in two monthes they become Maiſters of nine townes or Caſtells. The Bourgoundians burnt, 40. villages about Pourrentru and Montbeliard and ſpoyled all the Mountaine.

Kings army in the Duke of Bourgundies contry.

All this amazed him not, the more enemies the more Triumph. The greatneſſe of his deſſeignes made all difficulties ſmale. They could not repreſent vnto him ſo many inconueniences, but hee did hope for more profit by this Germaine warre. The King tooke the Caſtell of Tronquoy by aſſault: Mondider and Roye yeelded by compoſition. Corbie endured 3. daies batterie. Thoſe two townes were burnt, contrary to that which *Phillip de Commines* had promiſed them in the Kings name, making the capitulation. It was not his entent to haue this warre contynue long, but to force the Duke of Bourgundy to prolong the truce, and to content himſelfe with two or three enemies which hee had without the Realme. It was not that which the Kings friends deſired, for they were diſcontented to ſee him a newter, whileſt that he incourraged them to

Places take by the kings troupes in Picardy.

thou then beeſt ſo greedy of the bloud of mine, heere take my ſword & vſe it. *Soone after being at diner with his wife hee heard a great noyſe, and ſuppoſing it to bee the enemy, he went directly to the wall: where they tould him that they had ſeene his ſonne ſlaine:* I had thought *ſaid he* that the enemy had bin entred the town, *& ſo returned without any ſigne of trouble in amaſement. An admirable conſtancy.*

ſ *There is noe wickednes that is new, but hath ſome preſident. In former times wee haue heard ſpeake of all the the diſorders & villanies which are now committed by ſoldiars. The Chronicle of Baſill ſaies, that theſe men were burnt for Sodomy, forcing of women, and for that they had profaned Churches, and troden the holy Sacrament vnder foot burnt, murthered and ſowed vp womens priuy parts.*

ſ *A mightie Prince that is enuied of many maintaines himſelfe hardly, & that ſtate which is leaſt enuied is moſt durable.*

fight,

fight, and this newtrality did not diminish the number of enemies, nor of friends. [x] On the other side the Duke of Bourgondy feeling the secret blowes which the King gaue him, desired rather to haue him an open enemy. He was also so full of reuenge and indignation against the King, who had gathered together all the clouds, and wyndes to raise this storme against him, as hee would rather haue troubled Hell, then not to let him knowe the fury of his passion. His resolutions were so strange as they did not promise him other safty then danger. Danger in the continuance of the seege of Nuz: danger in a new warre against the Swisses, and danger to serue himselfe with the succors of England, which he attended impatiently.

The King commanded the Bastard of Bourbon, Admirall of France, to carry a burning besome into the countries of Artois and Ponthieu, vpon the aduice which a Lady gaue him, [y] the which she repented: for shee was singed in the flames of that fier which shee her selfe had kindled. At the taking of Arras *Iames* of Luxembourg, the Counstables brother, with the Lords of Contay and Caroucy were taken prisoners.

Bastard of Bourbon makes war in Artois.

The King sent *Iohn Tiercelin*, Lord of la Brosse vnto the Emperor *Frederick*, to aduise of the progresse of his forces against the Duke, and to inuite him to doe the like for his part, that they might diuide his spoyles betwixt them; the Emperor taking for his part the Prouinces which depended of the Empire, and the King those which did hold of his Crowne.

Ambassage sent by the King to the Emperer *Frederick*.

This Ambassador, more faithfull to him that sent him, then pleasing to him to whome hee was sent, reapt noe great fruits of his Legation. The Emperors answere was by this Apology. Three huntsmen going to take a Beare which did anoy the country, had drunke freely vpon credit in a Tauerne vpon an opinion of profit which they should make in selling the skinne, and their Host increased their reckning, [a] comming neere the caue where they thought to surpize him, the Beare came out vnto them, and so terrefied them, as one got into a tree, another fled towards the towne, and the third not so good a footeman, fell flat on the ground as if he had beene dead, for he had heard say that this beast pardons dead folks, as the Lyon doth them that humble themselues. The Beare put his mussell to his nose and eare, to iudge if he were dead, and thinking him to be so, for that he held his breth, he left him. Hee that was in the tree and had obserued all, asked his companion what the Beare had said in his eare, he tould me said he, *that we must neuer make bargin for the Beares skinne vntill he be dead.* Whereby hee would let this Doctor vnderstand that they must first take the Duke, and then talke of diuiding his spoile, and that there is noe wisedome which holds firme when they must resolue vpon that which is to come [b].

An apology for an answere.

The Duke contynued the seege before Nuz, meditating furious reuenges against them that had so ill intreated his subiects. That

great

[x] *Although that neutrality doth not bind friends nor ruine enemies*, neque amicos parat, neque inimicos tollit, *yet when a Prince hath meanes to be as he may bee whē he exceeds either in greatnesse & dignity, or in force and power thē that contēd, he hath alwaies the honour to be arbitrator & iudge. But for petty Princes neutrality is dangerous. They must either bee the strongest or with the strongest.*

[y] Philip de Comines *saith that they gaue credit to this woe man, for she was a womā of state, but hee commends not her deed, for that, saith he, she was not bound vnto it. Shee receyued great losses in this war, which the King repaired.*

[a] *Example is a very good means to perswade, & may bee framed not onely of things done, but of those that are fayned, as fables bee which delight & instruct* Stesiarus *vsed thē in discoursing to the Imerians,* Esope *to the Samiens, &* Menenius Agrippa *to the Romaines.*

[b] *It is folly to deliberate vpon things not yet hapened; he that aimes so far off neuer hits the white, we may well foresee diuers accidents, but the variety is so great, as two or three may happen so little foreseene, as they may change all other resolutions.*

great exployt of Arras where hee had loſt his cheefe commanders, did much afflict him, and the miſchiefe had bin greater if the Conſtable had not moderated it with an apparant falling from his duty and loyalty to his King, who had commanded him that when as the Baſtard of Bourbon ſhould enter into Artois, hee ſhould beſeege Auennes in Hainault. He ſpent two or three daies in that ſeege very careleſly without watch or gard. If there were courage and reſolution in his troupes, [c] there was little order and obedience. He retyred to Saint Quintin, fearing to looſe that retreat, he excuſed him-ſelfe vpon an enterpriſe which he ſaid he had diſcouered, [d] of two ſoldiers who brag'd that they had beene commanded and feed to kill him.

Intelligéce of the Conſtable with the Duke of Bourgondy.

Hee remayned at Saint Quentin contynuing the traffick of his faith with the two Princes. Hee ſent the Duke word that he was very ſorry the King made his profit of his abſence, and he did aduertiſe the King that the Dukes affaires were in good eſtate, thinking hee ſhould finde noe other ſafety then in the feares and alarumes which he gaue them. But when as he ſaw that this Lyon [e] notwithſtanding any feuer or ſhaking that he had, grew nothing more myld, he thought that there was noe meanes for his ſafety, but to keepe a looſe, and that his laſt refuge was to relie vpon his firſt maiſter, to whome he had offered entry into S. Quintin, thinking that his Brother *Iames* of Luxembourg would goe thether with ſome troupes, and not carry Saint *Andrewes* croſſe.

Hee made theſe bargaines when as feare preſt him, and that hee knew not whome to truſt to diuert the Kings deſſeignes, but when as the Danger was paſt he would noe more heare ſpeake of his promiſes, and keept both ware and ſiluer. He abuſed the Duke of Bourgundy thrice with ſuch fictions, his brother being taken priſoner at Arras deſcouered it ſo freely vnto the King, as it was a meanes to moderate the rigorous vſage [f] which a priſoner of that condition might haue. He was willing to ſhroud himſelfe vnder the Duke of Bourgondies protection, but he did foreſee the ſtorme would be ſo great as the leaues of the tree would drowne him that ſhould creep vnder it. Hee did apprehend nothing ſo much as the Kings quiet, and peace of the realme. He gaue aduiſe vnto the Duke to drawe in the Engliſh to his ſuccor and to reuenge his Iniuries, and vpon this aduiſe the Engliſh were ſollicited very earneſtly to paſſe the ſea.

Edward K. of England paſſeth into France. 1475

Edward King of England who was in his ſoundeſt yeares, actiue and vigorous for a great deſigne, layes hold of this occaſion, in the which he did hope to recouer the rights which his Predeceſſors had purchaſed for him vpon the crowne of France. He was ſoone perſwaded to paſſe the ſea, thinking he ſhould haue no more paine to conquer a part of France, then hee had to reduce all England vnder his obedience. The remembrance of the ſuccours which King *Lewis* the eleuenth had giuen vnto his enemie, added to the old quarrels which haue made deluges of bloud in this Realme, would not ſuffer him to pauſe and conſider of the Iuſtice or iniu-

[c] *Cæſar ſaid that he deſired modeſty and obedience as much in a ſoldiar, as prowẽſſe and courrage.* Cæſar. lib.

[d] *I heard his man my ſelfe by the Kings commandement, who told ſo many apparant ſignes as he was in a maner beleeued and that one of thẽ was ſuſpected to haue ſaid ſom thing vnto the Conſtable which he ſhould haue concealed.* Phil. de Com. lib. 4 cap. 4.

[e] *Aduerſitie humbles great men and makes them mild, as a quartan ague breaks the fury of a Lion.*

[f] *A gratious & kind vſage makes the miſery of a priſon more eaſie and ſupportable.* Plut. *in the life of* Niceas

ſtices of his enterpriſe. The Duke of Bourgundy aſſured him to ioyne with his forces, the Conſtable did repreſent vnto him the Kings weaknes and wants, offring him S. Quentin to refreſh him. Behold a great Armie at Douer readie to paſſe. It did conſiſt of fiueteene hundred men at Armes, fifteene thouſand Archers on horſeback and a great number of foote, all good and reſolute ſouldiours hauing once continued any time on this ſide the ſea. It was in his owne will to make it greater, for there is not any enterpriſe in England that is ſeconded with more vowes and voices, then that which is made againſt France. All the world runnes vnto it, their purſes are not tyed but with leaues of Leekes, for the King cannot exact any thing of his ſubiects but with the common conſent of his Parliament, vnleſſe it be when he makes warre in France. True it is that hauing imployed ſome part of the money, leuied for this warre, about the affaires of his houſe, and finding himſelfe ſcanted, he inuented a milde courſe to haue money, calling together the richeſt of the Realme, and repreſenting vnto them the greatnes of his deſigne, with the glorie and profit which the realme might hope for, coniuring them to aſſiſt him with their meanes, and that in this occaſion he ſhould know them that loued him, although that hee ſhould be but a diſpenſer or Stuard [i] of that which they ſhould giue, and he called this Tribute a *Beneuolence*: ſome for ſhame, others for vanitie, and ſome through zeale filled his Coffers.

False Aſſurances giuen by the Duke a Conſtable.

The Duke of Bourgundy ſent ſhips out of Holland and Zeland to paſſe the Armie. It made a number of fortie or fiftie thouſand men, and threatned to doe double effects. The Conſtable gaue the King to vnderſtand that this Armie of ſtrangers ſhould land in Normandie, and his aduertiſement ſeemed the more credible, for that the King knew that the Duke of Brittanie had conſpired with the King of Englands deſignes.

Engliſh very ready to paſſe into France.

Herevpon there arriued a Herald who brought Letters of defiance from the King of England, Letters full of brauerie and boldnes, and puft vp with the Duke of Bourgundies paſſion, and the ſtile [k] of ſome bad Frenchman. He demanded the Realme of France as his ancient inheritance, he declared his Armes to be iuſt to recouer it, and to ſet the French at libertie, and to deliuer them from the oppreſſions which they endured.

Letters of defiance frō the King of England.

The Letter being read the King drew the Meſſenger apart, and ſpake vnto him alone with words of ſuch Empheſie as hee left an opinion in him that the King of Englands enterpriſe, hauing no ſupport but the weakneſſe of the Duke of Bourgundy, the diſſembling Conſtable, and the paſſion of ſome Engliſh, would not finde any great credit in France, and ſo he ſent him back with a preſent of three hundred Crownes and thirty elles of Crimſon Veluet, ſo full of good will as hee promiſed not to returne but to offer him a peace. The Chronicle ſaies that the King ſent vnto King *Edward*

people to their ancient liberty, and eaſe them of their troubles and charges, and in caſe of refuſall he proteſted of the miſeries which ſhould follow after the manner and forme accuſtomed in like caſes. CHRONIC.

the

[g] Traian *ſaid they ſhould neuer enter into an vniuſt war. He alone of all the Romane Emperors neuer loſt Battell.*

[h] *There are none more ſimple nor vnhandſome then the Engliſh when they paſſe firſt, but in a ſhort time they are very good ſoldiors, wiſe and hardy.* Phil. de Com. l. 4. c. 5.

[i] *A Prince is but a receiuer & diſtributer of the publike money, and they that giue it regard more the publike neceſſitie then the Princes priuate commodities* Ariſtotle *calles him* φυλακα καὶ ταμιειν. Cuſtodem diſpenſatorem vt communium non vt propriorum *Polit. lib. 1. cap. 11. A keeper or diſtributor of that which is common not proper.*

[k] *Hee brought vnto the King a Letter of defiance from the K. of England in a gallāt ſtile which I thinke was not done by any Engliſh man. He required the King to reſtore him the realme of Frāce which did belong vnto him, to the end hee might reſtore the Church, the Nobilitie & the*

the goodlieſt Courſer he had in his ſtable, And after that an Aſſe, a Woolfe and a wilde Beare, all ſignes of affection and of other thoughts then warre and hatred, for it is as great a teſtimonie of friendſhip to receiue a preſent as to giue.[l]

This great Prince, deſiring rather to ſaue a Cittizen then to kill an hundred enemies, was reſolued not to hazard any thing but money, preferring the price of an aſſured Peace before a doubtfull victorie, and notwithſtanding that his Armie was great and mightie, being in number aboue an hundred thouſand men, yet would he ſhew himſelfe a *Hercules*[m] rather in defending then aſſailing. Hee knew the body was not well purged from thoſe vicious humors: that there were yet great windes to raiſe tempeſts & Earthquakes, that France was not without it, like vnto Egypt.

Conſiderations of the K. to haue a Peace.

This deſcent of the Engliſh had three great paſſions to moue it: Ambition; Reuenge and feare. The King of England commanded in his Armie, and Ambition commanded the King of Englands heart, who promiſed vnto himſelfe the conqueſt of the whole Realme. The Duke of Bourgundy reioyced to ſee the Engliſh reuenge his quarrel, as they had before a wrong done vnto his Grandfather. The Conſtable thought that he could not otherwiſe appeaſe the growing feare, which preſented vnto him an infallible loſſe both of life and fortune, but in kindling theſe troubles.

Wiſedome of the King to auoid the ſtorme.

The King found himſelfe much troubled to auoide this ſtorme, he muſt needs content theſe three paſſions. He had many ſeruants of whoſe fidelitie he did not doubt, [n] there was no rebellion diſcouered within any townes, yet there were many great men which promiſed vnto themſelues that the Engliſh would take reuenge of their diſcontents. He feared that S. Quentin would be a prey to his enemies. He was no leſſe troubled to keepe the Conſtable from failing, then to ſeeke meanes to puniſh his fault. He ſent to haue him come vnto him, to ioyne their Councels together, and to prepare for a iuſt defence againſt his enemies, promiſing to giue him the recompence which hee demanded from the Countie of Guiſe.

The King ſends for the Conſtable.

The Conſtable let the King vnderſtand that he deſired nothing more then to be neere his Maieſtie, to yeeld him the dutie of his ſeruice, and to make new vowes of fidelity and obedience vnto him, ſo as it would pleaſe him to ſweare vppon the croſſe of S[t] Laud that he would not doe, nor ſuffer any harme to be done vnto him. [o]

Hee will haue the K. ſweare for his ſafety.

It is in the Cittie of Angiers where the people hold this old beleefe, that whoſoeuer ſweare vpon this croſſe and forſweare themſelues, die miſerably before the end of the yeare. The King ſent the Conſtable word that he had ſworne neuer to take that oath to

[l] *He that giues offers friendſhip, & he that receiues it accepts and binds himſelf to loue. Wherefore among all the pride of the Romans they haue noted this, to diſdaine the preſents which came not from friends.* Pharnax *ſent a Crowne of gold to* Cæſar, *who ſent him word that hee ſhould firſt doe that which hee was commanded, & then ſend him preſents which Roman Emperors after the happy ſucceſſe of their enterpriſes were accuſtomed to receiue frõ their friends.*

[m] *The Prieſts of* Hercules *Temples in Sicile told the Syracuſans that they ſhould bee victors if they did not aſſaile firſt, but did onely defend themſelues, for that* Hercules *had preuailed in all his Enterpriſes defending himſelfe when they came to aſſaile him.* Plut.

[n] *It is a great aduantage for a Prince againſt the diſcontentment of great men, to haue the hearts and affections of his ſubiects firme. He may well aſſure himſelfe againſt few enemies, but againſt a generall what ſafety.* Quello che ha per nemici pochi facilmente ſenza & molti ſcandali ſi aſsicura: ma chi ha per nemico vniuerſale, non ſi aſsicura mai. *Guicciard. lib. 11. Cap. 16. He that hath few for enemies, may eaſily and without any great ſcandall recouer himſelfe, but he that hath a generality for enemie can neuer be ſecured.*

[o] Conſtantine *would not go to the Court of* Michel Paphlagon *Emperor of Conſtantinople before he had made him ſweare his ſafety vpon the wood of the true Croſſe, vppon the Image of our Sauiour, and vppon the letter which hee had written.* Angarus. Cedren. Ann. Pa. 607.

any man liuing, and that there was not any other but hee would willingly take, although he ſhould relye vpon his word. P

This refuſall did ſufficiently diſcouer the Kings intent, and the Conſtable, knowing that hee had once made no difficultie to take the ſame oath for the Lord of Leſcun, thought that there was no other ſafety for him then not to come neere the King, and not to ſee him but by his picture.

' In the meane time the Engliſh armie paſt the ſea, and landed with ſo great difficulties as they ſpent three weekes there, and if it had incountred any let, with that ſpeed and diligence that the affaires q of the ſea, which is ſodaine and mutable, requires, it had been diſperſt of it ſelfe. One ſhip alone of Eu tooke two or three Engliſh.

But the King vnderſtood not ſea-matters, and they that had charge of his armies leſſe then himſelfe. The French haue neuer done any great exploits by ſea, although that their coaſt be greater then that of their neighbors, and that it is hard for a Prince that is not ſtrong at Sea, r euer to encreaſe or maintaine his Empire. If France had tooke delight at ſea ſhe had made the Flower-de-Luce to flouriſh farre off, but this contempt of nauall expeditions hath clipt her wings with the which ſhe ſhould haue flowne ſo high as all the world had been amazed. They did beleeue in thoſe daies that who ſo was valiant at Land could not be ſo at Sea. A verie preiudiciall errour, for a Captaine that hath been accuſtomed to fight with the windes, ſea and men, will ſooner become a Captaine at Land, where they fight onely with men, then a land ſouldior will become a good Sea-man.

The French haue contemned Nauigation.

When as the King of England was landed at Calice, and found not the Duke of Bourgundy, he held it for a ſcorne, and euen then he diſcouered his weaknes, and ſent him word that if he did not aduance he would force him to thinke of that which hee did not deſire.

The D. of Bourgundy is preſt by the Engliſh.

Behold this Prince reduced betwixt two extremes, all the wiſedome of man could not ſhew him a meane. He found it diſhonorable to diſlodge from before Nuz, and hee found it dangerous not to ioyne with the Engliſh. God had ſtroken him with an amazement for the good of France, for if hee had attended the Engliſh at their paſſage, and not vndertaken the voyage of Germanie, thoſe two Armies ioyned together had been able to doe that which diuided was impoſſible. When as the King of England preſt him to come with ſpeede, the Emperor offered him battell to make him raiſe his ſeege from before *Nuz*. At the ſame time when as both Armies were in view, and that Albert Duke of Saxonie, who carried the Standard of the Empire, and Albert Marquis of Brandebourg preſt the Emperor to command a charge, the Trumpets whom they attended to giue the ſigne ſounded the publication of a peace, the laſt day of May. The ſecret Article carried this condition, that the Duke ſhould giue his Daughter to *Maximilian* and

He is forced to raiſe the ſiege of Nuz.

P *Princes will be truſted of their word. It is a great raſhnes in a ſubiect to make his Prince ſweare, & euery oth as Plutarke ſaith, is like a torture giuen to a free man.*

q *Cæſar being arriued in England, hauing caſt anchor admoniſhed his Lieutenants and Colonels to diligence, for ſea cauſes, being very ſodaine & mutable, they muſt be executed in an inſtant and in the turning of an eye.*

r *To bee ſtrong at ſea is much more auaileable the at land for the getting and keeping of a great eſtate. The realme of Portugall is growne mighty by Nauigation. The Commonweale of Genoua had extended her limits farre, if ciuill diſſentions had not ſtayed their deſignes by Sea.*

and declare her heyre of al his Eſtates, if he dyed without any ſonne. *Munſter* ſaith that the Emperor for the deſire he had of this mariage did not all the harme he could unto the Duke, and that hee gaue him ten thouſand florins. The Duke ſaid that he did not retire but to obay the admonition which the Pope gaue him by his Legate, to whom the place was deliuered, to coulour his diſlodging with ſome ſhew, the which was the more troubleſome vnto the Duke, [s] for that he knew the towne was reduced to extremities, hauing neither patience, nor bread, for aboue ten dayes, hauing endured a whole yeare all the attempts of the aſſailant, and all neceſſities which doe afflict and make deſperate Townes which are ſharply beſieged.

He comes to Calice to the King of England

He came poſting with a ſmall traine to Calice, being loth to let the King of England ſee into what eſtate his wilfulnes at this ſiege had brought his Armie. [t] The Conſtable, who had preſented a planke to paſſe the Engliſh into France, now drawes it back. He had promiſed that as ſoone as the Armies were ioyned hee would open the gates of S. Quentin, and hee ſhootes at them that approch by the Dukes commandement. And yet to giue a goodly name to a deformed thing [u] he ſeekes to make him beleeue by *Lewis* of Creuille whom he ſent vnto him expreſſely, that he had ſhewed reaſon and diſcretion in the fayling of his word, that if he had receiued his men without ſome kinde of reſiſtance he ſhould make himſelfe vnprofitable for his ſeruice, looſe the credit which he had with the French, and the opinion & eſteeme which the King made of his fidelitie: That nothing could change his affection, whereof he would giue him ſuch infallible proofes againſt all men, and without any exception, beſeeching the Duke that the Letter which he ſent him might ſerue for an aſſurance of the ſame intention to the King of England. Theſe words vowed and ſworne with vehemencie, held the ſpirits of theſe two Princes in ballance notwithſtanding that they doubted the contrarie. [x]

The Conſtable aſſures the Duke of his ſeruice.

The Conſtable failes of his promiſe to the K. of England and Duke of Bourgundy

Charles aſſured *Edward* that if they did aduance S^t. Quentin was theirs. They that preſented themſelues firſt with an opinion to enter, were forced to returne their backs with ſpeed and retire to the Armie which followed. The King of England cryed out of treaſon, and euen then reſolued to be mindfull of reuenge. [y]

The Duke of Bourgundy gaue excuſes and ſaid, that the Conſtable had a good intent, and that the place deſerued ſome ceremonies, that he would not purchaſe that reproch to haue yeelded at the firſt ſight of the enemy, and that he knew his humor not to

[s] *It is a diſgrace to diſlodg after a long continuance, which alone ſhould force Townes. But he gaue the Duke this contentment that his enemies were not comprehended in this Treatie.* A conditionibus Pacis excluſi ſunt Lud. Franc. Rex, Sigiſmundus Exarch. Auſtriæ. *Out of the conditions of peace were excluded* Lewis *the French King.* Sigiſmond *Arch-duke of Auſtria,* Rene *Duke of Lorraine and the Suiſſes.*

[t] *The Duke of Burgundies armie had beene weakned at the ſiege of Nuz with the loſſe of foure thouſand men, the remainders did ouerrunne the countries of Lorraine and Bar whileſt with a ſmall traine he went to K.* Edward *to Calice.*

[u] *It is a great pitie ſaid Cato (ſpeaking his opinion againſt Caſelyne) that wee are come vnto thoſe times where they doe attribute the name of wicked*

things to good. Saluſt. in Catel. [x] *There is no thing difficult to beleeue when it is affirmed conſtantly and boldly ſworne by any one, although he were held a deceiuer. The efficacy of an oath if it do not beget credit in the mind, at the leaſt it breedes a ſuſpenſion and doubt of the contrary.* Guicciardin *ſaies in his firſt booke.* Io non credo può quaſi eſſere che quello che multo efficacemente s'afferma non faccia qualche ambiguita etiandio negli animi determinati a credere il contrario. *I do ſcarce beleeue it can be, but that which is affirmed with great efficacy will breed ſome doubt and ambiguity euen in thoſe mindes that were reſolued to beleeue the contrary.* [y] *A failing in word and faith is neuer forgotten, and the remembrance hath alwaies for aſſeſſors Choller, and Reuenge.* Darius *for that he would not forget the wrong which the Athenians had done him, had alwaies a Page who tould him in his eare when he ſate downe to meat.* Sir remember the Athenians.

attempt any thing, but when he may doe it ſafely, profitably, and honorably.

He thought otherwiſe in his heart, and *Edward* knowing well that the Conſtable deceiued them, did not conceale it that the duke had done him wrong to imbarke him vpon his aſſurances. The Duke takes his leaue, vnder a pretext to goe fetch his forces, and retired into Brabant to paſſe at Mezieres into the Dutchie of Bar. The King of England did not like of the reaſon of his ſodaine departure, knowing well that the Dukes affaires were in no good eſtate, and might impaire. The Engliſh were amazed and diſcouraged, as they are commonly which ground their enterpriſes vpon the promiſes and paſſions of ſtrangers. [z] Their wils wauered betwixt hope and repentance. For all the Townes whereof they promiſed themſelues the conqueſt, and which they had ſometimes held, they had onely Perronne, and that was but by way of paſſage to refreſh them. The ſeaſon was incommodious. The Duke of Brittanie remained quiet to ſee the game, and who ſhould win. He had incenſed the King too much, who had new drawne, from a Secretarie of England, two Letters written by *Vrſe*, [a] the one vnto the King of England, and the other to *Haſtings* his Lord Chamberlaine, which diſcouer his practiſes, and the promiſe which he had made to ioyne with the Engliſh.

The K of England repents that he beleeued

[z] *They that haue neede of forraine ſuccors promiſe wonders to ingage them, and doe not commonly performe halfe their promiſes.*

[a] *The Duke of Brittanie promiſed to ioyne his forces with thoſe of England, and to receiue 3000. Engliſh. This deſigne was diſcouered by two letters written by Vrſe, who then ſerued the D. of Brittany.*

All theſe reaſons make *Edward* incline to a peace, he hath ſome about him would gladly haue re-paſt the ſea: His chiefe ſeruants were not very eager of warre, and remembring the entertainment at S. Quentin, they found that the Engliſh were too blame to truſt in the French againſt the French, and to beleeue that Rauens will pick out one anothers eyes. The Ceremonie was, who ſhould ſpeake firſt, there was not any one betwixt theſe two Princes that would attempt this mediation, they thought that hee which ſhould firſt demand a Peace had confeſt himſelfe vanquiſhed. There is a great diſparitie betwixt the affaire of Princes and priuate men, their rules and Maximes are very different, like to the Kings of Thrace, whoſe Gods which they ſerue are not the Gods of the common people. [b]

[b] *The diſſemblance of the affaires of great men ſhewes it ſelfe in many reſpects and ceremonies which are not conſidered among priuate perſons. The King of Thrace is diſtinguiſhed from his ſubiects by the difference of the ſeruice of his Gods, he hath his apart which his ſubiects are not ſuffred to worſhip.*

Haward and *Stanley*, who were neereſt about the King of England, offred an occaſion to breake this Ice: They had taken a Groome of the Kings Armie, who was ſent back without ranſome, as the firſt priſoner of the Engliſh. Being at libertie and readie to depart, *Haward* and *Stanley* ſaid vnto him. *Recommend vs to the good grace of the King your Maſter, if you may ſpeake vnto him.* He failed not, and the King remembring what *Garter* had ſaid vnto him, found that his veluet had wrought. Theſe ſalutations draue him into a great perplexitie. Whatſoeuer comes from an enemie is to be ſuſpect. He cauſed the meſſenger to be put in Irons, fearing that he was a ſpie; he is ſounded into, and curiouſly examined by his moſt confident ſeruants: hee himſelfe ſpeakes vnto him, and findes him conſtant without varying. This perturbation of minde held him vntill the next

Occaſion which cauſed an ouerture of a Peace.

Poſture of *Lewis* the eleuenth, when hee was penſiue.

next day with the which he ſate downe penſiue to his meate. When as he was in his deepeſt cogitations, the minde did ſo neglect the actions of the bodie and left them in ſuch diſorder, as no man would haue taken him for a wiſe man. [c]

After that he had been a while penſiue, hee told *Philip de Commines* that hee ſhould take away the table, and went to dine in his chamber, cauſing the ſeruant of the Siegneur of Halles to come vnto him, of whom he demanded if hee would goe into the King of Englands Armie in the habite of a Herauld. He had bethought himſelfe of this man to whom hee had neuer ſpoke but once, and notwithſtanding that *Phil. de Commines* told him that in his opinion hee had neither ſtature nor grace, yet would hee not any other. He had made choiſe of him as of a man of good vnderſtanding, and who had, as the Hiſtorie ſaith, a ſweet and pleaſing voice. He conſidered that if the charge hee gaue him did not ſucceed, he ſhould quit in diſauowing him, and make it knowne that he was but in a diſguiſed habite like vnto *Comediens*. [d] If you grant me that which I demand, ſaid *Poliſtratidas*, I will cauſe my ſelfe tobe aduowed, if not, I let you vnderſtand, that I haue no charge.

Iudgement of the King to diſtinguiſh ſpirits

He would not accept this charge for any thing that *Philip de Commines* could ſay or promiſe him, he fell vpon his Knees as if hee had beene condemned to die. [e] The King came and ſpake with him, and wonne him at the firſt word, promiſing him mony, and the office of an Eſleu in the Ile of Rez. Hee muſt be attired, and there was ſome trouble to make him a coate of armes, and more to ſend him away ſecretly and not to ſeene, but moſt of all to inſtruct him in that which he ſhould ſay. His coate of armes was in a bouget behind his ſaddle, hauing commandement not to put it on vntill hee did enter into the Engliſh army. *Philip de Comines* obſerues in this place the little care and curioſity the King had of the markes of the greatneſſe of the Maieſty of Kings, when he ſaith that there was not a coate of armes to be found in all his campe, and that they were forced to make one of the banner of a trompet to attyer this Herald. Souueraigne powers were neuer without them. [f]

A Herald ſent to the King of England.

Being come into the army, he was conducted to the king of Englands tent: they demanded of him what he was, whence he came, and what he would. His coate of armes made anſwer to the firſt demand, and for the reſt he ſaid, *that he had commandement to ſpeake vnto the King, and to addreſſe himſelfe to* Haward *and* Stanley. The King of England was then at diner, in the meane time they made the Herald good cheere, and then preſented him vnto the King to deliuer his charge. Wee muſt ſtand to that which hee hath written that did inſtruct him, and who hath reported it after this manner.

Inſtructed by the Signeur of Argenton.

That the K. had long deſired to be in friendſhip with him, and that the two realmes might liue in peace: and that neuer ſince hee was King of

[c] Phil. de Cō. *repreſents in theſe words the grace of* K. Lewis, *when hee had any fantaſie in his head,* As ſoon as he was ſet at the table and had ſtudied a little as you know he did in ſuch ſort as it was very ſtrange to them that did not know him, for without knowledge of him they wold haue held him vnwiſe, but his deeds witnes the contrary.

[d] *They demanded of* Poliſtratidas Embaſſador of Sparta *if he came in the behalfe of the commonweale, or of himſelfe, hee anſwered eloquently.* Αἴτε κατὰ χωμὴν δημοσίαν, αἴτε ἀπὸ τύχωμὴν ἰδίαν.

[e] *When as the King thought this man was in a good humour, he ſent the maſter of his horſe for the banner of a trumpet, to make him a coate of Armes, for the K. was not curious, nor accompanied with Heralds and Trumpets as many princes be.* Phil. de Com. l. 4. c. 7.

[f] *Princes haue alwaies had marks of greatnes & maieſty. The Senate ordained foure & twenty Sargents to march before* Auguſtus. *Before that the Roman Emperors had fire and a diademe for marks of maieſty, they had maces and rods enuironed with bayes.* Excubiæ arma cetera Aulæ, *ſaith* Tacit, *watching Armes and the reſt of the Court.*

France

France, he had not made warre, nor attempted any thing againſt the King nor the Realme of England, excuſing him-ſelfe g *for that he had formerly entertayned the Earle of Warwicke, and ſaid that it was onely againſt the Duke of Bourgundy and not againſt him. Hee alſo let him vnderſtand that the ſaid Duke of Bourgundy had not called him, but to make a better accord with the King, vppon the occaſion of his comming, and if there were any other that had a hand in it, it was but to repaire their errors, tending to their priuate ends: and touching the King of Englands intereſt they cared not what became thereof, ſo as they might make their owne good. Hee alſo layed before him the time and winter which approached, and that he knew well he was at great charge, and that there were many in England both of the Nobility and Marchants which deſired to haue warre in France. And if the King of England ſhould doe his endeauour to harken to a treaty, that the ſaid king would doe the like, ſo as he and his realme ſhould remaine content: And to the end he might be better informed of theſe things, if he would giue a paſport for an hundred horſe, that the king would ſend Ambaſſadors vnto him well informed of his will, or if the king of England deſired it ſhould rather be in ſome Village midway, betwixt both Armies, and that the Deputies of either ſide ſhould meet there, he would be well content, and would ſend a ſafe conduct,*

The Heralds ſpeech to the King of England

Hee demands a paſport for a Conference.

Many thought that King *Edward* would haue ſaid vnto the Herald. *We will talke in Paris.* [h] but this firſt ouerture was ſo pleaſing, as he granted paſports for the Deputies of the conference. England had rather forced then perſwaded him to the Chimeras of this war. He had leuied great ſummes of money for his paſſage, the warre drew them out of his cofers, peace kept them there and added more. Ciuill warre had ſo weakened and impoueriſhed England, as at need they could neither hope for men nor money. Hee had cauſed ſome of the Deputies of the Commons of England to paſſe with him, they were already weary of the warre and to lodge after the manner of Soldiers. Theſe men did allow of this propoſition of Peace, and ſaid that it was iuſt and reaſonable, [i] that it were indiſcretion to refuſe it, and that they ſhould be contented to haue reduced the French King to ſeeke a peace with the King of England, for that a great King cannot humble himſelfe more, nor deſcend lower, then to ſeeke his enemy for a peace.

Ouerture of a peace betwixt the two Kings.

Reaſons which perſwaded the Engliſh to peace.

Paſports were diſpatcht of either part, and the Deputies entred into conference in a Village neere vnto Amiens, in view of both armies, which were but fower leagues aſunder. The Baſtard of Bourbon, Admirall St. Pierre: and *Heberge* Biſhop of Ereux for *Lewis*; *Haward*, one *Challenger*, and *Morton* who was afterwards Chance-

These Propoſitions ſeeme nothing generous, they argue feare and are vnworthy of a great Prince, who ſhould let his enemies know that he did not demand nor accord any thing by force. But Phil. de Com. excuſeth the K. and ſaith, that: If God had not diſpoſed the King to chooſe ſo wiſe a party, the Realme had been in great danger. Then he addes, Wee had then many ſecret matters among vs whence had ſprung great inconueniences vnto the Realme and that ſodainly if the accord had not been ſoon made, as wel from Britaine as other places. And I verily beleeue by matters which I haue ſeene in my time that God had and hath a ſpeciall care of this Realme.

[h] Arſaces K. of the Parthians ſent to tell Craſſus that if he were ſent by the Romans to make warre againſt him, bee would haue no peace: but if he came of his owne free will to poſſeſſe his Contry, that then hee would ſuffer them to depart with their liues and goods, wherevnto Craſſus ſaid brauely, I will make you an anſwer in the Towne of Seleucia: the Parthian Ambaſſador began to ſmile, and ſhewing him the palme of his hand, hee ſaid, Craſſus thou ſhalt ſooner ſee haire grow in this hollow of mine hand, then the Citty of Seleucia in thine. [i] It is a weakenes in a Prince to make it apparantly knowne, that hee deſires a peace. It is indiſcretion to refuſe it when it is iuſt. If a Peace bee iuſt and honeſt, ſaith Polibius 4. it is in truth good and goodly: yet muſt they not doe any thing that is vniuſt and vnreaſonable, nor ſuffer any ſhamefull thing to bee done to enioy it.

lor of England for *Edward*. The Ouerture of the aſſembly was by a demand of the Realme of France, which the Engliſh ſaid did belong vnto them, grounding their pretenſions vppon thoſe of *Edward* the third [k] who as ſonne to *Elizabeth* daughter to *Phillip* the faire, had firſt diſputed the Regency, and then the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, againſt *Philip* of Valois, thinking to ouerthrow the ancient order of the Salike Law. [l] The Engliſh from a Generall demand come vnto a particular, and reſtraine it to the Dutchies of Normandy and Guienne. It was anſwered that as *Edward* had no intereſt to the whole, ſo his felony had depriued him of the parts. [m]

As the King was reſolued not to giue them any land, ſo would he not refuſe whatſoeuer they reaſonably demanded in money, when there is no queſtion but of money, a Prince ſhould not bee ſparing nor difficult. The ſafety and felicity of an eſtate is not meaſured by a certaine price. [n] Hee winkt at all that, as well as at ſundry other formalities which the maieſty of the Crown of France would not haue ſuffered to paſſe in another ſeaſon, for in all this negotiation *Edward* gaue him noe other ſtile but his Couſin *Lewis* of France.

Articles of a peace betwixt Frãce and England.

Hee offers them threeſcore and fifteene thouſand Crownes for the charges of the Army, the Crowne being 33. ſolz a peece; the marriage of his Sonne the Dauphin with the Princeſſe of England, and a Penſion of fifty thouſand Crownes yearely vntill the marriage be conſummated. Theſe offers were accepted, a Truce was concluded for nine yeares, and Hoſtages giuen by the King of England for the retreat of his army. There was alſo a Compromiſe vppon a penalty of three millions of Crownes to determine and compound their Controuerſies within three yeares by the iudgement of foure Arbitrators. *Charles* the ſeauenth had expelled the Engliſh out of France by the ſword, and *Lewis* hath ſent them away with his penne. [o]

The Conſtable ſends vnto the King.

The Conſtable thought that theſe miſts, entertained by the vapors of his pollicies would haue laſted longer, and he was much greeued that the Sun-ſhine of peace had diſperſt them. Hee ſent *Lewis Creuille* a Gentleman of his traine, and *Iohn Richer* his Secretary vnto the King, to let him vnderſtand that he neuer had any deſigne but to ſerue him faithfully, that the proofe or his ſeruice was the refuſall he had made vnto his enemies of the entry into S[t]. Quentin, but he was of opinion that they ſhould find ſome meanes to ſend back this ſtorme beyond the Seas.

The King deſcouers the Conſtables double dealing to the duke of Bourgondy

The King who deſired to haue the deceiuer deceiued, [p] and that the Duke of Bourgondy ſhould vnderſtand how this man coſoned

[k] Edward *the third King of England ſonne to* Edward *the ſecond, and to* Marguerite *or* Elizabeth *of France, diſputed the Regency and Royalty in the yeare* 1328.

[l] *The Salike law excludes women from the ſucceſsion of the Crowne, it carries theſe wordes.* Nulla portio hereditatis mulieri veniat, ſed ad virilem ſexum tota terræ hereditas perueniat. *Let noe portion of the inheritance come vnto the woman, but let all the inheritance of the land deſcend vnto the Male.*

[m] Edward *the third did homage to* Philip *of Valois for the Dutchies of Guienne and Normandy calling him his deere Lord and Couſin, in the Cathedrall Church of Amiens the 6. of June* 1333.

[n] *A Prince ſhould not reſpect money to ſend away an enemy; and rather then to giue him any part of his eſtate with the which hee may liue in feare to looſe all he ſhould hazard any thing.*

[o] *Wee come to one end by contrary meanes.* Charles *the ſeuenth expelled the Engliſh by force, and* Lewis *with ſtore of crownes.* Hannibal *by crueltie ruled Italy, and* Scipio *by mildnes Spaine.*

[p] *Deceiuers are alwaies deceiued. They whom they deceiue watch to requite it, and their owne deceit ruines them.* Hannibal *after the death of* Marcellus *wrote to the* Salapiens *vnder* Macellus *name (whoſe ſeale he had gotten) that he would come vnto their Towne. The next night* Criſpin *Lieutenant to* Marcellus, *who knew the deceits of* Hannibal, *gaue notice of his death.* Hannibal *came to the gates of Salapia, the firſt ranks who could ſpeake the Roman tongue, demand entrance. The gard being aduertiſed and making a good ſhew, ſuffered ſix hundred to enter, then letting downe the Port-cullis, they cut them in peeces.* Plut.

him with his double dealing, he cauſed the Siegneur of Contay to be ſet behind a portall, he was an affectionate ſeruant to the Duke, and then the Kings priſoner. And with him ſtood *Phillip de Commines* to heare *Creuilles* charge which was nothing elſe but to yeeld him an accompt of the voyage which he had made vnto the Duke to withdraw him from the amity of the Engliſh, and that he had ſo diſpoſed him therevnto as hee was in a manner ready to charge them.

The King diſcouers the Conſtables double dealing to the Duke of Bourgondy

Creuille ſuppoſing by the Kiugs countenance and attention that he tooke delight in this diſcourſe, counterfeited the ſpeech and geſture and reported the Dukes oath, he ſtampt with his foot againſt the ground and ſware by St. *George*, calling *Edward* one-eyed whiteliuer, and the Sonne of an Archer, who cairied that name. If *Contay* had not ſeene and heard *Creuille*, he would not haue beleeued, that a man of any ſence would haue ſpoke ſo vnworthily of his maiſter & the King faining to be thick of hearing, took delight in the repetition of the cheeſe wordes of this tale, and his heart ſeeming full of ioy, gaue courage to *Creuille* to amplifie this diſcourſe, to the end that *Contay* might vnderſtand it better, and know that the Conſtable mockt his maiſter. ¶ To conclude the Conſtable as *Creuille* ſaid, thought it fit they ſhould purchaſe a truce of the Engliſh and that they ſhould giue them ſome towne, as Eu and St. Valery.

Conſtables opinion to buy a truce.

The King being content with that which hee had heard, tould *Creuille* that the Conſtable ſhould heare from him. He ſet *Contay* at liberty to go and report vnto the Duke of Bourgondy what hee had heard behind the Portall of the Conſtables diſſimulations, who ſent his Confeſſor vnto the King of England to aduiſe him not to truſt vnto the Kings words, nor to attend vntil he did willingly giue him Eu and St. Valery, but to ſeaze thereon by force, to winter his troopes, in hope to lodge them better and more at large, and hee offered fifty thouſand Crownes to aid him to make warre. *Tell your Maiſter*, anſwered the King of England, *that he is a deceiuer, that I repent me not of a peace, ſeeing he hath repented him of that which he had promiſed me.* The King notwithſtanding to let the Conſtable vnderſtand that he did eſteeme his Councells [r] gaue Eu and Saint Valery to the King of England onely to lodge in during the treaty, of Peace. But hee had giuen ſuch order as the Engliſh in theſe townes were rather in priſon then in Garriſon.

The Conſtable perſwades K. *Edward* not to truſt K. Lewis.

The Conſtable by *Edwards* anſwer ſaw himſelfe almoſt in diſpair with more ſubiect to be amazed how hee liued then to reioyce that he was liuing, apprehending on the one ſide ſeruitude, and on the other puniſhment, and ſeeing no other port in this torment of mind but death.

The Dukes of Bourgundy and Brittanie were comprehended in this truce if they would. The Duke of Bourgundy being aduertiſed of this Treatie, came from Luxembourg with ſixteene horſe to finde King *Edward*, who diſcouered in his Couſins face the ſpleene he carried in his heart, and ſeeming amazed at this ſodaine arriuall he

¶ *Florence hath ſeene the like pollicy.* Peeter de Medicis *to make it knowne that* Lewis Sforza *Duke of Milan in counſelling* King Charles *to paſſe the Alpes did not wiſh him any good ſucceſſe. He cauſed the Ambaſſador of France to ſtand behind a hanging, and faigning himſelf ill be ſent for the Ambaſſador of Milan, who entring into diſcourſe of the deſignes of* Lewis Sforza *his Maiſter he told all he could to make it knowne that the intentions of the French did not concurre with his maiſters.* Guicciardin

[r] *There are ſome things wherein it is better to bee deceiued then to diſtruſt. The King was well informed of the Conſtables infidelities, & yet to entertaine him in good humor, and not to giue him occaſion to doe worſe hee commends his Councells.*

[s] *It is an extreame miſery to ſtand betwixt 2. great powers & haue no meanes to maintaine himſelfe. A little nag betwixt 2. great horſes, is alwaies ſubiect to ſome ſtripe.*

he demanded of him what brought him. *I came*, ſaid the Duke, *to ſpeake with you: will you*, ſaid *Edward*, *that it be in priuate or publike*, wherevpon the Duke, who could not containe his choller, and who came to ſpeake what he would, not conſidering that he might heare what he would not, [t] demanded of the King of England if hee had made a Peace. *No* ſaid *Edward*, *but a Truce for nine yeares, in the which you are comprehended with the Duke of Brittanie, I pray you accommodate your ſelfe vnto it.* The Duke replyed in Engliſh, which hee vnderſtood and ſpake. That his Armie ſhould not haue paſt the ſea for that this Treatie ruined the reputation of the Kings of England, and that he had need of that Lyons heart interred at Rouen. [u] Then he addes, *I had procured you a good occaſion to doe your buſines, which you ſhall neuer recouer, to get that which belongs vnto you. It was not for mine owne intereſt, for I could well paſſe without it, and to let you know how little I regard your Truce*: *By* S[t] George *I will not treat with the* King *before that you are returned into England and haue ſtayed there three monethes.* *Edward* taking no delight in theſe words, full of choller left him there: He went to horſeback, and ſo returned as he came being well content to haue ſaid that which hee would ſay to him, who had not done that which he would doe, and carrying in his heart a wonderfull diſcontent that this Treatie tooke from him the meanes to purchaſe glorie [x] at the Kings charge, and once againe to giue him a Battell.

Words betwixt the K. of England and the Duke of Bourgondy

[u] Richard *the firſt King of* England *was called* Cœur de Lion *he dyed at Oſney, and his heart was interred at Rouen, a reaſonable good Poet for thoſe times made him this Epitaph.* *

* *Viſcera Carceolum, corpus fons ſeruat* Ebrardi,
Et cor Rhotomagum magne Richarde *tuum.*
In tria diuiditur vnus qui plus fuit vno,
Nec ſupereſt vna gloria tanta viro.

And this other:

Hic Richarde *Iaces ſed mors ſi cederet Armis,*
Victa timore tui cederet ipſa tuis.

[x] *To looſe the occaſion of any great matter by the meane of Armes is a very ſenſible griefe to a great courage.* Epaminondas *did ſhew it in cauſing his ſonnes head to be cut off who had won a Battell, cõplaining that he had depriued him of part of his glory.*

The King fearing that the Duke of Bourgundies choller and the Conſtables practiſes would cauſe *Edward* repent, or make him diſtruſt the expectation of that which had been promiſed, would make his proceedings free from all ſuſpition. Confidence is the true cyment of friendſhip. The Engliſh entred continually in what troupes they would into Amiens. There were long Tables at the gates furniſhed with good meate and delicate wines, and good companions attended to entertaine all that came. All the Tauerns and Innes were full. The Marſhall of Gié hauing charge to obſerue how the Engliſh liued, came one morning into a Tauerne where they told him they had alreadie made a hundred and eleuen reckonings, and it was not yet nine of the clock. Among other commodities the ſouldiour found it ſweet to dine well and not to pay any thing. It was in the Kings power to cut the throats of nine or ten thouſand, who could neither goe on their legges, nor finde the gates to returne vnto their quarters, they were ſo full. They

Goodcheer made to the Engliſh at Amiens.

Gran favor es comer y no eſcotar.

were content to ſee them drunke with wine, who would haue been drunke with bloud. But when they came and told him that it was dangerous to ſuffer ſo many men to enter, he left his howers which he was ſaying, and the ceremony of Innocents. [y] All daies are good and fit to care for defence and ſafety.

[y] *The Romans did obſerue good daies to aſſaile but all were good to defend.* Macrob. l. Satur. cap. 16.

We muſt beleeue that which he ſaies that ſaw it and hath written it. The King being vp and ſaying his howers, one came and told him that there were at the leaſt nine thouſand Engliſh in the Towne. I reſolued to aduenture to tell him, and entring into his retiring place I ſaid vnto him. *Sir, although it be S. Innocents day yet is it neceſſarie that I tell you that which hath been deliuered vnto mee, and ſo acquainted him at large with the numbers that were entred, and ſtill came, all armed, and that no man durſt refuſe them the gates, leaſt they ſhould be diſcontented. The King was not obſtinate, but ſoone left his deuotion, and told me that they muſt not keep the ceremonie of Innocents:* [z] whereby wee may gather that the day whereon the Feaſt of Innocents fell was for all the reſt of the yeare following ſuperſtitiouſly ceremonious to this Prince, on which hee would not haue them ſpeake vnto him of any affaires, *Phil. de Commines* hauing been in danger of a diſgrace vpon that occaſion.

[z] *Chriſtian religion holdes the obſeruation of daies ſuperſtitious.* Eas culpat, *ſaith S*t Aug. qui dicunt non proficiſcar hodie quia præpoſterus dies eſt. *It blames them that ſay I will not goe forth this day becauſe it is ominious.*

Yet he receiued this aduice in ſuch an humor as he beleeued that he might referre his deuotion to another time and diſpence with it, to the end that he might prouide that this troupe ſhould retire quietly. He cauſed his dinner to bee carried to the Porters houſe, not to ſhew his diſtruſt, but to make much of the Engliſh which came in and out. He ſtayed ſome to eate at his table, and made others drinke, and withall prouided for the ſafety of the Towne, hauing cauſed three hundred men to be armed in their Captaines houſes, and appointed ſome vpon the Portall to obſerue the entrie of the ſouldiers. The King of England being aduertiſed of this diſorder ſent to intreat the King not to ſuffer them to enter. *That ſhall not be,* anſwered the King, *but if it pleaſe him to ſend ſome Archers of his gard to the Port, they ſhall let in whom they will.* This was done, the King hauing by his diſſembling obtained that which ſome greater brute had made difficult.

The King dines at the gate of Amiens.

[a] *Although they ſay that a Prince ſhould haue no other treaſure then in ſubiects purſes, yet there may fall out ſuch vrgent occaſions as if he haue it not in his owne Coffers he is in dangerous eſtate.*

But *Lewis* had no money in his Coffers to pay the ſummes that were agreed vpon. He found how difficult it is to draw money from a multitude in an vrgent neceſſitie. [a] His Treaſurers refuſed him, Paris furniſht this ſumme vpon aſſurance to bee repayed within three monethes. There remained nothing but to chooſe a place for the enteruiew of the two Kings. This was at Piquigny a towne which the Sibilles of England had long before noted for ſo great and happie an action. They made a barre vppon the bridge of the riuer of Somme, in ſuch ſort as they might paſſe their Armes freely, yet without any wicket for their bodies, the King remembring that he had heard ſay, [b] that the doore which was left at the Barre at Montereau Faut-Yonne did ſerue to aduance the execution which cauſed ſo many calamities in France. For Duke *Iohn* being inuited

Piquigny noted by the Predictions of England.

[b] *That which is paſt teacheth the preſent. In the like occaſion Duke* Iohn *was ſlaine at Montereauſaut Yonne, whether he was come vnto the Dauphin, who ſince was* Charles *the ſeuenth, to treat an accord.*

inuited to paſſe with three more not two paces off receiued the mortall blow from *Taneguy* of Chaſtell.

Enteruiew of the two Kings at Piquigny.

The 29. of Auguſt 1478. the King came firſt vnto the Barre, for that he was in his owne houſe, and receiued a ſtrange Prince. [c] He was accompanied by the Duke of Bourbon, and the Cardinall of Bourbon his Brother. In theſe actions of ſhew hee tooke delight to haue ſome one attired like himſelfe. *Phil. de Commines* was ſo that day. He had eight hundred men. *Edward* came thither after, being aduertiſed by a Gentleman of the Kings arriuall.

The Duke of Clarence his Brother did accompanie him thither. The Duke of Gloceſter would not bee there, for this Truce diſcontented him, he had behinde him all his Armie in Battell, either of them had twelue Noblemen [d] to accompanie him. There were foure Engliſh Lords on *Lewis* ſide, and as many French of *Edwards*, to ſee if there were any practiſe to the preiudice of their maſter.

Edward a goodly Prince.

Edward ware a Cap of blacke Veluet, with a great Iewell of ſtones made like a Flower-de-Luce, a goodly Prince and of a gallant ſtature, but began to grow groſſe. [e] Comming within two or three paces of the Barre, he put off his Cap and made two or three low reuerences before hee came vnto the King who attended him leaning vpon the barre, after very kinde imbracings, to make the heart ſpeake by theſe demonſtrations of loue and affection, the Peace was ſworne vpon the Maſſe-booke and the Croſſe.

The King, who knew *Edwards* humor, fitted his Diſcourſe to entertaine him with a content which coſt him nothing, entermixing ſtill ſome merry ſpeech among their moſt ſerious affaires. And for that *Edward* had youth, beauty and loue in him, hee intreated him not to returne into England before he had ſeene the Ladies of Paris, and that the Cardinall of Bourbon who was their preſent ſhould giue him abſolution. *Edward* ſhewed by his eyes and his ſilence that this Sumons was pleaſing vnto him. The King preſt him no farther, remembring that his Predeceſſors had beene too familiar there. Theſe two Princes were ſo cunning as it was hard for the one to haue any aduantage of the other: the policy of the one appeared outward and the other kept his cloſe within. [f]

The King offers that which hee would not haue accepted.

They conferred long together to open their hearts one vnto an other, or rather for *Lewis* to diſcouer *Edwards* thoughts, who for that he was not like vnto him in iudgement and experience, was not ſo warie. The King found that hee had an extreme deſire to aſſiſt and defend the Duke of Brittany, and that hee held himſelfe bound vnto it, ſaying that hee had neuer found a better friend at need. As for the Duke of Bourgundy hee did not ſeeme to bee ſo carefull of his fortune, for when as the King ſaid vnto him, *What ſhall wee doe if my Brother of Bourgundy will not enter into the Truce.*

[c] *Many take this ceremonie otherwiſe, and that it is for the greater Prince not to come firſt vnto the place, but to be ſtayed for.*

[d] *Princes ſhold neuer meet at a Parle but with equall aſſurances of either ſide.* Philip K. *of Macedon would not goe to land, but did parle from the prow of his galley with* I. F. *who was vpon the ſhore, and becing demanded by him of whom he ſtood in feare, I feare not any man anſwered* Philip, *but the immortall Gods, but I truſt not them I ſee with you.* Tit. Liu. lib. 32.

[e] Phil. de Cō. *ſaith, that* Edward *was one of the goodlieſt Princes of that age, but at this enteruiew hee began to grow groſſe. Beauty is a qualitie which doth adorne the reſt which are neceſſarie in a Prince. But this is vaine without the reſt, it is more fitting for a woman, and ſerues but to pleaſe.* Maximin *ſon to the Emperor* Maximin *was ſo fair as the women deſired to be beloued of him and that hee would make them mothers.* Iul. Cap.

[f] *Some ſhew their Art at the firſt incounter, others hold it ſecret and there the deceit is not diſcouered, before one is deceiued. Heerevnto is applyed the controuerſie which was betwixt the Foxe and the Leopard for the variety of their ſkinnes. The Leopard bragd that his was faireſt without, being marked with diuers ſpots,* that is nothing (*ſaid the Foxe*) my variety is within.]

The King of England anſwered. *I will ſummon him againe, and if he will not hearken to it, I referre my ſelfe to you two.* *Lewis* ſoūds K. *Edwards* thoughts.

The Conſtables fortune remained. In the firſt conference of the Treatie, the King of England being highly offended that hee had fayled of his word, had ſaid that hee could let the King know his bad ſeruants, and how to conuict them of treaſon towards his Maieſtie. The Deputies had not much regarded it, holding it to be a pollicie to terrifie the King with ſuch practiſes and Intelligences, and although there had been ſome thing, yet the eſtate of the Kings affaires did not allow of too curious a ſearch of the fidelity of his ſubiects, g but the King, who contemned not any thing, thought that it was an Arrow ſhot againſt the Conſtable, & therefore he deſired to be ſatisfied from *Edward*, who diſſembling not his great diſcontentment againſt the Conſtable, related vnto him the whole Hiſtory of his preuarications, and for proofe thereof deliuered two Letters into his hands.

g *There are ſeaſons when as it is not good to diſcouer all diſeaſes to moue humours not to purge the bodie. It was told* Pompey *that there were amōg* Stentorius *papers many Senators Letters, who exhorted him to come into Italy and to attempt againſt Rome, but* Pompey *did an Act not of a yong man, but of a graue & ſetled iudgement, cauſing all his Letters to be burnt, and not ſuffring one to be read.* Plut.

After a long diſcourſe, accompanied with infinite ſhews of loue, honor, and reſpect, the two Kings parted. *Edward* paſt by the Sea, leauing Hoſtages in the delights and feaſts of Paris, and the chiefe Noble men of his Court talked of nothing but the Kings bountie. The Heralds and trumpets of England at their parting cryed out. *A largeſſe a largeſſe* h *for the moſt noble and mightie King of France. A largeſſe a largeſſe.*

h *Liberalitie is like the Sunne amōg the other lights of a royaltie. It is the myrrhe which preſerues the reputation of Kings incorruptible.*

The King went to lie at Amiens, by the way he entertained himſelfe with that which he had obſerued in this Action, ſpeaking theſe words to *Phil. de Commines* confidently. *I found the King of England ſo willing to come to Paris as it did not pleaſe me. Hee is a goodly King, and loues women much, hee might finde ſome Mignion at Paris, who would tell him ſo many goodly tales as he might haue a deſire to returne. His Predeceſſors haue beene too much in Paris and Normandie. His company auailes me nothing on this ſide the Sea, but on the other ſide he is my good brother and friend.* A wiſe obſeruation of the king.

Being come to Amiens, and ready to ſet downe to meate, *Haward*, one of the Hoſtages, thinking to doe him a great pleaſure, came and told him in his eare that if he pleaſed he would draw the King of England vno Amiens, and it might bee to Patis to make good cheere there with his Maieſtie. The King (who hauing ſaued the Capitoll i had no care but to make a large way for the Gaules to paſſe) receiued this ſpeech with a good countenance, although it did not pleaſe him; and as if he had thought of other matters, he began to waſh and to ſpeake of other things. *Haward* remembred him after ſupper, hauing not obſerued the Kings intention by the firſt euaſion. The King being preſt by his importunity, ſaid that he was then ready to goe to horſe, to ſee what the Duke of Bourgundy would doe, and to make him runne the hazard of Armes, ſeeing he had contemned the opportunitie of an accord.

i *It is good to ſee an enemies back. The Gauls demanded boats to paſſe the Riuer of* Tyber, *and the Senate commanded to giue them ſome, beeing put to rout they aſſured them the way to ſaue them.* Polienus Lib. 2.

They that paſt the Sea vnwillingly would haue beene glad to haue found ſome occaſion to haue ſtayed longer in France, they had

had ſome reaſon for the good of their eſtate, and that Paris might be to London, as Carthage had been to Rome. [k] They had ſuch hot ſpirits among them, as if they had not ſome imploiment without the Iland, they were capable to beginne the Earle of Warwicks game.

The King giues preſents to the Engliſh.

During the Kings abode at Amiens, he was viſited by the Engliſh, eſpecially by thoſe that would not returne without ſome preſent. The Duke of Gloceſter who ſeemed much diſcontented with this Truce, found it good after that the King had giuen him plate and horſes. This Prince did ſow euen in barren groundes, the feare of ingratitude did not ſtay his handes from giuing vnto them who being gone neuer gaue him thankes. [l] He was very well pleaſed with that day, but he was greeued that the King of England had ſhewed ſo much paſsion for the Duke of Brittaine, for his deſire was not to ſuffer him in peace. Hee cauſed him to bee ſounded againe by the Lords of Bouchage and St. Pierre, but they brought nothing back but rough wordes, ſwearing that he would repaſſe the ſea againe, if they quarreled with the Britton. [m]

Edward declares the Duke of Brittany to be his friend.

Peace betwixt the King and the Duke of Brittany.

The King ſeeing that he could not diuide them, thought to make him a good friend whom he could not declare a iuſt enemy, ſeing that he was comprehended in the Truce. Wherefore there was a Treaty of peace betwixt them, ſigned and concluded in the Abbey of Senlis the 16. of October, 1475. publiſhed in the Parliament of Paris, and at the eſtates of Brittaine.

The King of England was not more content to ſee his realme againe, then the King ſeemed ioyfull to haue ſent him out of his. Princes ſomtimes let ſlip free ſpeeches in their Cabinets, which are obſerued and reported againe. The King being ſome dayes after King *Edwards* departure with his ſeruants, reioyced at the happy ſucceſſe of his affaires, ſaying that there was nothing to be compared to vanquiſh without fighting [n] and that they which returned from the place whether they came to make warre without doing any thing were vanquiſhed. He ieſted that with wine and money he had ſent away the Engliſh. This flowing of words with more truth then wiſedome, came to the hearing of a Gaſcon Marchant remaining in England, who was come into the Cabinet to craue leaue to tranſport a certaine number of pipes of wine Impoſt free. The King would haue been glad that this man hauing ſeene the Palace of his Councels bare and vncouered, had been blind & deafe, but he made no ſhew of it acknowledging notwithſtanding that diſcretion had not beene arbitrator betwixt his tongue and heart, that the Marchant had ſeene and heard too much, [o] and that *Edward* might cauſe this firſt flower of Peace, (which was but in the bud) to wither, if theſe words were reported vnto him. He therefore reſolued to buy this Marchant vpon ſome

Words eſcaped the K. vpon the Treatie of Peace.

Heard by a Gaſcon Marchant.

Cauſe not foreſeene of a good fortune.

[k] *Eſtates maintaine themſelues by the common feares and iealouſies they haue one of an other. And therfore* Scipio Naſica *did aduiſe the to preſerue Carthage, notwithſtanding that ſhe had put the liberty of Rome to compriſe.* Ne metu ablato æmula vrbis, luxuriari felicitas vrbis inciperet. *Leaſt being freed frõ the feare of a Citie that was enemy, the Citie in her proſperitie ſhould fall to ryot.* Flor. Lib 2. de Bello Punico.

[l] *They doe not forbeare to ſow after an enfortill harneſt, hee muſt not leaue to binde one after ingratitude, although the benfit periſh with the other, he muſt not ſuffer it to periſh with himſelfe.*

[m] *Beſides the bond which K.* Edward *had to the D. of Brittany, for that hee had aſſiſted him in his greateſt neceſſity, he feared to diſcõtent him leaſt he ſhould ſet* Henry *whom he held priſoner at libertie.*

[n] *The victorie which coſts leaſt blood is moſt glorious ſaid* Alphonſo *K. of Arragon.* Panorm. *in his life.*

[o] *There haue beene Princes which haue put their ſeruants to death hauing heard wordes the report whereof was dangerous.* Alexander *dealt therein more diſcreetly, for finding that* Epheſtion *had ſeen in his letter an aduice of importance, he only touchd his lippes with his ſeale without any word ſpeaking, and* Lewis *dealt more royally, who bought them at a deer rate which might haue carried words that had eſcaped him inconſiderately.*

pretext

pretext of ſeruice. He imployed *Philip de Commines* who wonne him, offering him an office in the towne where hee was borne, the tranſport of the wines which he demanded, and a hundred pounds ſtarling to ſend for his family, but vpon condition that he ſhould not goe into England, the King condemning himſelfe willingly in the penaltie, for that he had ſpoken too freely.

p *Men draw great Predictions from ſmall matters. In the Conclaue held for the election of a Pope, after the death of* Paul *the fourth a Doue flying reſted vpon the Cell of Cardinal* Iohn Ange Mediguin *who was named* Pius *the fourth, and it was taken for an aſſurance of his election.*

The moſt couragious, but eſpecially the French which were retired into England blamed this peace. Many held it for a worke of heauen, ſaying that it had accompliſhed the Propheſies which the holy Ghoſt had made, p that a white Doue the day of the enteruiew of the two Kings had ſat vpon King *Edwards* tent, and that all the noiſe of the Armie could not driue her away.

A Gentleman Gaſcon called *Bretailles*, who ſerued the King of England, was diſcontented at the Peace, and mockt at this ieſt. He ſaid that this Doue being beaten with the raine had fallen vpon this tent as the higheſt to dry her ſelfe in the Sunne. He talked with *Phillip de Commines*, who knew him and ſaid, *You had reaſon to laugh at vs.* To whom *Commines* (but not touching that) ſaid. *How many Battels hath your King woon?* *Nine anſwered* Bretailles, q *And how many hath he loſt? one onely, which is that vvhich hee might haue woon in France, ſo great a loſſe as it hath blemiſhed the honour of nine which hee hath wonne, for this tenth vvas the crowning of all the reſt.*

Wiſedome of *Phil. de Com.* to auoid a needleſſe diſcourſe.

q K. Edward *the fourth was in nine Battels fighting on foot to aſſure the Crown of Engtãd on his head and to ruine the houſe of Lancaſter.*

They came and told the King that this *Gaſcon* was a free ſpoken man, and that in the libertie of his ſpeech he might make his maſters thoughts knowne, and alter the mindes of many. The King ſent for him, cauſed him to dine at his table, and by his purſe ſtopt his mouth and made him ſay as the reſt, that the holy Ghoſt had made the Peace. In one houre *Bretailles* ſetled an aſſured reuenue for euer vpon the timiditie of this Prince. r

r *We may ſay of* King Lewis *as* Plutark *did of* Nicias, *he gaue not leſſe to thẽ that might doe ill, then to thoſe that deſerued well, & who were worthy to taſte of his bounty, ſo as his feare was a reuenue & rent vnto the wicked, as well as his bounty was vnto good men.*

The Duke of Bourgundy ſeeing that the King of England was farre off, began to bethinke himſelfe. He had ſeene the inconſtancie of the Engliſh. *Contay* had repreſented vnto him that of the Conſtable, and the diſcourſe which hee had heard behind the Portall. All this would not ſuffer him to grow obſtinate againſt reaſon, and moreouer the King is armed againſt the frontier of Hainault, who demands it, and offers to doe it, and he hath a liuely impreſſion of the great perplexitie which an irreſolute ſoule doth ſuffer that liues in ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare. s

s *Whilſt our ſoules are in ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare, wee doe not enioy the preſent, and the future torments vs.*

Hugonet the Dukes Chancellor ſent the King word that if it pleaſed him to ſend his Deputies vnto the bridge, mid-way betwixt Auennes and Veruins, the Dukes ſhould be there to reſolue vpon that which was preſented. The King would be preſent notwithſtanding that his Councell diſſwaded him, and hee led with him *Haward* and *Cheney*, Hoſtages which the King of England had left. One of them being ſorrie for the Peace, ſeeing the Deputies for the Duke of Bourgundy accompanied with a great number of ſoldiers well mounted and armed, ſaid, that if the Duke of Bourgundy

Treatie of Peace betwixt the King & the D. of Bourgundie.

gundy had ſhewed many ſuch to the King of England, hee had not ſo ſuddenly repaſt the Sea. *Philip de Commines*, to whom theſe words were ſpoken, anſwered not any thing, he had ſo great patience in hearing, and ſuch ſtay in his ſpeech, as it was no paine for him to hold his peace in occaſions where the tongue ſometimes eſcapes: [t]

The Vicont of Narbonne who had heard them, ſaid, that without doubt the Duke of Bonrgundy had a good number, but the Engliſh had ſo great a deſire to returne into England, as they were contented with ſix hundred pipes of wine, and a penſion which the King gaue them. This Engliſh man who was much altered with this Peace, found his griefe doubled with this flout, and all fuming with choller, hee ſaid, *It is true that was told vs, that you would ieſt at vs, call you the money which the King giues vs a Penſion?*, [u] *It is a Tribute, and by* St George *you may ſpeake ſo much as we ſhall returne.* *Philip de Commines* (O the wiſe man) brake off this Diſcourſe, and from ſerious and biting as it was, and might haue been worſe (for the French would neuer haue endured that they ſhould haue termed France tributarie to England) turned it to a Ieſt. But the Engliſhman was diſcontented, and complained to the King, who was much offended with the Vicont of Narbonne, who had not conſidered that to bad demands good anſweres coſt little and profit much, and that a ſmall matter cals back an enemie who departs diſcontented. [x]

The Deputies of either ſide met, but could not agree, euerie one ſeeking to maintaine his owne. The King told his that he would not haue ſo many words, and cauſing the Dukes deputies to come, he ſhut himſelfe in with them, and before they parted concluded a Truce for nine yeares, beginning the 13. of September, 1475. and ending the ſame day in the yeare 1484. The Duke would haue *Baldwin* Baſtard of Bourgundy, the Lord of Renty, *Iohn de Chata*, and *Philip de Commines* excluded and to looſe the benefit of this Truce, the which notwithſtanding was not ſo ſoone publiſhed to ſaue the Dukes oth, who had ſworne not to hearken vnto it ſo ſoone.

As they were vpon the Treatie the King of England, being diſcontented that the Duke of Bourgundy treated apart, ſent *Thomas* of Montgomerie vnto the King, to aſſure him that be would return in the Spring with a mighty Armie, to finiſh the Duke of Bourgundies ruine, but the King, who loued him well where he was, anſwered, that the Truce which was then in queſtion, was no other then what had been made with him without any alteration, but that the Duke deſired to haue his Letters Patents apart.

Thus a peace was made both with the Engliſh and Bourgundians. Theſe miſts which were ſo thick as there was no hope to ſee the Sunne all the day, were diſperced in a moment, leauing France in the ſame cleerenes that it was before.

The wiſemen of thoſe times ſaw and did acknowledge the parti-

[t] *He that is not patient to hold his peace, can not be diſcreet in ſpeaking.*

[u] *Euery man gives what names hee pleaſeth to things. That which in effect was a penſion, the Engliſh call tribute. An inſupportable word to a free Nation.* Saluian *lamēting the condition of the Empire of Rome which payed Tribute vnto the Frēch, who had newly ſeazed vpon* Gaul, *ſaith*, Aurum quod pēdimus munera vocamus, dicimus donum eſſe quod pretium, et quidam cōditionis miſerimæ. *The gold we beſtow we call reward, we terme that a gift which is a price, and of a moſt wretched condition.*

[x] *Words of contempt or mockery inflame mens hearts to other reſolutions thē are expected.* Cabades *a Captaine of Perſia beſieging* Amida, *and finding that the ſiege would be long & difficult, reſolued to leaue it. The inhabitāts grown proud thereat, came running to the wals, calling him coward, and mocking at his retreat. Wherewith* Cabades *was ſo incenſed as he returned,*

cular care of Gods prouidence ouer this Monarchy hauing by his ſingular grace eſcaped ſo terrible a ſtorme. It was not the firſt brunt, nor the greateſt fit which tryed the firmenes of her forces. The foundations of this Eſtate are ſo well layed, [y] her lawes haue ſo wiſely preuented all kindes of accidents, that although there bee nothing conſtant in the world, and that nature turnes euery thing ſometimes aboue, ſometimes beneath, yet it ſtands amidſt the greateſt ſhakings, and ſupports it ſelfe like a Coloſſe with his owne waight. The compoſition of this body is ſo ſtrong and vigorous, as it entertaines it ſelfe euen with his exceſſe and diſorders: other Eſtates with all their good order are not in better caſe, and the leaſt diſorder they commit brings their life in danger. [z]

The Kings wiſedome was the Inſtrument of Gods prouidence to free this Realme from the danger which did threaten it. It is true that if neceſſitie, which hath no law, did not excuſe the proceedings of this Prince, and if the honour of the action did not remaine to him that hath the profit, there might be exceptions taken to that which the King did to haue this Peace. A wiſe Prince and leſſe fearefull would haue aduentured a Battell, rather then be ſubiect to his enemies pride, but theſe high and generous formes of treating are buried in the ruines of proud and triumphant Rome, and there is nothing remaining but admiration which the Hiſtory repreſents. The Romans neuer receiued condition nor capitulation [a] from an armed enemie they neuer made retreat in diſorder. Neuer did Generall of a Roman Armie giue place to any one, were he a King: Neuer did they in ſtrange Prouinces quit the markes of their authoritie. Neuer did they allow a ſtranger, how great ſo euer, to enter into their lodging on horſeback. [b] And in a word, neuer had Prince his minde and reſolutions raiſed to more generoſitie.

preſt, forced, and ſpoiled the Towne.

[y] *All the eſtates in the world haue tried her Inconſtancie, what are become of the Empires of Aſſiria, of Perſia, of Media, of Egypt, of Iudea, & of Macedon.* Quicquid in altum fortuna tulit ruitura leuat. *Whatſoeuer fortune hath raiſed on high, is to fall againe. And* Plato *ſaies that euery thing is in this world as vpon* Euripus, *ſometimes aboue, ſometimes beneath.* ἄνω κὰτω.

[z] Plutark *ſaid, that the reputation of* Sparta *was like vnto a body which alwaies tooke a dyet, & which was diſtempered with the leaſt diſorder.*

[a] *As the Romans did neuer receiue offers nor conditions from an enemy, ſo long as he was armed, ſo did they neuer goe whether they called them. If thou beeſt mighty, thou maiſt force me, if thou canſt not, I muſt goe whether my commoditie leades me.* [b] *When as* Tigranes *came to* Pompey, *to yeeld himſelfe into his hands, the Sargeants told him that he muſt light, for that no man was euer ſeene to enter on horſeback into the Romans lodgings.* Plut.

FINIS.

THE

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THE HISTORY
of LEVVIS *the XI.*
THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

AT the Treaty of Piquigny the Conſtable of Saint *Paul* reſembled a Tree beaten with three contrary winds, which notwithſtanding conſpyre all together to teare it vp by the roote. [a] Hee thought to make a perpetuall warre betwixt the King of France, the King of England, and the duke of Bourgundy, behold he is amazed to ſee them reconcyled and againſt him. He hath made him-ſelfe vnworthy of grace with the firſt, of ſuccors, and defence with the ſecond, and of all hope with the third, and in opinion with all three that hee would play the companion [b] with them, raiſe his reputation and merits vpon the ruine of their affaires, mingle his aſhes with thoſe of their Eſtates, and eternize his memory not in burning one Temple alone, but the Eſtates of them all three.

The Conſtable in ill terms with all men.

Ill with the King.

The King had done him good, not in reſpect of his perſon, but of the ſeruices which he might doe him, and when as he ſaw his affections altered, his will alſo grew could, making it knowne that great hatred proceeded from great friendſhip. [c] Hee could not forget the practiſes which hee had made to keepe France in trouble and combuſtion; nor the arrogant and inſolent ſhew of armes vpon the Cauſey of Compiegne[1], nor the letters written to the King, at the ſight whereof he ſware his great oath, which hee did neuer violate; that he ſhould die: Nor ſo many acts of a ſpirit which made it ſelfe miſerable for that he could not beare his felicity.

The Duke had neuer pardoned him the taking againe of Amiens and Abbeuille. The deſire of his reuenge was a riuer [d] which had his courſe through the rockes of the difficulties of his affaires.

Ill with the Duke.

[a] *Great wits doe often-times commit great errors, and you ſhall ſeldome ſee a great ſpirit without ſome medley of folly whereof the pureſt comes frō the fineſt wiſdom; and therefore* Thucidides *will not haue the chooſe high aſpiring ſpirits into the Councelles of Princes nor to the managing of affaires, but thoſe that are meane who are leſſe obſtinate.*

[b] *As it is dangerous to contend with ones equall, ſo is it madnes to quarrell with his ſuperior, and to ſeeke to go hand in hand with him.*

[c] *The fauors & benefits of Princes are not for the reſpect of the perſons, but in conſideration of ſeruices and merits which they find in their ſeruants: when theſe qualities change, it is not ſtrange if in like manner their fauors and affections alter.*

[d] *Reuenge runnes on ſtill although it appeares not,* Plutarque *compares it to riuers which runne vnder the earth, and afterwards burſt forth with more violence.*

He

He could not forget his cunning practiſe, to marry his daughter to the Duke of Guienne, nor his refuſall to receiue his men into Saint *Quentin* after that he had cauſed them to come. Moreouer he was incenſed, [c] for that he had firſt made warre in his country by fire the reſt being contented to vſe the ſword, for whileſt he lay incamped before Amiens, the Conſtable had made a roade into the country of Haynault, and burnt the Caſtell of Seurre, belonging vnto *Baldwin of Lannoy* whome the Duke loued. The King of Englād was offended with him, for that hauing councelled and perſwaded him to come into France to tryumph there, hee had returned without tryumph. All three would rather haue made an other hell then haue ſuffered ſuch trecheries vnpuniſhed.

Ill with the King of England.

All things ſeemed to bandie and conſpire his ruine, hee could not keepe himſelſe vp firme ſeeing ſo many perſons about him ouerthrowne. [f] The diſgraces which fortune hath done him in the publike ruines are augmented by many other priuate croſſes: His wife, the only ſupport of his greatnes, is dead, *Iames* of *S. Paul* his brother priſoner, *la Scala* his nephewe returning out of England was taken by the Kings men and found ſeazed of daungerous Inſtructions; the *Earle* of *Roucey* his *Sonne* in the duke of *Burbons* hands. The *Earle* of *Dammartin* his enemy with the Kings forces neere vnto *S. Quentin*: And the Prince of *Orange* at liberty, carrying the title of *Prince by the grace of God.* [g] All theſe things were ſo many thornes in his bed to keepe him from ſleepe, he doth not dreame, wake nor thinke but how to ſtand firme againſt all theſe violent ſtormes of fortunes, but he ſeekes to cure his harmes [h] by other miſcheſes. He is like vnto an earthen veſſell which muſt needes breake if it fall vppon a ſtone or a ſtone fall vppon it.

The Conſtables perplexity after the peace.

The nedle of his Compas turnes toward the Kings Clemencie as to his north. He ſends *Rapin*, his ſecretary, vnto him with ſilken words humble and milde, beſeeching him to beleeue that the King of England and the Duke of Bourgundy deſired nothing more then to draw him to the extremitie of diſpayre, and to ſeeke his ſafty of them beeing that he could not finde it with the King. That a deſire to bee reuenged of him who had not offended thē, but in that he had not offended his maieſtie, had giuen way vnto the ſlanders which had bin publiſhed againſt him, and fauoured by the il will of his enemies which were about his maieſtie, namely by the Lord of Dammartin and Lude who did not loue him, and that his heart could not bend vnto that diuine rule to loue his enemies. [i]

The Conſtable ſeeks the Kings fauor.

Good workemaſters know one anothers worke, one line makes them iudge by whome the picture was made. The King, his craftsmaſter in diſſembling, did iudg that whatſoeuer the Conſtable pretended to doe was but coūterfeit, that an ambitious ſpirit diſſembles as he liſt, [k] that a wicked man is neuer worſe then when hee will counterfeit to

Ariſtotle ſpeakes of a rock which burnes hauing oyle caſt vppon it.

[c] *Offences often renewed end with immortall paynes.* [f] *It is no wonder not to be moued in trāquillity but we may be amazed to ſee a man riſe when as all others ſhrinke and to ſtand firme amongſt them that ſtūble* Sen. Epiſt. 73.

[g] *Ielouſie and enuy worke ſtrange diſtemperatures in their mindes which march hand in hand. The Conſtable of S^t. Paul. could not indure the proſperity of ſome greate men in court. He is grieued that the prince of Orange is ſet at liberty for thirty thouſand Crownes, and that the king hath ſuffered him to carry the title of* Prince by the grace of God *to coyne money and to pardon all offences except hereſie and treaſon.*

[h] *A pernitious remedy to cure one miſchiefe with another, and to think to be cured by diſorders which cauſed diſeaſes, the intemperanee of the Patien' cauſeth the cruelty of the Phiſition.*

[i] *To loue ones enemies is a diuine Action, to loue his friendes humane, but to hate his friendes is bruitiſh. But men are of that diſpoſition, eſpecially great men, they cannot indure the proſperity of their enemies.*

[k] *It is dangerous to giue credit to the wordes and actions of thoſe that haue any deſigne, for a deſire to attaine vnto it makes them to faigne any thing.*

be good, wherfore all the oyle of his goodly [1] words did but inflame the flint of his reuenge the more, and from the concurrence of these two contraries rose the last tempest which ruined the Constable. Yet he made shew to approue his Intentions, he said they were good, and called a secretary vnto him to write a letter, by the which he gaue him aduice of all that had past with the English, and that for the trouble of minde wherein he was to dispatch many great affayres he had greate neede of his head. If he had promised to saue him he would haue accepted the neck of his promises, he was so constrained to make an example of the trechery of a bad subiect. *Rapin* was not cunning enough to obserue twe things which past at this instant. the one was that the king turning to the Lord Haward, deputie for the King of England, and the Siegneour of Contay, expounding vnto them the counterfence of this letter saied, *I dee not meane that we should haue his body but his head only.* The other was that the Lord of Lude demanded of *Rapine* if he knew where his masters ready money was, a word which should haue condemned the mouth from whence it came to perpetuall silence [n] It was sooner deliuered then considered, there are witts which betraie wisdome and discretion, their suddainesse stayes vppon the first obiects, they are not allwayes ready. This speech should haue serued as a Trumpet to giue the Constable an Alarum, who vnderstanding what *Rapine* had done and heard, chose rather to commit his safty to a good place then to the Kings good words.

The King sends for the Constable.

He had caused the Castell of Han to be built, and within it a Tower six and thirtie foote thick, vppon the porte whereof there was seene a corde wouen with two tassells hanging on the one side and the other, and this motto of his humor. *Mon Mieux.* He assured himselfe to finde his best alwayes in that place in the worst estate of his fortune, and from thence hee should see, as from a safe shoare, the waues and winds play vppon France. But there is no rock nor Acrocorinthe that can hould at the presence of a Prince which meanes to punnish the infidelity of his subiect. Against a iust enemie they must make it knowne that a greate courage hath not lesse Clemencie beeing discouered, then valour in Armes? But against disloyalltie and ingratitude all pitty is crueltie. Hee had propounded to retire himselfe thether, but considering that hee should bee beseeged by the Kings forces and the Duke of Bourgundies, hee resolues to goe into Germany to imploy his mony in the pourchase of some place vppon the Rhine or else to passe into Spayne. There was not any Saint in paradice in whom hee durst trust. By Saint *Quentin* hee had alwaies shrowded himselfe from the thunderclaps of these two Princes. By Saint Quentin he did hope to passe without touch amidst so many arrowes that were shot at him. He would haue kept these Princes in feare & doubt, and they now driue him into an amazement Pand to

Castell of Han built by the Constable.

Perplexities of the Constable.

[1] *words dee not allwayes serue to open but to couer the intētions.* Archidamus *soone to* Agesilaus *said that sheepe know but one note but Kings had many to vse as they pleased.*

[m] Paul Erizze *gouernor of Negrepont hauing yeelded in the yeare* 1470. *vppon condition that they should saue his head,* Mahomet *caused him to be sawne in two and when he reproched him with the breach of his word, he said vnto him that the flanks were not comprehended in the promise to saue his hed:* Iustinian.

[n] *By the law of the Gymnosophists they that haue once accused the vse of the tongue are condemned to perpetuall silence.*

[o] Mithridatus *king of* Bosphorus *being defeated & vanquished, he intreated the Emperor to make him fire warre, his answere was short and generous.* That at Rome there was as much clemency against the vanquished as courage against an armed enemie.

[p] *A dangerous course to keepe his maister in feare and iealousie.* Although that euery man (*saith Phil. de Com*) seekes to free himselfe from suspition and feare, and that euery man hates him that keepes him in it, yet there is not any one that in this point comes neere to Princes, for I neuer knew any but did mortally hate them that would keepe them in feare.

the

the sad thoughtes of his ruine. This Castle of Saint-Quentin was but a prison vnto him, hee neuer heares it named but his soule is tormented.

Hee added to these meditations publike hatred, raysed against him by the Insolency of his carriage, hauing vsed his great offices to purchase enuy of the great, and to oppresse the meaner sort, besides the libells & scandalous songs which had been heard publickly throughout Paris, the which had had more credit and course beeing prohibited, then if the reading had beene allowed, for such drogues do presently loose their sent when they are vented, the trouble to recouer them augments the curiosity. Beeing prest and oppest with these difficulties, all resolution abandons him, as he had abandoned himselfe. There was danger in going forth, and danger in staying. France threatned him with death, England with captiuity, and Flanders with scorne.

In these trances and amazements which are not so great without as those which his Conscience giues him inwardly, to see that he is held of all men as [r] borne to the ruine of the Common-weale; he cast his eyes to that part whereas nature had first opened them, & desiring rather to giue himselfe vnto the Duke then to suffer himselfe to bee taken by the King, hee goes to Mons in Henault, vppon a pasport which they gaue him, with fifteene or twentie horse; not considering that the firmest frendship doth not passe the Altars, nor the respects of dutie which we owe vnto superiors, and that in Accidents of iniustice the proofe is [s] daungerous. He trusted in the Lord of Emery Balife of Henault his surest frend who commanded there for the Duke

The Constable retires to to Mons in Hainault.

Mucho sabe la Raposa pero mas el que la toma
A she Fox knowes much but he more that takes her.

It is hard to take an old fox, but in the end he is taken, and he that takes him is craftier then the fox. The King knowing that he was out of his burrow and in the Duke of Bourgundies Cuntrie, caused 800. horse to aduance with speede towards *S. Quentine*, to the end hee might take that place from him and with that all hope to recouer the Duke of Bourgondies frendship, so as beeing aduertised that the King was in it, and that he could not haue it from any other hand then from his, he did not remember the Constable, but to remember the reuenge of the wrongs hee had done him.

The King seazeth on S. Quentin.

The King who would not vse that power vnto the Constable which heauen hath not giuen to any but to Kings, had no care but to be ridd of the Constable, he caused the Duke to be summoned to mainetayne & effect that which had bene concluded betwixt them vppon that subiect, seeing that he was retired into the Cuntries of his obedience. This promise bound the Duke to doe Iustice of the Constable within eight dayes, or to deliuer him vnto the King, who desired to haue him rather aliue then dead, to vse him at his discretion, and to make him loose his life as hee pleased, or to leaue it him for his glory. [u]

The Duke, who desyred to haue S[t]. *Quentin*, *Han*, and *Bohain*, and could not haue them but by the performance of this promise, commanded

[q] *Great men in the gouernemēt of publike affaires must make themselus famous and not enuyed by their pride and insolencie.*

[r] *It were much better not to be in the number of men then to be held among those that are borne for the ruine of the cōmon-weale.*

[s] *It is dangerus to trie frends against Princes and lawes. Alcibiades to make this triall one a time called them whom he held to bee his friends and led them one after another into a darke place shewing them the Image of a dead body and saying that it was a man whome hee had slayne, intreating them to helpe to bury him, but hee found but one among them all that would yeeld vnto it and that was* Callias. *Happy is hee that hath manie friends but vnhappy that hath neede of them.*

[t] *The power to saue men from death is so excellent a guift (saith Seneca) as the Gods haue imparted it to none but Princes.*

[u] *Euery man that owes his life, liues to his glory that hath giuen it him.*

manded the ſigneour of Emery to giue the Conſtable a gard, and to command him to keepe his lodging. This was not enough; the King who would not looſe the Conſtable, to haue the Duke to win him, [x] ſent the Lord of Bouchages to preſſe him eyther to diſpatch him or to deliuer him vnto him. Hee had an Army ready in Champagne ready to ſuecor the Duke of Louraine if he diſcontented him by the breach of promiſe.

Although the Duke were wholie bent to ruine the Conſtable, yet did hee not thinke it reaſonable to deliuer him into the Kings hands who had put himſelfe vnder his protection, and therfore he delayed long the accompliſhment of this promiſe. And on the other ſide the Conſtable, who ſaw nothing before his eyes but fearfull apparitions, ſo as his imagination was continnually troubled with the imagination of the Kings reuenge and his Conſcience finding no ſatiſfaction [y] in his fact, he beſought the Duke to remember the faith which he had giuen him, to the which he had caſt himſelfe as into a hauen of ſafety againſt the long ſtorme of his fortune.

But the Duke, who meaſured his religion by the ell of his profit, deſiring infinitly to recouer S^t. *Quentin*, after ſome delayes, he commanded *Hugonet* his Chancellor, and *Imbercourt* to deliuer him. The Conſtable deliuered to the King. Theſe men on the other ſide being wronged by the Conſtable, executed this commandement dilligently. It was a very ſenſible griefe [z] to ſee his life & fortune at the diſcretion and ſcorne of his enemies, who led him to Peronne and conſigned him to the baſtard of Bourbon Admiral of France and to the Signeour of S^t. *Pierre* who conducted him to Paris. They did not long enioy the content of this reuenge of their enemy, for the Gantois ſhall ſoone after kill them in view of the Dutcheſſe of Bourgundy, who ſhall haue noe power to ſaue them.

Priſoner in the Baſtile. The vnfortunate Conſtable, clad in a black chamlet cloake lyned with veluet, mounted vppon a little nag, goes complayning of the breach of publike faith; as he accuſed his owne indiſcretion [a] and condemned himſelfe alreadie by the feeling of his Conſcience, ſo his ſeruants accuſed him of want of courage for that he had not attempted ſome other way rather then that of the Greue. Thereuppon they made him paſſe by *S. Anthonies* gate to enter into the Baſtile, with his hat pulled downe in his eyes to hide his face, being full of paleneſſe and ſhame of ſo tragicall a condition. Three howers after that the Dukes men had deliuered him they receiued letters of counter mand, forbidding them to deliuer him, but this defence came too late.

The eyes of man cannot behold the Sunne firmely, yet they ſee it in a baſon. It is impoſſible to comprehend the iudgments of the Sunne of Iuſtice, we muſt conſider them in the life and variety of the Con-

ſtable

[x] *It is not the meanes to bee rid of a bad ſeruant to chaſe him away and to diſgrace him giuing him means to remaine with his enemie, but he muſt be aſſured of him. If* Iugurth *had done ſo, he had eſcaped the treaſon of* Bomilcar. Saluſt

[y] *When the Conſcience is not ſatiſfied, all that ſeemeth good is bad. It is the priuiledge of a good man to liue in tranquility of Conſcience.*

[z] *In miſeries the affliction is doubled when as he repreſents vnto himſelfe the contentment which his enemies ſhall receiue.* Cæſar *being ſurpriſed by Pyrats in Aſia, & detained priſoner by them he cryed out aloud.* O what pleaſure wilt thou haue *Craſſus* when thou ſhalt heare of mine impriſonment *Plut.* in the life of *Craſſus.*

[a] *A man of courage ſhould do anything to free himſelfe frō being made an example & the Infamy of publike Iuſtice. For this reſpect* Eumenes *coniured his ſoldiers to kill him, and ſpake theſe braue wordes vnto them. You haue no reaſon to feare that* Antigonus *will bee diſcontented, for he demands* Eumenes *dead and not aliue. Or if you will not vſe your hands to do this office, vnbind but one of mine it ſhall ſuffice for that effect, and if happily you feare to put a ſword into my hand, caſt me bound hand & foot vnto wild beaſts.*

stable, which past like an arrow in the water, as soone as euer he was prisoner it was sayed that he would neuer come forth, and he himselfe thought that in losing his liberty he could not saue his life, that he was a dead man, and that it was a folly to desire life [b] seeing that in liuing he could not doe any thing to reuiue his reputation.

When he was come into the Bastile he found the Chancellor there with the first President, and some councellors of the court, prepared to reuenge the publike iniurie, and to make knowne what the body feeles when the head is hurt [c]. The Admirall tould them that by the Kings commandement hee did deliuer the Constable ouer vnto them, to make his processe with all speede, vppon the letters written and sealed which the King of England and the Duke of Bourgundie and Bourbon had sent, the which he presented vnto them.

The Empires of the world martcht vppon two feete, vppon the recompence of good and the punnishment of ill, and they must goe streight on the one, and not halt on the other, and yet it is better to faile on the right foote which is the reward of good, then on the left which is the punnishment of whomesoeuer. On this foote they went against the Constable, but somewhat to swiftly. Hee saw him selfe reduced vnto those termes as they did not regard his seruices past, but his present offences. He bears this affliction as impatiently, [e] as hee past his prosperities insolently.

His processe is made.

They began his processe by his answers. Hee must eyther speake or beee silent, his words discouer the treason, his silence the Traytor. There is nothing but pitty to speake for him, and there is not anyto be foūd for crimes of this sort: His own writings were against him. He cōfest that to maintaine his office of Constable and trouble the Kings estate he had alwayes entertayned war betwixt the king, & the Duke of Bourgundy, & to this effect had giuen him his seale and promise, that when as the souldiers which martcht vnder his commaundement should be ready to strik, hee would cause them retyre.

His Confessions.

That seing a marriage [f] treated and concluded betwixt the Duke of Guyenne the kings brother & the princesse of Castill he wrote vnto Mſr. aduising him to haue a care, how he proceeded, & as soon as he should be gone into Spayne to fetch his wife, the King was resolued to send an Army into the Dutchie of Guienne to dispossesse him, & to make him miserable, and that if he would giue eare to marry with the Duke of Bourgundies daughter, he assured himselfe to make him haue her, so as hee would send his seale to the Duke of Bourgundie, & that he would passe a procuration to obtaine a dispensation of the oth for his promse of marriage with the Princesse of Castill.

That the Duke of Bourgundie hauing sent a man expressely to him to haue his seale, the which he would send to the Duke of Sauoy, he would that they should passe to the Duke of Bourbon, to draw him vnto their league and intelligence against the King, who an-

[h] *He that will not do any thing wherby it may be knowne dying that hee hath liued, should not desire life. The Troglodytes said, that such a desire of life for one that had done nothing worthy to liue, was an extreame misery.* Dio. lib. 3. c. 3.

[c] Ateius capito *said, that it did much import the Common weale to punish them rigorously who had in any sort attempted against the Prince, vnlesse they will say that the Body hath no cause to grieue when the head is wounded.* Suet.

[d] *The want of rewarding the good is not so preiudiciall to an estate, as the impunity of the wicked.*

[e] *They carry prosperities insolently and aduersities impatiently which thinke that neither the one nor the other can euer chāge.*

[f] *He that desires to continue warre in an Estate, let him follow the Maxime of the Constable of* St. Paul, alwaies to keepe the King in bad termes with the neereſt

of his bloud. *As the Princes of the bloud beeing well vnited vnto the Prince make him to bee more assured and redoubted, so when as they are drawne away the state must needs suffer. Hereof we reade two goodly examples, one of* Hipparcus *in Thucid: the other of* Sext Tarquinius in Tit Liuius.

ſwered them that he had rather be as poore as *Iob* g then conſent to their conſpiracie, and that the end would be miſerable.

That the king hauing commanded him to write to the king of England, to the Queen, to the Earle of Somerſet and to Mſr. *de Candalles* touching the E. of Warwick, that he had writen quite contrary to the kings intentions. They deſired to heare him touching the barre and Cauſey of Compeigne. At that word he found his owne miſtaking, and that the perfection of mans actions depends of well knowing himſelfe h. He could not denie but that he had there played the companion with his maſter. He confeſt that when he ſpake with the king neere vnto Compiegne, he had cauſed a barre to be made betwixt the King and him to the end he might talke in ſafety, and yet the king notwithſtanding paſt the barre to imbrace him and to intreat him to holde his partie, the which he promiſed and ſware, & notwithſtanding two dayes after the Duke of Bourgundy ſent one vnto him to know if he would performe that which he promiſed him, & to offer him a penſion of a thouſand pounds ſterling.

That he had writen vnto the Duke of Bourgundie that he could finde meanes to ſeaze vppon the king and then kill him or carry him to any place, and that he would lodg the Quene and the Dauphin where as they ſhould be allwaies found.

They ſhewed him the letters which he had written to the king of England, and he doth accknowledg them, and if there had bene no other cryme, it had bene ſufficient to conuict him. The king did preſſe the Commiſſioners very earneſtly, and they proceeded but ſlowly in a matter of that weight. The treaſon being apparent, their opinions tended to death by the courſes of extremitie and of the higheſt point of Iuſtice, and the ſentence was pronounced in Parliament by the Preſident of Popincourt.

He acknowledgeth his letters writen.

It was neceſſary that the priſoner ſhould heare it in Parliament, and therefore the Siegneur of St. Pierre went early in the morning to the Baſtile to fetch him, comming into his Chamber he demanded of him what he did, and if he ſlept? he anſwered that he had been long awake but he kept his bed, hauing his head full of fancies. The Siegneur of St. Pierre told him that the Court of Parliament had viewed his proceſſe for the expedition whereof it was neceſſary hee ſhould be heard. He roſe and prepared himſelfe to goe vnto the Pallace, not thinking that from thence he ſhould be led vnto his death. And for that the Court had ordained that the Seignieur of Eſtouteuille, Knight and Prouoſt of Paris, ſhould accompany him, he grew into ſome iealouſie that it was to draw him out of the hands of *Philip Huillier* Captaine of the Baſtile, who was his friend, and intreated him mildly, to deliuer him vnto the Prouoſt of Paris his enemy, who he thought by an inhumane voluptuouſnes k receiued great content at his miſery. He feared alſo that the people, who hated him as much

Hee is ſent for to the Court of Parliament.

Hated and deteſted of the Pariſiēs

g *There is no miſery comparable to that which treaſon and infidelity cauſeth; and therefore the Duke of Bourbon did rather chooſe the condition of* Iob, *then to reuolt againſt his K.*

h *The firſt precept or rather the ſummary of the Inſtructions of the conduct of mans life, is to know himſelfe wel. Theron depends the good or bad iſſues of actions.* Heraclitus *ſpeaking of a great and high cogitation of his ſpirit, ſaid that he ſought himſelfe.*

i Phil. de Commines *ſaith that the haſt of this proceeding was found ſtrange and that the King did much preſſe the Commiſſioners.*

The Hiſtoriens haue not well obſerued the time but wee may coniecture it, in that the Earle of Marle the Conſtables ſonne ſent on the 4. of December a herald called Montioy, *who did reſide commonly with the Conſtable to* Iohn Ladreche *Preſident of the accounts borne in Brahant to intreat him to ſuccour and to ſtay the Conſtable if this were the beginning of his Ymprisonment as it is credible, his proceſſe was made in fifteene or ſixteene dayes.*

k *To laugh at another mans miſerie is an inhumaine voluptuouſneſſe and to weepe at another mans harme is an eternall miſerie,*

in

in the end, as they had admired him in the beginning, [l] and had conceiued an implacable hatred againſt him, and defamed his reputation both by writings [m] and wordes publikely, would do him ſome outrage as he paſt through the ſtreetes. The Siegneur of S[t]. Pierre aſſured him, and freed him from either feare, telling him that he went not out of one priſon to go into another, and that he would neuer ſuffer him to be wronged in his company. Thus he went to the Pallace on horſeback betwixt S[t] Pierre and Eſtouteuille. Being come to the ſtaires foot of the Pallace, the Lord of Gaucourt, Gouernour of Paris, and *Denis Heſſelin* came to meet him, to lead him to the Tournelle, where he found the Chancellor, who hauing exhorted him to patience, demanded of him the order of S[t]. *Michel*. The Conſtable took it from his neck, kiſt it, and gaue it him. He had receiued it from the Kings owne hand, beeing the third of fourteene which firſt receiued it.

The Chancellor did alſo demand the Conſtables ſword of him, [n] hee anſwered that it had beene taken from him when he was committed to priſon. This done the Chancellor retired himſelfe and left the Conſtable in ſome hope that iuſtice would bee ſatiſfied with this degradation of honor, and leaue him the remainder of his life as a guift, the which notwithſtanding he ſhould neither deſire nor accept being offred, hauing loſt that which was dearer then it. [o] But behold the Preſident of Popincourt which pronounceth his ſentence and ſpeakes to him after this manner. *The Court hath and doth declare you guilty of high treaſon, for the which it doth depriue you of the office of Conſtable of France and of all your offices, honors, eſtates and dignities, and for puniſhment it doth condemne you to ſuffer death, and to looſe your head at the Greue, in Paris, it declares all your goods moueable and immoueable forfeited to the King. And although, conſidering the foulenes of the great and execrable crimes of treaſon which you haue committed, you ſhould be quartered,* [p] *your foure quarters to bee hanged on the high waies, and your body on a Gibbet, yet for ſome conſiderations mouing the Court, namely for your laſt marriage, of which were iſſued Children, and other cauſes, it hath ordained that after publike execution done of your perſon, your body ſhal be laid in holy buriall if you require it.*

His ſentence pronounced.

The Conſtable with an amazement ordinarie in ſuch ſtrange and ſodaine accidents, and excuſable in the moſt conſtant men who ſuffer death reſolutely, and yet abhorre to ſee it, [q] anſwered. *Ha God be praiſed, behold a hard ſentence, I beſeech him to giue me the grace to acknoledge him well this day.* They gaue him foure Diuines to comfort him, but in theſe extremities conſolation is a part of the miſery. They diſpoſe him to vnite all his thoughts to the laſt and moſt important act of his life, to end it to his health, [r] for it concernes the loſſe both of body and ſoule, Death being a game, which if it be well played they hazard little to gaine much.

Foure Diuines exhort the Conſtable to dye

[l] *It is in our ſelues to be eſteemed, or ſcorned. Neuer man was more contemned in the beginning nor leſſe in the ending then* Brutus.

[m] *In Iune 1471. the K. by a publike proclamation promiſed 300. Crownes to him that ſhould diſcouer the author of Libels that were made againſt the Conſtables honor.* Henry Mariette *who had bin Lieſtenāt criminal of Paris, and* Peter Mercier *a Scholler were committed to priſon for that fact, but they were abſolued.*

[n] *VVhen men in high degrees are condemned to loſe their liues, the death of honor by degradation goes before that of the body by puniſhment.*

[o] *There remaines nothing to looſe for him that hath loſt his reputation. Hee dies too late that ſuruiues his honor.*

[p] *By the greatnes of puniſhments they iudge of the foulnes of offēce. Treaſon & felony haue alwaies beene ſeuerely puniſhed*

[q] *Nature abhors death. A valiant man goes freely vnto daungers, and yet is moued at them that miſcarrie. There are ſome which receiue the ſtroake more conſtantly then they apprehend it.* Sene. Epiſt. 58.

[r] *Iuſtice in deſtroying the bodie, giues allwayes time to thinke of the health of the ſoule. At the point of death manſets vp his reſt that being loſt there is nee more to looſe.*

He demanded of the Chancellor if he might not be allowed to receiue the Sacrament, but it was denyed him, [s] They thought it fit that a Maſſe ſhould be ſaid before him, and that at the end they ſhould giue him holy bread, and ſo he continued with the Diuines, about the examination of his conſcience, till betwixt two and three of the clocke in the afeernoone, and then hee was carried on horſe-backe to the Towne-houſe, where hee diſpoſed of that which the King ſuffered him to giue by his laſt will. Hee deuided among the foure companies of begging Friers threeſcore halfe Crownes, which were all the iewells he had ſowed in his doublet, whereof the Hangman thought to make booty. [t] Many Princes & noblemen held it then, and do yet hold it an act of wiſedome and foreſight not to be without ſome peeces of gold, for that they may be driuen to that diſtreſſe, and ſo ill aſiſted by their followers as for want of an hundred Crownes, or much leſſe, to ſtay the bad deſigne of ſome deſperate fellow they may ſodainely runne into ſome dangerous fortune.

He had vppon his finger a ring with a ſmall diamond; he intreated the Biſhop of Paris his confeſſor to put it on the finger of the Image of our Lady of Paris, and to offer it on his behalfe. He charged another to giue vnto his Grandchild a ſtone, which he ware about his neck, and which reſiſted poyſon, but the Chancellor kept it to preſent it vnto the King.

This diſpoſition beeing made they led him to a great ſcaffold, from the which they did aſcend to an other which was leſſe, but higher, where he ſhould receiue an end of his life, [u] for a puniſhment. Vpon the greater were the Chancellor, the Siegneur of Gaucourt, and ſome other of the Kings Officers, all the place, and all windowes were full euen to the tops of houſes. He went vp vnto the Scaffold with his hands vnbound, the executioner bound them with a little cord. They preſented him a Cuſhion of other ſtuffe then thoſe be wheron the Conſtables [x] of France take their oth vnto the King. He remoued it with his foote and ſet it right, and then he kneeled downe with his face towards our Ladies Church. There in the ſight of heauen and of two hundred thouſand people, the fire-brand of warre was quencht the 29. day of December 1475 He dyed much amazed but full of deuotion and repentance: To dye trembling after that manner, was not to dye like a man who had carried the ſword of France. The executioner ſhould not haue been more hardy to ſtrike, [y] then he to offer his neck to receiue the blow. Thus he, who had no care, nor thought but of diuiſion, had his head diuided from his ſholders, the which as full of winde goes into the Ayre, and the bodie falls to the earth: the life which remained, cauſed ſome little motion, which makes the head to moue apart, and the bodie apart, but it is without ſoule,

He is executed at the Greue.

He dyed trembling.

[s] *If the Sacrament be denied to them that are condemned by Iuſtice, the reſolutions are drawne from the Cap.* Super eo de hæret, in 6. and c. queſtion 13. 9. 2.

[t] Iohn *King of Hũgary, whom* Sultan Soliman *made K. of Buda, paying a tribut cauſed the head of* Gritti, *ſonne to a Duke of Venice, to be cut off. When the executioner had ſtript him, he found in his breeches a little purſe ful of precious ſtones which were valued at* 4000. *crownes.* Paul Iou. lib. 32.

[u] *Death is ſweet when it is the end & not the puniſhment of life. And they ſay it is a troubleſome thing to die before one be ſick.*

[x] *The Chancellors & Conſtables of France take their oth vnto the King, kneeling vpon a cuſhion of veluet, here they offer the Conſtable one of wooll, with the Armes of the City of Paris.*

[y] *In what place ſoeuer death aſſailes a generous man hee ſhould die generouſly. The generoſity of courage doth ſomething abate the infamie of the puniſhment.* Rubrius Flauius *being condemned by* Nero *to looſe his head, when as the executioner ſaid vnto him that he ſhould ſtretch forth his neck boldly, he anſwered,* Thou ſhalt not ſtrike more boldly then *I* will preſent my head.

for

for that is not diuided. The Franciſcane Friars carried the bodie to their Church, and they ſaid then vpon the diſpute which they had with the Curate of S. *Iohn*, at the Greue, that two hundred Friars had had their heads cut off. Wee muſt conclude this diſcourſe with ſo certaine a Maxime as whoſoeuer ſhall affirme it cannot lye. *Neuer any one that dealt craftily with his Prince, but in the end he was deceiued, and there is nothing more certaine by conſiderations of preſidents, experience and reaſon, that who ſo keepes his Maſter in feare forceth him to free himſelfe.*

Importãce of the office of Conſtable.

This place remained vnſupplyed aboue fortie yeares, for the command is ſo great ouer all the forces of the Realme, and the name of ſuch luſtre, as if it fals into the hands of an ambitious man, that is able to make his authoritie march equall with the Kings, if of a Prince of the bloud, he is the Kings King, if of an other the Princes and great men of the Realme will not obay him, and his commandement, as *Bertrand* of Gueſchin ſaid, [z] doth concerne the great rather then the leſſe.

The Conſtables goods beeing forfeited were reſtored to *Francis* of Bourbon Earle of Vendoſine marrying *Mary* of Luxembourg. Her ſlender and ſmall ſtature brought into this houſe the ſmalnes of bodies of thoſe great Princes, who before were of that goodly and rich ſtature. The firſt beauty of men, admired, and deſired in Kings.

Duke of Alencon ſet at libertie.

As the King had ſhewed an example of his Iuſtice in the Conſtables death, ſo did hee one of his bounty to the Duke of Alençon, [a] whom he ſuffred to go out of the Louure where he was a priſoner and to be lodged in a Burgeſſes houſe of Paris. The fortune of this Prince was to be pitied, and the conſideration of his birth bound the Princes to commiſeration. Hee was of the bloud of France, and the houſe of Alençon was a branch of that of Valois. *Charles* of France Earle of Valois had two ſonnes. *Philip* of Valois King of France, and *Charles* of Valois [b] Earle of Chartres, and then of Alençon who dyed at the Battell of Crecy. He was father to *Iohn* firſt Duke Duke of Alençon, who married *Mary* of Brittanie, and by her had this *Iohn* the ſecond of that name Duke of Alençon, his ſonne *Rene* Duke of Alençon married *Margaret* of Lorraine by whom he had *Charles* the laſt Duke of Alençon married to *Margaret* of Orleans, the onely Siſter of King *Francis* the firſt, and died without children.

Profit and blame of the Duke for the Conſtables death. 1476.

By the Conſtables death the Duke of Bourgundy receiued from the King St. Quentin, Han, and Bohain, and the ſpoiles of the dead which might amount to foureſcore thouſand crownes. He was ſorie that he had loſt him who had made him haue ſo good a ſhare in France. He was blamed to haue giuen him a ſafe conduit and then [c] deliuer him, and to deliuer him to him that purſued him after the aſſurances of Protection and defence. This breach was noted for an infallible preſage of the ruine of his houſe.

[z] Bertrand of Gueſchin refuſed to accept the Office of Conſtable, for that he was but a ſimple Knight and durſt not preſume to command the kings brothers, Cozins and Nephewes. This charge extending his commandements rather vpon great men then vpon the meaner ſort. King Charles ſaid vnto him, Maiſter Bertrand excuſe not your ſelfe by this meanes, for I haue neither Brother, Cozin, nor Nephewes, Earle nor Baron within my realme, but ſhal obay you willingly, if any one ſhould doe otherwiſe, hee ſhould diſpleaſe me. Froiſſard.

[a] The D. of Alencon was conducted from the Louure, to the houſe of Michel Luillier on Thurſday the 28. of December 1475 at ſix of the clock at night by Iohn Harlay Knight of the watch with foure torches, as the Author of the Chronicle doth obſerue.

[b] Charles of Valois, Brother to Philip of Valois King of Frãce had four ſonnes by Mary of Spaine his ſecond wife. Charles who was a Iacobin, and then Archbiſhop of Lyon, Peter Earle of Alencon, Philip Archbiſhop of Rouen, and Robert Earle of Perch.

[c] Behold the iudg-

The Annales of the Franche Contie of Bourgundy adde an other cauſe, which was, that the Duke had ſeazed of a great ſum of money at Auſſone, which was leuied by the publication of the Croiſadoe, and appointed for the warre againſt Infidels. From that time he approched ſtill neere vnto this precipice, making his graue in his owne deſignes, as Silke-wormes die in their owne workes. Hee began to diſtruſt his owne ſubiects and to take ſtrangers. When a [d] Prince is brought to that miſerie, all goes to ruine. He reuiues in his ſoule all the thoughts which he formerly had to be reuenged of them that had offended him. He will diſpatch them firſt whom he holds the weaker, and remembring that being before Nuz, *Rene* Duke of Lorraine had defied him, ſpoiled the Duchie of Luxembourg, and razed Pierrefort, in reuenge, for that after the death of *Iohn* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, hee had taken him priſoner, he reſolued to make him repent it, whereupon he armed for the conqueſt of Lorraine, by the which, beſides the hereditarie Titles of King of Ieruſalem and Sicile, which are in this houſe, he promiſed to make himſelfe ſo mighty againſt the Germans, as he would make the Emperor repent that hee had denied him the title of King.

The Duke of Bourgundy declares war against the Duke of Lorraine.

Ambition troubles his imaginations; it repreſents vnto him all that in poſſeſſion which he hath but in hope; he beleeues that all the ſhips that goe vppon the ſea are his; [e] but as the moone is ecclipſed when ſhe is full, ſo fortune, which had ſo much fauoured him, grew darke when as he thought it had bene compleat. He thought to haue his triumphant chariot drawn not by Lions like to *Marc Anthony*, nor by Elephants as *Pompey*, nor by ſtags like *Aurelian*, but by Princes like *Seſoſtris*. [f] He is as neere as *Seſoſtris* to try the inſtability of this wheele, and that the fauours of fortune are no preſents but baites.

Ambitions great deſignes.

The Earle of Campobach paſſing by Lion to goe into Iraly had made offer vnto the king to deliuer vnto him the Duke his maſter, eyther a priſoner or dead, aſſuring that hee could doe it eaſily, the one by poyſon, and the other when as the Duke ſhould be riding vppon a nag to view his Army, as he was accuſtomed. He diſcouered this ingratefull & damnable Intention to *Simon* of Pauia a Phiſition of Lion, & to S[t]. *Pry* the Kings Ambaſſadour in Piedmont. The king did abhorre and deteſt ſuch a wickedneſſe, to the which the generoſity of the bloud of France would neuer haue ſuffered him to conſent to gaine the monarchie of the world. [g] A prince that ſeekes to ryd himſelfe of an enemy otherwiſe then by the courſe of Armes is wicked. All treaſon is curſed and execrable. Hee aduertiſed the Duke [h] by the Siegneur of Contay, but he contemned this aduice, being vnable to iudge of the intention of him that gaue it, and thinking

Attempt against the Dukes life diſcouered by the King

ment, which the Lord of Argenton makes vpon this deliuerie. There was no need for the D. of Bourgundie who was ſo great a Prince & of ſo famous and honorable a houſe to giue an aſſurance to the Conſtable to take him which was a great crueltie, the Battel where he was certain of deth, and for coueteouſnes.

[d] A Prince is much weakned that it forced to diſtruſt his ſubiects, & to imploy ſtrangers, whoſe obedience, affection, and fidelitie is not tyed to any other reſpect but their pay. They think they are freed from their faith whē as mony failes.

[e] Ambition repreſents things as the ambitious man deſires or propounds them. It troubles the imagination.

Traſillus thinks that al the ſhips which are in Pyrce haue ſet ſayle for him, he keepes a Regiſter of them, and is ſory that his brother Caton ſeekes to diſſwade him, for hee is neuer better content then with theſe imaginations.

[f] The inſolency of Seſoſtris *King of Egipt in proſperity was ſo great and diſordred, as he cauſed foure Kings to draw his Chariot in ſtead of horſe, the one of them fixing his eyes ſtill vppon the turning of the wheele burſt out in laughter, and being demanded by* Seſoſtris *why he laught:* This wheele (*ſaid this poore Prince*) turning that vp which was below, makes me remember my Condition, and to thinke that yours may be the like. [g] *The anſwer was noble of* Alphonſo *the firſt King of Naples to* Roger *Earle of Pallanza, who offred to kill the King of Caſtile.* If it were (*ſaid he*) to be King of all the world I would neuer conſent to ſuch a wickednes. [h] *It is an act of a free and generous ſpirit to reiect thoſe that offer to betray their maiſters.* Fabricius *ſent him to* Pyrhus *who had*

that

that it was to draw the affection of a profitable & neceſſary ſeruant into iealouſie, he ſeemed to make more eſteeme of this Traitor then he had done euer. The ſame yeare 1476. in October *Iohn Bon* a Welch-man borne, and a houſhold ſeruant to the King, was puniſhed at Paris, for that he had conſpired to poiſon the Dauphin. He was condemned by the Prouoſt of the Kings houſe to looſe his head: being ready to be executed the King ſent vnto him to know whether he had rather looſe his eyes then his head, hee anſwered yea: then the executioner put out his eyes and deliuered him to his wife.

The Duke was then very buſie at the ſiege of Nancy, *Campobache*, who was very confident to *Rene*, diſſwaded this enterpriſe. The Duke not able to taſte the reaſons which he repreſented vnto him, ſuffred himſelfe to be ſo tranſported with Choller, as he ſtrooke him, and yet againſt all reaſon and the rules of wiſedome, which doe not allow any truſt [i] to bee giuen to ſeruants that haue been ſo intreated, he kept him ſtill about him.

The Duke of Bourgundy ſeazeth vpon Lorraine.

He preuailed ouer Nancy, and Lorraine yeelded to the yoke. This was not ſufficient; Ambition preſcribed him new deſignes. He remembred that whilſt he was incamped before Nuz, the Suiſſes entring into Bourgundie had taken Blaſmont, beſieged Hericourt, and defeated two thouſand Bourgundians in Battell. He remembred the complaints which *Iames* of Sauoy Earle of Romont, brother to the Duke of Sauoy, had made vnto him, he deſires to reuenge it in his reuenging humor, and with it the Soueraigne Maieſtie of Princes, which was wronged by the riſing of this people, who being in league to become maſters of themſelues, ſaid that the troupe was better kept by many then by one alone, [k] and in leſſe then an hundred yeares had extinguiſhed in their countrie the memory of thoſe which had commaunded ouer them.

Duke armes againſt the Suiſſes.

He ſeekes to reuenge the Earle of Romonts wrong.

The King coniured him not to trouble himſelfe with the conqueſt of a countrie where he could not enter the ſtronger, but with hazard to die of hunger, nor weake but to be beaten, that the enemies whom he tormented had paine inough to liue in peace, and that he ſhould ſeeke ſome better. [l]

The Kings voyage to Lyon.

The King parted from Tours in the beginning of February, in the yeare 1476. he paſt into Bourbonois and Auuergne, ſtayed at our Lady of Puis, from thence to Lyon, and ſo into Dauphiné. It was to aſſure his frontier, [m] the Duke of Bourgundy and the Suiſſes being in Armes, and to be neere at hand to ſee what would bee the iſſue of their quarrell. A deſire to haue often aduice made him to erect poſts. Hee did much apprehend the Duke of Bourgundies progreſſe againſt the Suiſſes, the which would haue added much vnto his power, for he had all the houſe of Sauoy at his diſpoſe, and the Ducheſſe, although ſhe were the Kings Siſter, was

Poſts erected.

offered to poiſon him.

[i] *A man of courage which hath receiued an indignitie or outrage deſires to bee reuenged, & doth long harbour this deſire in his heart, after which they muſt diſcharge him, and neuer truſt him more. It is the precept of* Thucidides, *whoſoeuer finds himſelfe vniuſtly wronged by him, that had no occaſion, if he can once get from him, he will ſeeke to haue a more ſharpe reuenge then an open enemie.*

[k] *They that prefer the gouernment of many before that of one, ſay that a flock is better kept by many dogs then by one alone. They are anſwered, that a ſhip which hath many Pilots or Maſters is in more danger the that which hath but one good one.*

[l] *Againſt an enemie that is poore and miſerable, there is no great hope of war nor profit. They did councell* Iulian *the Emperor to make warre againſt the Gothes. I will ſaid he, haue better enemies, we muſt leaue them to the Marchants who ſell them as they pleaſe.* Sigonius Lib. 6. Imp. Occid. [m] *On that ſide where a neighbour is armed, they muſt alwaies prouide for the frontier.*

moſt

moſt paſſionate for the red Croſſe. [n] The King of Sicile Earle of Prouence offred him Prouence. *Galeas* Duke of Milan was his Ally. The Princes of Italy were of his intelligence, it was a wonderfull content vnto him to ſee ſo many ſeeke his friendſhip, [o] and to be able to paſſe without theirs. The Germans told the King that if hee did not declare himſelfe againſt the Duke, they would make an accord with him to make warre againſt the King.

The King who ſaw farre of and behind him, thought that his affaiers could not long proſper, if the Dukes enterpriſe did ſucceed againſt the Swiſſes. The Swiſſes being aduertiſed of his reſolution to aſſaile them, they prepared to let him know, that as a deſire of comand was naturall in him, ſo a reſolution to defend them-ſelues was alſo natural vnto them. [p] But to lay al the blame vpon him, they ſent him their deputies to beſeech him to leaue them in peace, they offer to forſake all Alliances which ſhould bee offenſiue vnto him, euen that of France, that their countries deſerued not the paines he ſhould take, for all the ſpoyle and ranſomes his ſoldiars could hope for was not worth his horſemens ſpurres and bits. The deputies of the Cantons, which were then but eight commonalties [q] returned with nothing but words of choller from this Prince who was offended, both for the ſuccor they had giuen to the Duke of Lorraine, and for the iniury they had done to the Earle of Romont, hauing taken from him a cart loden with ſheepes skins, ſo ſmall an iniury was the ruin of his houſe, whoſe moſt illuſtrious mark was the Golden Fleece of a ſheepe.

The Swiſſes craue peace of the duke of Bourgundy.

This warre being begun for leſſe then figs or rayſyns, or the head of a wild boare [r] diſcharged his firſt furies vppon Yuerdun, the which was taken and recouered againe in few daies, Granſon, a town neere vnto the Lake of Neuf Chaſtell, was beſeeged and defended onely by foure hundred Swiſſes of the Canton of Berne, who not finding themſelues ſtrong enough, nor the towne to be held againſt ſo great forces (for the Duke had fifty thouſand men, and a great number of ordynance, of diuers ſorts) [s] they abandone it and fire it, and then retire into the Caſtell, where they compounded to haue their liues ſaued. The Capitulation was not obſerued, for the Duke being incenſed that the beſeeged had endured many daies ſeege, cauſed foure ſcore to be hanged, two hundred to be drowned, and the reſt to be put to ranſome: an Act which thruſt the other townes into deſpaire, and gaue them ſo much courage, as they reſolued neuer to truſt this Princes faith any more, and rather to ſee themſelues ruined then to yeeld.

Light occaſion of the war againſt the Swiſſes.

Army ſtrõg in men and artillery againſt the Swiſſes.

Seege of Granſon.

Being victor ouer this firſt reſiſtance, he promiſed vnto himſelfe

[n] *The Duke of Bourgõdy gap't after the Duchy of Milan, Rene King of Sicile and Duke of Aniou held the conqueſt infallible, and therefore hee deſired to adopt him for his ſonne, & to giue him the County of Prouence. The D. vpon this hope had ſent* Chaſteau Guien *into Piedmont to leuy men, and to make them paſſe into Prouence.*

[o] *The offers of ſuccors of alliance & friendſhip are pleaſing when they may bee forborne.* Magnificum. *ſaith Tacitus,* Lætumque tũ, tis ſociorum auxiliis ambiri neq; indigere. *It is ſtately to bee offered ſo great ſuccors from Allies & not to need thẽ.*

[p] *There are no ſuch people to be found. There were neuer any ſo ſimple as to ſubmit themſelues volontarily to ſeruitude without defece or reſiſtance. As it is natural for the Siciliens, ſaith* Hermocrates, *to ſeeke to domineere ouer thoſe that doe willingly ſubmit themſelues, ſo it is proper for a mã to defend himſelfe from the iniuries that any one would doe him.* Thucid.

[q] *The liberty of the Swiſſes began in the yeare, 1315. by the Allyance of Vry, Schuits and Vnderuald. Lucerne did aſſociate it ſelfe to theſe Cantons in the yeare, 1332. Zurich. 1350. Zug and Glaris. 1352. Firbourg, and Berne, 1401. Soleure. 1481. Baſill and Schaffouſue in the yeare, 1501. Appenzel. 1514.*

[r] *Smale matters haue drawne great armies to field. A Swiſſe named* Elico *brought figs and rayniſis out of Italy to the Gaules, to make them know the abondance and delights of the Contry: vpon which motion the Gaules paſt the Alpes. The Lombards were inuited by the like allurements. The war betwixt the Etoliens and Arcadiens was long and bloudy for the head of a wild boare.*

[s] I. de Serres *writes that the Duke of Bourgondy had fiue hundred peeces of ordinance of all ſorts. The Hiſtory of the Swiſſes reports that they tooke in the ſpoyles, 400.*

the

The Duke ſhewes all his riches at the ſeege of Granſon.

the like iſſue, and as he was in the Mountaines, not to fight but to triumph, he diſcourſed rather what he ſhould doe after the victory, then what was to bee done. [t] His Campe was a generall ſhew of the riches and ſtate of his houſe, the content whereof depended more of other mens eyes then of his owne. He neuer ſhewes himſelfe but in rich and ſtately armes, the pure gould was not more precious. Hee ſhewes not himſelfe to forraine Ambaſſadors but gliſtering with ſtoanes, his tents and pauillions were of cloth of gold, and his mouables ineſtimable, for there was more in that houſe then in three of the greateſt of Europe, his equipage was alſo as rare in proffitable peeces, as that of *Darius* was in vnproffitable mouthes: more fitting for an army of women or of Eunukes. [u]

Swiſſes come to ſuccor Granſon after the loſſe.

The Swiſſes gather together to ſuccor Granſon, thinking that the beſeeged would giue them time. The Canton of Berne ſent eight thouſand men, and the reſt made tenne thouſand, they came to Neuf Chaſtell the day of the Compoſition, which was the laſt day of February, 1476. On Saterday the third of March they went to field with an order ſeemlie in all things, but very profitable and goodly for the warre, [x] beeing come to Baſts, a village aboue Neuf Chaſtell, they would haue ſeazed vpon the Caſtell of Famerku which is ſhut vp betwixt the Mountaine and the Lake, whereof the Duke had ſeazed the Day before; the Army hauing recouered the top of the hill, they deſcouered that of the duke of Bourgoundy ſtanding in three great Bartaylons, and their ordinance before them: The Swiſſes did not thinke to haue ſeene them ſo ſoone in that order, and found that it was in good earneſt, and that they muſt of neceſſity ioyne.

Incounter of both armies at Granſon.

Wherfore they cauſed their forward to march in the which were the troupes of the Cantons of Bierne, Schuitz and Biene, the Battle followed afterwhere were the Banners and ſtandards of the Cantons, which are neuer diſplaied but vpon great occaſions when as the Common-weale is in danger.

They keepe them alwaies in the middeſt of the bodie of the armie, as the moſt ſacred and inviolable peeces of the armiy; they hold it infamous and vnfortunate to looſe them. The reproches which are at this day moſt ſharpe and ſhamefull among them, renew the memory of ſuch loſſes. [y] A towne cannot giue a greater teſtimony of want of vallor then to haue loſt her enſeigne, as a ſoldiar cannot doe an Act more vnworthy of his profeſſion then to abandon his collours. [z]

They had ſome few horſe led by *Erman* of Eptingen. Thoſe of Strausbourg beeing about one thouſand and two hundred horſe, loſt the opportunitie to be there, hauing charged their quarter the

peeces bey. 400 allerlye buchſē *If wee conſider the equipage neceſſary for all this, wee will hold it a fable.*

[t] *It is a ridiculous preſumption to aſſure himſelfe of that which depends of the inconſtancy of fortune,* Cæſar *mockt at* Pompeys *captaines, who talked more how they ſhould vſe the victory, then how they ſhold fight.* Nec quibus rationibus ſuperare poſſent, ſed quem admodum vti victoria deberent, cogitabant. *Cæs. lib. 3. de Bel.* Ciuil.

[u] Parmenio *writing to* Alexāder *of that which hee had found in* Darius *bag. age, nūbers 3,300 Curteſā, for muſick, 46 mē to make Crownes and garlands of flowers, 270. makers of ſauces, 29. Potters, 40. Perfumers and about, 80. Officers of the Goblet,* Athen. lib. 13. ca 30.

[x] *There is nothing ſo commendable in warre as order bee it in marching or fighting.* Xenephon *ſaith that it is the goodlieſt & moſt profitable thing in*

men. Among the precepts of Vegetius *this is ſingular,* Vt omnes milites in acie vel in itinere incedendi ordinem ſeruent. veget. C. 9. *That all the ſoldiars ſhould kepe order, either ſtanding in Battell, or marching.* [y] *They reproch them of Zurich, who for that they had loſt their enſeigne at a Battell giuen at Vuinterberg, had ſence added a band of purple, but the markes of this quality were blacke. And this hath beene giuen to Zurich by the Emperor* Raoule *of Habſpourg, for an honor.* Simlerus. [z] *The Romaine ſoldiar tooke an oth to follow his Generall in all places, not to attempt any thing againſt the people and not to abandon his Enſeigne.*

day before for the diſcommoditie of forrages, not thinking that the Duke of Bourgundy would appeare ſo ſoone. The footmen of Baſill were appointed for the reere-ward, leaſt the enemie ſhould come and charge them behinde.

In the meane time the Duke moues, he drawes his three Battailons together, and cauſeth ſome lances to aduance to begin the charge, they giue with great cryes (ſignes of courage [a]) and fury vpon the Suiſſes Battell, which withſtood them valiantly. At the ſame time the Suiſſes horſemen charged the Dukes armie in flanke, and the footemen followed with ſuch violence as the Bourgundians were forced to retire; thoſe that were in the laſt rankes tooke this recoyling for a flight, and put themſelues in diſorder. The Dukes Armie put into two Battels.

Thoſe few horſe which had done this effect, would haue purſued them that fled, thinking that they might with reaſon doubt of their courage againſt them that held good, if they ſhewed not ſome prooſes againſt them that ranne away. [b] But the Colonel Eptingen ſtayed them, ſhewing them how dangerous it was, for ſo ſmall a number to follow ſo great and mighty an Armie, which was yet whole, and had endured no other harme, but what had happened by their amazement; That they might rallie themſelues againe together, turne head, and take from them the aduantage which they had, and that very eaſily, being farre from their foote, who could not follow the chaſe. Victorie of the Suiſſes and recouerie of Granſon.

The Duke had but too many men. Multitudes haue not alwaies gotten the greateſt victories. *Pyrrhus* demanded but fifteen thouſand men to aſſaile the world. There was a little Hill neere vnto it, on the which the Duke gathered together what troupes he could, and preſented himſelfe to fight, but the Suiſſes incouraged and puft vp with the good fortune of this firſt incounter returned furiouſly to the charge. The Dukes horſemen found their owne weakenes againſt theſe great Battailons of Pikes; if they had left their horſes the charge had been greater [d] but the amazement was ſuch as the Dukes Armie reſolued as ſoone to a Generall abandon of Campe, baggage and Artillerie, as to fight.

The Suiſſes recouering *Granſon*, they tooke them of their Nation downe whom the Duke had cauſed to bee hanged, and in their place hung vp as many Bourgundians with the ſame halters. The ſpoile was aboue three millions in gold, moueables & iewels, whereof the victors made ſo little eſteeme, through the ignorance of price of things, as they gaue gold for copper, and ſiluer for tynne; They tare tents and pauillions of cloth of gold in peeces to apparell their wiues and children. They liued yet in the commendable ignorance of money which made *Sparta* for fiue hundred yeares the Queene of Greece. [c]

[a] *Cries in the beginning of a Battel were held by the Romans for a deſire to fight and an abundance of courage. A Captaine in the ſecond booke of* Tit. Liu. *ſpeaks after this manner to his ſoldiors,* Si iam ſatis animi eſt, decerniq; placet agite dum, clamorem, qualẽ in acie ſublaturi eſtis, his tollite, Iudicem voluntatis, virtutiſq; veſtræ. *If you haue yet corage inough, and deſire to be noted, goe on & raiſe vp ſuch a cry, as you are accuſtomed to doe in Battell, which is a ſigne of your wils and vertues.*

[b] *He that doth not charge the that wauer, wil be very ſtaied againſt thẽ that ſtand firme. One ſaid vnto* Agis, *that hee ſhould let his enemies paſſe. And how then ſhall we charge them that reſiſt if we doe not fight with them that fly?* Plut.

[c] *The Romane Army did commonly conſiſt of* 24000. *men, & for the moſt of fifty thouſand. With this number they did incounter the Gaules and Affricans. They made war with order and Art, and theſe with numbers & fury.*

[d] Philip Viſcomte D. *of Milan being aſſailed by* 18000. *Suiſſes, ſent the Earle of Carmagnoles with* 6000 *horſe, and ſome few foot to fight with them, he was repulſt with loſſe, but finding the great aduantage of the Suiſſes armes againſt horſemen, he reſolued to returne, and being neere he cauſed his men at Armes to light, who brake the Suiſſes, ſlue* 15000, *and the reſt laying down their Armes yelded.*

[e] *Sparta flouriſhed by the lawes of* Lycurgus, *but when as vnder the raigne of* Agis *it began to know gold & ſiluer, and to loue and admire*

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The Dukes great Diamond which was held a maſter peece of the ſun, was ſold for a Florin to a Prieſt, who was ſo religious as he ſent it to the Magiſtrates of his Canton, who gaue him ſix ſhillings ſtarling. They ſay that this peece paſt through many hands for a ſmall price, at laſt it came vnto a Geneua Marchant remaining at Lyon, who ſold it for eleuen thouſand Florins, and then Pope *Iulio* the ſecond had it for twenty thouſand. They found alſo three Rubies alike, which were called the three Brethren, with other ineſtimable Iewels, which were little eſteemed by the Suiſſes. Their Generall made many Knights after this victorie, three of Zurick, foure of Berne, two of Baſill, and ſome of Strausbourg. Valour is no leſſe reſpected in Common-weales then in Monarchies, in the firſt they loue valiant men, in the other they feare them, and although that in the common-weales [f] they apprehend alwaies leaſt ſome one which excels the reſt in merit, ſhould attempt to exceed them in authoritie: yet it is certaine that Europe for that it hath had more common-weales then Affricke or Aſia, beeing ſubiect to the power of one alone, hath had more excellent Captaines then thoſe, and after that Rome had made but one ſtate of all the world, and that vertue had no other Theater but Rome the Eſtates of Europe began to neglect the excellencie of Armes, vertue giuing her fauours and recompences no where but at Rome.

This was a great Coroſiue vnto him, to ſee himſelfe vanquiſhed by them whom hee contemned and held vnworthy of his courage, but much more to ſee that his reputation which hee had ſo highly preſerued was blemiſhed for that it was well knowne that he had come from Granſon to Ioigne without any ſtaye, and that it was a diſhonorable thing that footmen had cauſed ſuch mighty troopes of horſe to flie fifteene leagues.

Courage of the D. of Bourgondy after the Battell loſt.

But he hath courage enough remaining not to faint vnder the rigour of this miſfortune. He doth not blame his own raſhnes but the blindnes of fortune, and the daily hazard of armes. He hath loſt nothing but what may be recouered for money, the loſſe concerned himſelfe alone and if it deſerued greefe no heart ſhould bee toucht therewith but his. He thought that the greatnes of his houſe [g] and of his fortune ſtood yet firme as long as hee had an army on foot. He coniured the chiefe noblemen which ſuffered in this loſſe to forget it, and to change their greefe into wrath againſt enemies vnworthy of ſuch a booty, & to make them buy the little profit which they had gotten at a deere rate. [h]

Thus he reſolued to haue his reuenge, but nothing troubled him but the King. He feares that he will make his profit of this loſſe,

riches, then werethey violated and came to nothing. Plut. in the life of Licurgus.

f There proceed more excellent men out of Common-weales then out of Realms for that men grow excellent & make prooſe of their vertue as they are imployed & rewarded by the Prince or common weale, ſo as where there are many Principalities and diuers Eſtates ſo they alſo find greater nobers of valiant men. Aſia had few for that it was all vnder the Empire of one alone. Affricke in like manner, Carthage hath raiſed many. Emrope hauing been diuided into many Empires, hath had more then all the reſt, and the feare they haue had one of another hath made the profeſſion of Armes to floriſh and that they which haue excelled haue been partakers of honors and publike recompences.

g Indiſcretion doth alwaies take fortune to warrant her from reproch for her bad gouernment. Fortune alone is commended in all mens Actions ſoly eſteemed and ſoly outraged, and ſoly blamed for bad euents. [h] *The words which proceede from the mouth of a Prince after any loſſe ſhould bee generous.* M. Craſſus *ſeeing that the Parthians carried the head of* Pub: Craſſus *his ſonne vppon a lance and that this ſight did daunt the courage of his ſouldiers, he went through the band crying out* the griefe of this loſſe doth concerne mee alone, but the greatnes of the Fortune and glory of Rome remaynes inuincible ſo long as you ſtand firme: Yet if you haue compaſſion on mee who haue ſeene mee looſe ſo vertuous and ſo valiant a ſonne, I beſeech you to conuert it into wrath againſt your enemies, and make them buie the ioy which they haue receiued deerely.

and that he will anoy him, wherefore he ſends the Siegneur of Contay vnto him, to aduertiſe him of this accident, and the opinion hee hath to repaire it to his aduantage beſeeching him with words of humility, befitting the condition of his affaires more then the greatnes of his courage to entertaine the Truce., and to excuſe him if he came not to Auxerre as they had concluded together.

The Duke ſeeks for a continuance of the Truce with the King.

Although the Duke were in bad eſtate, yet the King conſidering that he had loſt nothing but his reputation, and that he had his eſtates and forces entire, would not breake with him, but aſſured him all that he deſired for the Truce. He could not beleeue that this Prince was ruined, ſo long as he had a ſword remaining in his hand. [i] hee knew that his ſubiects carried ſo great affection and loialty that they would not ſuffer him long in that neceſſity, that armes were changeable and that all the nations in the world had many examples, and France ſome, how that the vanquiſhed had ſubdued the victors and that a Prince is not ruined ſo long as hee hath a ſpirit, hope and a ſword remaining. [k]

Number of them that were ſlaine in the battell.

The King informed himſelfe particularly of this defeat, *Contay* told him that there were but ſeauen men at armes ſlaine, but the loſſe of the baggage was ineſtimable. The King being amonghis moſt confident ſeruants made it appeare that nothing diſpleaſed him ſo much as the little number. Hee commanded them to make *Contay* good cheere, who made no ſhew to heare the people of Lions ſinging through the ſtreetes the ſhame and ruine of this battell, the courage of the Suiſſes and the raſhnes of the Bourgondians, for at that time there was not a Battell but there was preſently a Song made of it. [l]

This hard incounter bred a great alteration in mens mindes and affections. Thoſe which feared the courage and admired the proſperity of this Prince, began preſently to contemne him after the newes of this rout. There was not any friend, no loue. *Galeas* Duke of Milan renouncing the alliance the had made with him, beſought the King to renew thoſe which he formerly had with France, and offers him a hundred thouſand Ducats. The King made this braue & proud anſwer to his Ambaſſador. *Tell your maiſter that* I *will none of his money, and that once in a yeare I leuie three times more then hee, as for peace and warre I will diſpoſe as I pleaſe, but if he repent himſelfe to haue left my alliance to imbrace that of the Duke of Bourgondy, I am content to returne as we was: vpon which wordes the Truces were publiſhed againe.*

This good newes augmented the content which the King tooke at Lion, whether *Rene* Duke of Aniou came to ſee him. This good Prince who had ſeene the death of his three ſonnes, and had but one daughter [m] put the Duke of Bourgondy in ſome hope that hee would adopt him for his ſonne: and tranſferre the rightes of his houſe to the Crowne of Sicile, with the Earledome of Prouence

Rene Duke of Aniou comes to the King.

[i] *The loſſe of reputation is great, it ſhould neuer be hazarded, but it may be recouered if the eſtate remaine, it being loſt they labour in vaine to returne againe; a vanquiſhed prince is miſerable that is expelled his eſtates.*

[k] *As long as a Prince keepes himſelfe vp how ruinous ſoeuer his affaires bee, wee muſt not hould him for loſt.* Maſaniſſa *beeing put to rout by* Siphax, *ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming, hid himſelfe in a Caue being bruted that he was dead. He went to field beeing cured of a wound receiued, and recouered his Realme.* Leonidas *ſonne to* Syphax *expelled him another time, hee fled with 70. horſe and by* Scipios *meanes was reſtored.*

[l] *The cuſtome is very antient to make hymns and Songs of Battells and victories. There are examples in* Ariſtophanes *and in* Plutark *in the life of* Flaminius. Charlemaigne *cauſed a collection to be made of all the rimes of the like ſubiect.*

[m] Rene *Duke of Aniou had by* Iſabel *daughter to* Charles *Duke of Lorayne three ſonnes who died in the flower of their yeares.* Iohn *Duke of Calabria.* Nicholas *Duke of Bar.* Lewis *marquis of Pont, and yoland.*

and

and this Prince had already ſent *Chaſteau Guion* into Piedmont with 20. thouſand crownes to leuie ſoldiers and to paſſe them into Pronence, to take poſſeſſion thereof. The King being aduertiſed heereof ſent to *Phillip* Earle of Sauoy to ſeaze vppon *Chaſteau Guion* with his money and men. Hee had great difficulty to ſaue his owne perſon but loſt his money, adding this loſſe to others which his maiſter had receiued.

The King intreated him to come to Lion, and not to deale with the Duke of Bourgondy who ſought to ruine him. The good old man being diſcontented with the Duke of Lorraine, who had forced him to giue his daughter [n] *Yoland* of Aniou to *Ferry* his ſonne, reſolued to this voyage. Hee led with him *Iohn Coſſe* Seneſhall of prouence, who with a freedome worthy of the age wherin he liued and little knowne to them of his nation, (for he was a Sicilien) let the King vnderſtand that all which [o] Duke *Rene* had treated with the Duke of Bourgondy touching Prouence & Sicily, and that which he had diſmembred to the benefit of the Prince of Orange, was only to make his maieſty know the wrong which hee had done him in detaining the Caſtles of Bar and Angers, and croſſing him in all his affaires, that this diſpight had forced him to theſe reſolutions, the which notwithſtanding he had no deſire to effect if he might otherwiſe haue reaſon from his maieſty.

Complaint of the Duke of Anion made by the Seneſhall.

The King taking the libertie of this Diſcourſe in good part, as free from flatterie, and ſeaſoned with diſcretion, [p] he found truth in it which he could not gaineſay, the which did binde him by all courteſie and good vſage to deface the diſcontents which the good old man his Vnckle King of Sicile had againſt him. The Chronicle ſaith, *that he made him great cheere at Lyon, he made him ſee the faire of* S[t] Iohn, *and the faire Dames of Lyon*, but hee did well requite this good cheere, for before hee parted hee contented the King with ſuch aſſurances as he deſired to adde Prouence to the Crowne.

Morat beſieged by the Duke of Bourgundy

The Duke of Bourgundy had beſieged Morat, a ſmall Towne two leagues from Berne with an armie of foureſcore thouſand men. The Suiſſes had twelue thouſand Pikes, ten thouſand Halbards, and ten thouſand ſhot. The Duke of Lorraine came alſo with ſuch troupes as the King had giuen him, and although the number were not great, yet hee was commended by the Suiſſes. [q] There might be in all ſome thirty two thouſand foote, and three or foure thouſand horſe.

Battell of *Morat* won by the Suiſſes.

The Duke of Bourgundy held it impoſſible for the Suiſſes or the Duke of Lorraine to ſuccour Morat, and yet they did attempt it and execute it very happily. As they approched the Duke ſaluted them with his Canon which did play ſo furiouſly vppon their troupes as preſently there were many horſes ſeene without riders. The Suiſſes notwithſtanding march on, for the way was ſuch as they muſt either aduance forward or retire back: they charged the Dukes troupes, beat them back, and force many to ſeeke their

[n] *After the death of* Charls *the firſt of that name, Duke of Lorraine,* Rene *Duke of Anion pretended the Duchie, as huſband to* Iſabell *daughter to* Charles. *Hee loſt a Battell againſt the Earl of Vaudemont, and was taken priſoner & forced to giue his Daughter Yoland to* Ferry *of Lorraine ſon to* Anthony *Earl of Vaudemont.*

[o] Rene *of Sicile ſold to* Lewis *of Chalon the homage & ſouereignitie of the Principalitie of Oranges, his Son ſubmitted it to the Parliament of Dauphiné, and afterward K.* Lewis *reſtored it vnto him.*

[p] *To fit a diſcourſe to flatterie for to pleaſe, is impudencie, but it is a great indiſcretion to be to free and hardy, to auoid pleaſing & flatterie. They muſt obſerue a mean. Seemelineſſe comes from mediocritie.* τὸ καλὸν ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ. Plut.

[q] *They were weary ſaith* Phil. de Com. *in our Court of the D. of Lorraine. When a great man hath loſt al his owne, moſt cõmonly he tires them that ſupport him.*

their ſafeties in the Lake, into which they waded vp to the chins: but they were noe more aſſured in the water then on the land, the fury of the victorious ſouldiour ſlue them like Duckes. It was preſently made red with the bloud of this ſlaughter, many fled to the next Forreſt, and were ſlaine there. The Duke returned from Suiſſerland, as [r] *Xerxes* did out of Greece.

* *Sed qualis rediit? nempe vna naue cruentis,*
Fluctibus ac tarda per denſa cadauera prora,
Has toties optata exigit gloria pœnas.

The Suiſſes hauing continued three dayes vpon the place of Battell, they diſmiſt halfe their troupes, and with the reſt recouered the places which the Duke had taken, *Petterlingen*, *Romon* and *Milden*: they enter at Loſanna without reſiſtance and find that all were fled. They become maſters of all the countrey of Vaux, and think to doe as much vnto Sauoy, to make it knowne that they that would not be their friends, were their enemies, [s] that there was no meane betwixt both. The Lady *Yoland*, Mother and Gouerneſſe to the Duke had broken the Treaties of Alliance, hauing fauoured the Earle of Romonts quarrell againſt them, and giuen paſſage to the Duke of Milans troupes, and to the Bourgonians to make warre in Suiſſerland. The Towne of Geneua paying foure and twenty thouſand Florins was preſented from the ſtorme which their Biſhop of the houſe of Sauoy had drawne vpon them.

Suiſſes enter the contrie of Vaux.

Geneua compounds with the Suiſſes.

The Duke retired into the Franch Contie, oppreſt with ſo many griefes and diſcontents as no man durſt come neere him. If this great Battell did not draw water from the ayre, as they ſay that after great and bloudy Battels there ſhall fall great ſhowers, [t] it did from the eyes of many widdow women and Orphanes, for the number of the dead was eighteene thouſand of both ſides: the Hiſtorie of Germany ſpeakes of two and twenty thouſand.

Affliction of the Du: after the Battell.

The Duke vexed at this vnfortunate ſucceſſe, the which hee had attempted more to reuenge the iniuries of the houſe of Sauoy then for his owne, and fearing leaſt the Ducheſſe of Sauoy ſhould reconcile her ſelfe vnto the King her Brother, and that the Sauoyards ſhould follow the fortune of the victory, he commanded *Oliuer* of *la March* to ſeaze vpon the Ducheſſe and her two ſonnes. He ſtayed her neere vnto the ports of Geneua, ſet her on horſebacke behinde him, and gaue order to them of his troupe to doe the like vnto her two ſonnes and two Daughters. The Duke of Sauoy was ſaued and carried to Geneua. *Oliuer de la March* hee went on his way all night, paſt the mountaine, came vnto a place called Myiou, and from thence to S. Claud, and from thence to Rochfort, and in the end to Rouure neere vnto Dijon. The King drew her from thence by the Lord of Chaumont, and cauſed her come to Tours, [u] whether he went after his departure from Lyon. Being arriued there, he ſaluted her with theſe words. *Madame of Bourgundy you*

The Ducheſſe of Sauoy ſeazed on by the Bourgundians.

are

[r] *He that will ſee in what equipage Xerxes returned out of Greece, whether he had led a bũdred thouſand men, let him read the tenth Satire of Iuuenall.* *

[s] Ariſtenus *ſaith in the 9. Book of* Titus Liu. *ſpeaking of the Etolians.* Romanos aut ſocios habere oportet, aut hoſtes, media via nulla eſt. *The Romans muſt either haue fellowes and friends, or enemies there is no middle way.*

[t] *After great Battels follow great ſhowers, for that there is ſom God which doth waſh and purifie the earth polluted with humane bloud, or for that the dead bodies and the bloud which is ſpilt caſt vp groſſe vapors which thicken in the ayre.* Plut.

[u] *The Ducheſſe of Sauoy being priſoner at Rouure ſent vnto the King to beſeech him to ſet her at liberty. If ſhe had not bin in theſe extremities, ſhe would not haue done it, the hatred had been ſo great betwixt the King and her.*

are very welcome. To whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was a good French woman and ready to obay his commandements. He took her at her word and this firſt anſwere was the beſt. [x] Their humors and their paſſions were very contrarie to extract the eſſence of true and perfect loue. Many things had paſt in their liues which had as it were loſened the Cyment of this brotherly affection. *Philip de Commines* ſaith, that he conducted her to her chamber, and cauſed her to be well intreated. *True it is that he had a great deſire to be rid of her, and ſhe as great to be farre from him.*

She leaues the D. of Burgundies partie.

The King would willingly that ſhee had married the Princes her children to his humor, but ſhe excuſed her ſelfe, and wrought ſo as by his meanes and the mediation of the Duke of Lorraine and the Arch-duke of Auſtria, ſhe retired from the Suiſſes ſome of thoſe lands which they had ſeazed on, paying fifty thouſand Florins for the charges of warre, but it was not poſſible for the Earle of Romont to recouer his. Eight daies after the King cauſed her to be conducted into her Contrie with her children, but before they parted one from an other, they would be aſſured of the promiſes of loue which they had made, and not truſting to bare words they added writings and othes. They depriued themſelues of that content which their wils might haue receiued in producing freely the effects of a reciprocall affection and confidence. But they had rather be bound to religion then to Nature.

From this Flower-de-Luce are iſſued two Princes which haue gouerned in Sauoy. [y] She was mother to *Philibert* and to *Charles*, *Philibert* raigned ten yeares vnder her charge, euery one deſired to haue this Prince in his power. King *Lewis*, as his Vnkle by the Mothers ſide. *Charles* Duke of Bourgundy, as his kinſman and neighbour. The Earles of Breſſe, Romont and Geneua, his Vnkles by the fathers ſide, who would exclude *Galeas* Duke of Milan, who had giuen him his Daughter, tooke alſo the gouernment. He dyed and left noe children.

Charles his brother ſucceeded him and married *Blanch* of Montferrat: of them was borne *Charles* the ſixt, whoſe barren raigne was but nine monethes ſhorter then his life. Hee liued ſix yeares eleuen monthes. *Philip* Earle of Breſſe, ſonne to *Lewis*, and great Grandfather to *Charles Emanuel*, who had been priſoner at Loches ſucceeded him, a great Prince, as all they haue been whoſe fortunes haue been toſt and croſt. [z]

Alfonſo K. of Portugal comes to demand ſuccors in France.

At the Kings returne from Lyon, *Alfonſo* King of Portugall came to ſalute him, being at Tours, hee came vnto him as to his laſt refuge, being no longer able to reſiſt the power of King *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. The cauſe of their contention is well worthy the knowing, and to vnderſtand it wee muſt remember that it was formerly ſaid that by the peace made betwixt *Iohn* King of Caſtille

[x] *The firſt anſweres of women are commonly the beſt. It is that which* Vliſſes *conſidered in* Homer *preſſing the ſoule of a woman to anſwere ſpeedily.*

[y] Ame *the* 3. *Duke of Sauoy husband to* Yoland *of France ſucceeded* Lewis *the ſecond his father in the yeare* 1468. Philip *the ſeuenth D. married to* Mary *of Bourbon.* Philibert *the eight to* Margaret *of Auſtria: the ninth,* Charles *to* Beatrix *of Portugall: the tenth.* Emanuel Philibert, *to* Margaret *of Valois: the eleuenth* Charles Emanuell *to* Catherine *of Auſtria.*

[z] *They whom a variable & vnconſtāt fortune hath exerciſed and tryed gouerne thēſelues better then others.* Tacitus *ſpeaks it of* Caractatus, Quē multa ambigua, multa proſpera extulerant, vt ceteros Britannorum Imperatores præmineret. *Whom many croſſes and many good fortunes had raiſed vp, that he might exceed the reſt of the Britiſh commanders. After that* Iuſtus Lipſius *to confirme this truth hath ſpoken of* Charles *the firſt, and* Lewis *the eleuenth: he addes* Emanuel Philibert *Duke of Sauoy, and concludes that the Greeke word, is true* ἐξ ἐν ἔμαθες ἔμαθες. *I haue learned of them that haue hurt me,* Miſeria prudentiæ bona mater. *Miſery is a good mother of wiſedome.*

and

and *Iohn* of Nauarre, *Blanche* the eldeſt Daughter of Nauarre was married to *Henry* of Caſtille Prince of the Aſturies, and that the marriage was not conſummated by reaſon of the diſabilitie and coldnes of the husband. [a]

[a] Pope Eugenius *the third, gaue a diſpenſation for the degree of proximitie that was betwixt the maried couple, and the marriage was celebrated at Madrid in the yeare* 1440.

The baſhfulnes and modeſtie of this Princeſſe made her diſſemble her misfortune, whereof no man might inconſiderately grow in doubt, for the Prince was of a manlike and braue aſpect, but his actions were faint and languiſhing. They were but fiue and twentie yeares old when they were married. At one and thirty he ſucceeded to his father, who died in the yeare 1454 of a quartaine Ague, after that he had put *Aluaro de Luna* [b] his Conſtable to death, and had raigned nine and forty yeares and ſix monethes. *Henry* ſucceeded him, and *Alfonſo* his ſecond ſonne was great Maſter of the Order of St. *Iames*, hee would willingly haue giuen him his Crowne, for the griefe he had conceiued for *Henries* diſobedience. His Daughter *Iſabella* was but three yeares old, to whom he gaue the Towne of Cuellar, and a great ſumme of money for her mariage. All things ſucceeded otherwiſe then he had proiected. The eternall prouidence, which hath written in his tables of Diamond the aduentures of things, which are, haue been and ſhall be, had diſpoſed after another manner.

Diſabilitie of *Henry* K. of Caſtille.

[b] Dom Aluaro de Luna *abuſing the greatnes of his charge and the great loue the King bare him, was hated of the Princes & Noblemen of Caſtille, they forced the King to baniſh him ſix yeares from the Court. His faction won the Prince* D. *Henry, who armed againſt his father, & wroght ſo as he was reſtored to fauor, and made Maſter of the Order of S. Iames, but ſeeking to be reuenged of his enemies; and making many enterpriſes againſt them, Queene* Iſabel *fauoring them, made the King reſolue to put him in priſon: & to haue him executed at Vailedolit. The King did forfeit al his goods, they did ſet a ſiluer Baſin whereas his head was to receiue that which paſſers by would giue for his entertainment. A remarkable example of the inconſtancy of Kings and fortunes fauours,* Al fin loa la vita, a la tarde loa el dia. *The life is commended by the end, and the day by the Euening.*

But as the moſt conſtant patience is tired at length this Princeſſe, hauing for a long time endured her husbands diſabilitie, began to murmure, and he preuented her complaints, preſenting a requeſt vnto the Pope to bee ſeperated from her, and ſhewed that ſhe was barren and could not be a mother, and that the affaires of Caſtille required an heire. The Pope diſſolued the firſt marriage and ſuffered him to marry againe with *Ione Infanta* of Portugall, Siſter to King *Alfonſo*, and Daughter to King *Edward*, a Princeſſe exceeding faire, who more deſirous to bee a Queene then a wife, conſented to this marriage, notwithſtanding that ſhee was fully aduertiſed of the diſabilitie of the husband which ſhe tooke, who although he were a great Prince could not haue found a woman, where as euery one may haue for his money. But ſhee made it knowne that a politick woman neuer dyes without an heyre.

The Pope diſſolues the mariage for ſterilitie.

On the other ſide the King held the blemiſh of diſabilitie to be ſo diſhonourable, as to make the contrarie knowne, and to haue children to ſucceed vnto his Crowne, he conſented that *Bernard de la Cueua*, one of his fauourites [c] ſhould lye with the Queene, who preſently conceiued with child, and to the end it ſhould not bee thought to be done by ſuppoſition, he would haue her deliuered in the preſence of *Henry* Earle of *Alba de Liſta*, the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Vellena. It was a Daughter, which had for her Godfather the Earle of Armagnac, who was at that time

[c] *Some write that* D. Ioane *conſented thereunto by force, but when ſhe had once made this leape, ſhe had more need of a bridle then a ſpurre. A wonderfull incontinency and impudency. Being as it were confined to the Caſtell of Alacaes, vnder the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of Seuelle ſhe had by* D. Pedro *the Archbiſhops Nephew two children,* D. Ferdinand *and* D. Apoſtol.

Embaſſador

Embaſſador in Caſtille to King *Lewis* the eleuenth.

Henry the king of Caſtille degraded.

Wiſedome and diſcretion might haue made this deceit more fortunate then it was, for all Spaine made demonſtration, of incredible Ioy for the birth of this Daughter, but there was follie and indiſcretion of all ſides. The King, who would confirme this opinion that he was a gallant man, ſought the loue of other women, who ſoone diſcouered the deceit. The Queene made ſhew to be iealous, entertained her loue ſecurely with *D. Bernard*, ſo as the great familiaritie he had with her made the world doubt of her chaſtitie, and when as they ſaw that the King honored him with the chiefe charges of the Realme, making him maſter of the order of St *Iames*, and then Duke of Albuquergue, they did imagine that he made him play his part in this Comedie, which ended with cruel & tragicall effects, for the Great men of the realme made a league to ſeaze vpon *D. Alfonſo* and *D. Iſabella*, brother & Siſter, to the end that this Baſtard ſhould not depriue them of their rights. *Alfonſo* being about twelue yeeres old was proclaimed K. of Caſtille by them, and then did *D. Henry* ſhew the imbecillitie and weaknes of his Nature, for whereas hee ſhould haue oppoſed himſelfe againſt thoſe mutinies, he ſuffred them to get ſuch credit and authoritie, as the Archbiſhop of Toledo, being ſent for to come vnto him, to the end hee might pacifie thoſe troubles, he ſaid vnto him that brought him this charge. *Tell your King that I am weary of him & his affaires, and that he ſhall ſhortly ſee who is the true King of Caſtille.*

Alfonſo proclained K. of Caſtille,

The Grandos of the Realme aſſembled in a great plaine neere vnto Auila to degrade the King from the royall dignity. That which they could not doe vnto his perſon, they did vnto his ſtatue [d] which they preſented vpon a ſcaffold: when as the Herad ſaid that D. *Henry* was degraded from the royall dignity, the Archbiſhop of Toledo tooke the Crowne from his image, the Earle of Plaiſance the ſword, and the Earle of Beneuent the Scepter, this done *Diego Lopes* caſt it out of the royall ſeat. *Alfonſos* ſtandard was aduanced, and poore *Henry* ſhouted at and contemned. They would end the quarrell by a battel before Olivedo. [e] The two Armies fought by order, one ſquadron againſt another. The Archbiſhop of Toledo led his army hauing a white ſtole vpon his armes. The combat continewed three houres, and ended with ſo great diſorder of either ſide, as both parties made bonfiers for the victory.

Death of *Alfonſo* King of Caſtille.

The Pope ſent his Legat [f] to pacefie theſe troubles, during the which King D. *Alfonſo* hauing raigned three yeares died of the plague at Cardegnoſa: The League would haue declared *Iſabella* heire of the Realme, the which ſhe would not accept the King her brother lyuing, wherevpon a peace was made, by which ſhe was declared Princeſſe of Caſtille the nineteenth of September, 1468. vpon condition that ſhe ſhould not marry without the conſent of the King hir brother. They would haue married her to *Alfonſo* of Portugal

[d] *When as King Henry vnderſtood of this degradation, which was in Iune 1465. he ſaid,* I haue bred vp children and they haue contemned me. I came naked from my mothers wombe, and the earth at ends me naked: No man can liue ſo poorely as hee is borne, and if God expels mee now for my ſins he wil comfort and preſerue mee afterwards, for his infinite power is that which kils and reſtores to life, which woũds and cures: that which giues Siegneuries & takes them away, which raiſeth vp Kings, & puls them downe when he pleaſeth.

[e] *The Battell of Oluiedo was in the yeare 1467. They doe not agree who had the victory. D. Alfonſo was ſeen armed at all peeces incouraging his men. D. Henry appeared not in the fight, but entered triumphing towards night into Medina del Campo*

[f] Anthony de Veneris *Biſhop of Lyon, the Popes Legate, being in Spain, cõmanded them to lay downe Armes vpon paine of excommunication, the great men of Spaine oppoſed themſelues & ſaid that they appealed to a Counſell. The Licentiat* Iohn D. Alcacer *and Doctor* Alphonſo *of Madrigall were committed for this appeale.*

tugall, who was a widower, and D. *Ioane* to *Iohn* the eldeſt Sonne of Portugall, vpon condition that if there came no children of the marriage of the Pinceſſe *Iſabell*, g thoſe which iſſued from the marriage of D. *Ioane* ſhould ſucceed to the realme Caſtille. But D. *Iſabella* had other thoughts, ſhe loued *Ferdinand* ſonne to *Iohn* King of Navarre and Arragon, whome ſhee cauſed to come to Vaillidolet in a diſguized habit and marryed him the eighteenth of October. 1469.

Iſabella of Caſtille marries *Ferdinand* of Arragon

King *Henry* was ſo incenſed at this marriage, as hee declared his Siſter fallen from all the rights which ſhee might pretend to the crowne of Caſtille, and cauſed *Ioane* his daughter to be proclaymed his true heire, who was married to *Charles* Duke of Guienne, as hath beene formerly ſaid. This treaty of marriage was broken by the death of the Dukd of Guienne. King *Henry* died alſo. h And notwithſtanding that the Crowne were aſſured to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, yet *Ioane* continued the title of Queene of Caſtille, and in this quality ſhe married with *Alfonſo* King of Portugall, which was an occaſion of great warres. The French King being diſcontented with the houſe of Arragon, and the warre of Pergignan, ſent troupes to the King of Portugal vnder the command of *Aman* of *Albret*.

Troupes ſent out of France into Caſtille.

But the King of Portugal hauing loſt his enterpriſes and his Partiſans, was forced to retyer himſelfe into Portugall carring away no other triumph of the warre of Caſtille, but the Princeſſe D. *Ioane* his wife, whome notwithſtanding hee would not mary before hee were aſſured of the Realme of Caſtille, and therefore he went into France to implore ayde from King *Lewis*, with whome he had treated an alliance by his Ambaſſadors, who vnder the good chere which was made them, and the good words which were giuen them during the treaty, without any other intent, perſwaded their Maiſter to come into France, aſſuring him that he ſhould doe more by his preſence for the ſuccors which he demanded, then by the mediation of his ſervants, and that there might bee a marriage made betwixt the Dauphin and D. *Ioane* his Neece.

He landed at Marſeille, came to Lyons, and ſo went downe the riuer of Loire to Tours, where he acquainted the King with the cauſe of his voyage. k It had not beene ſecret though he had beene ſilent. Kings come neuer to the gates of other Kings to offer or to giue, but to demand and entreat. He carried a Lampe in his hand which diſcouered his heart. l

Alfonſo K of Portugall comes to Tours.

The Kings affaires would not ſuffer him to bee more liberall to this Prince of good effects then of good words. If he had no other conſideratiō but of the eſtate of Spaine, he had taken an other courſe, but he had alwaies for a perpetual obiect the greatneſſe of the houſe of Bourgondy, whereof he durſt nor iudge ſo long as the Duke was armed, and therefore he had rather fayle his friends then himſelfe.

Lewis refuſeth him ſuccors.

g D. Iſabella *was ſought for in marriage by the brother of King* Lewis, *& by the King of Englands brother. She made choiſe of* D. Ferdinand *Prince of Arragon. He came to ſee her vnknown,* D. Guttiere *of Cardona who cōducted him ſhewed him her, ſaiing in Spaniſh,* Eſſe es, *It is he. To whome the Princeſſe anſwerered ſodenly, and S. ſhalbe thine armes, vpon this cauſe the family of this knight doth at this day carry an S in their armes and deuice.*

h *The death of* Henry *the 4. King of Caſtille was in the yere 1474. the one and forty yeare of his age and the on & twenteth of his raign Hee was interred in the great Chappell of the Monaſtery of Guadalupe. He appointed 52. lampes of ſiluer to burne day & night vpon his tombe.*

i *Ambaſſadors haue oſte ingaged their Maiſters in very ruinous voiages.* Philip de Cō. mines *who had treated with them of the K. of Portugall, ſaith that if they had beene well aduiſed, they would haue informed themſelues better of matters here, before they had counceiled their Maiſter to this voiage which was very preiudiciall vnto him.* k *Neceſſity forceth Princes euen to things vnworthy of their quality. They write that this Prince beſought the King to ſuccor him with ſuch vehemency and humanity as hee fell on his knees at his feete.* l *The diſcommodities of great Princes cannot be hidden.* Ariſton *ſaith that pouerty is a lampe, which doth lighten and make all the miſeries of the world be ſeene.*

The

To reſolue of the ſuccors which the King of Portugall required of him, hee conſulted rather with reaſon then affection, [m] which layed before him his great expences in Germany and Lorraine for the entertainment of his armie, which he might not diſmiſſe vnleſſe hee would runne the hazard of a ſurprize and ſcorne, not to haue foreſeene that which concerned himſelfe. [n]

The King of Portugall mediats a peace in vaine.

The King of Portugall thinking that if he might ſoe reconcile theſe two Princes affaires, as they might haue no ſubiect to doubt one another, he ſhould draw ſuccors from them both, he vndertook to goe into Lorraine to perſwade the Duke to reconcile himſelfe vnto the King. His voyage was not long, for vppon the firſt propoſitions he found that his enterpriſe was impoſſible, and ſo returned to the King, who continuing the honors which he had done him at his arriuall, intreated him to ſee Paris, and in the meane time procured a diſpenſation for him from Pope *Sixtus* the fourth [o] to marry with D. *Ioane* his Neece.

Reception of the King of Portugal into Paris.

The Chronicle and Martinienne, make a curious relation of his entertainement, which was the 23. of Nouember 1476. The Lord of Gaucour Gouernour of Paris, and *Robert* of Eſtouteuille Prouoſt of Paris went to meet him on the way to Orleance towards the windmill. The Chancellor of Oriole with the Preſidents and Councellors of Soueraigne Courts, and many Prelats went forth. The Magiſtrates preſented him a Canopy at Saint *Iames* gate. The Rector of the Vniuerſity, with the Doctor and Regents, receiued him at St. *Stephens*, the Biſhop and Clergy of Paris at our Ladies Church. The ſhort dayes and the long ſpeeches added fire to the greatnes of the ceremony [p] They cauſed fifty torches to march before him to conduct him to a Marchants houſe called *Laurence Herbelot* in the ſtreet of Prouuelles.

A cauſe pleaded in Parliament by two churchmen

The ſhewed him the ſingularities and beauties of Paris, hee ſaw the Court of Parliament of peeres, the moſt ſacred Senate of Europe, where he did number as many Kings as Senators, *Francis Hale* Archdeacon of Paris, the Kings aduocate, and *Peter* of Brabant an aduocate of the Court and Curate of S. Euſtache pleaded a cauſe the Chronicle ſaies, that it was a goodly thing to heare. Heere the ignorance of thoſe times moues me to pitty, few men were learned, and few learned men taught in France. Italy had gathered vp ſome wits of that great ſhipwrack of Greece, The tyrant of the Eaſt would not allow of any excerciſe of learning. [q] For they make him beleeue that learned men are ſoone poſſeſt with great and heigh reſolutions, againſt the ſeruitude which keepes them vnder [r] But this

[m] *Reſolutions taken by the Counſell of affection, are ſubiect to change thoſe which are grounded vppõ reaſon laſt perpetually.*

[n] *Wiſe men ſee all accidents in their thoughts they cannot bee ſurprized this word.* I did not think it *coms neuer out of their mouthes.* Seneca *cals it the word of ignorant men.* Audimus aliquãdo voces imperitorũ dicẽtium: Neſciebam hoc mihi reſtare ſapiens ſcit ſibi omnia reſtare quicquid factum eſt dicit ſciebam. *We ſometimes heer the words of ignorant mẽ ſaying, I did not know that this would haue happened A wiſe man knowes that all things may happen: Hee ſaith whatſoeuer is done I knew it.*

[o] *Notwithſtanding that* D. Ferdinand *&* D. Iſabella *of Caſtille made great oppoſitiõs at Rome againſt the marriage of King* Alphonſo *of Portugall and* D. Ioane *his neece, his ſiſters daughter, yet the Pope granted a diſpenſation at King* Lewis *his inſtance.*

[p] *Fire carried before the Prince was one of the ornaments of Maieſtie, it was not in a Linke or Torch, but in a Lampe or Lanthorne.* Prenuncius ante, Signa dedit curſor poſita de more Lucerna. *Corippus lib. 2.* Herodian *ſaith that* Pertinax *came vnto the Senate not ſuffring them to carrie fire or any other markes of the Empire before him. The Preſident* Bertier *ſaith, that the ſame honor was giuen to the Patriarks in the Greeke Church, and the title of* Ballamon. *In* Reſpons de Patriarch. Priuileg.

[q] *Greece hath giuen theſe goodly wits vnto Italy.* Emanuel Chriſoloras *an Athenian.* George *of Trebizonde.* Theodore de Gaza *a Macedonian.* Ieronimo Spartiate, Gregory Typhernas, Iohn Argyropile *of Conſtantinople,* Laonic Chalcondile *Athenian.* Marcus Muſurus, *of Candie, and* Iohn Laſcaris.

[r] *Books & Sciences teach men of iudgement more then any other thing to know themſelues, and to feele the ſmart of ſeruitude & the loſſe of libertie.*

light could not paſſe into France through ſquadrons of men of war, and good books which are not preſerued but in the Temple of peace, lay yet in the duſt of Cloyſters, they were not made common to the world, and they feared much that the maſters in ſpeaking well and eloquently in a Chamber would not be ſo in doing well in field in ſight of the enemies, [r] that all eloquence was growne ruſty in Barbariſme.

[r] Cato perſwaded the Senate to ſend away Carneades who was come to Rome on the behalfe of the Athenians, for that his eloquence drew the youth of Rome to follow him, & diſpoſed the rather to immitate to ſpeake well the to doe well in war, & in the managing of affaires. Plut.

[r] The ancient Orators got money both to ſpeak and to be ſilent. One demãded of Demoſthenes what he had gotten for ſpeaking, & hee anſwered. I haue ſold the ſilence of one day for fiue talents. Plut.

These great and goodly actions of thoſe times, in the which they muſt ſpread the maine failes of eloquence, were giuen to Doctors of the Sorbone. They vndertooke to make Ouerture at the Eſtates, and to iuſtifie or condemne Princes before the Kings Councell. See heer a Curate of the greateſt pariſh in Paris, who makes proofe of the grace and greatnes of the French eloquence, in the firſt Parliament of France before a ſtrange King; the Ignorance of thoſe times found none more capable, he deſerued to haue money giuen him to be ſilent, rather then to ſpeake. [r]

After that the King of Portugall had ſtayed ſomtime in Paris, they put into his immagination (as iealouſie doth eaſily poſſeſſe afflicted mindes) that the King who had at the ſame time confirmed the ancient alliances [u] of France with Caſtile: would cauſe him to be taken: he thought to tetire himſelfe with an intent to ſhut himſelfe into a Monaſtery, or to make a voyage to Ieruſalem, hoping for no ſuccours but from God, hauing in vaine attended them from men. The King being loth to abandon him in this perplexity, cauſed certaine ſhips to bee armed in Normandy to conduct him into Portugall, where his ſonne diſpairing of his returne, had already taken the title of King.

Alphonſo retires into Portugall.

[u] The Alliances betwixt France & Caſtille, were confirmed by the Deputies of both Kings betwixt Baionne. & Fontaraby.

D. *Beatrice* widdow to D. *Ferdinand* of Portugall, Aunt to the Queene of Caſtile, vndertooke to reconcile them, intreating her Neece to come to Alcantara to conferre together. Their Conference did produce a peace for a hundred yeares [x] to the content of both Realmes, and to the glory of both Kings, who then carried their armes and their deſignes to the conqueſt of new contries. [y] By this peace it was ſaid that the King of Portugall ſhould not marry *D. Ioane*; that ſhee ſhould depart out of Portugall, or if ſhee would remaine there, ſhe ſhould haue her choiſe, either to marry with *D. Iohn* Prince of Caſtile, newly borne when he ſhould come to age or enter into a monaſtery.

Accord betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and Portugall.

[x] It was ſaid by this accord that the peace ſhould bee kept betwixt the Kings of Caſtile & Portugal for a hũdred years & one to come.

[y] In the yeare 1475. the firſt voyage was made to Guinee by the marriners of Caſtile, after they had conquered the canaries in the yeare 1417. Of this enterpriſe Iohn of Batencourt a french was Generall and carried the title of King. Of that of Guinee Pedro de Colied s.

This Princeſſe did rather chooſe a monaſtery then marriage, and tooke vpon her the habit of *Sta. Clara* in the royall Monaſtery of Coimbra, who for the greatnes of her courage and contempt of the world, deſerued of poſterity the ſurname of excellent.

The flight of *Granſon*, and the loſſe of Morat, two fatall accidents to a ſpirit inſupportable both in proſperity and aduerſity, [z] brought comfortles afflictions vnto the Duke, and made him continue ſixe weekes ſolitary at Riuiere, ſuffring his beard to grow careleſly

Aflict̃on of the Duke of Bourgondy after the Batttell of Morat.

[z] There are ſpirits like vnto ſick bodyes which are diſtempered with heat and cold they cannot iudure proſperity nor aduerſity.

leſly feeling his vnderſtanding to grow weake, and his naturall heat ſo cold, as they made him to drinke wine alone, in ſtead of Ptyſan, which before was his ordinary drinke. And to recouer his ſpirits and to cheere his heart, they applyed therevnto diuers ſorts of remedies; and if by fits he came to his good ſence, it was but to make him haue a more liuely apprehenſion of his vnfortunate Eſtate. [a]

The ſolitarines which hee vſed to paſſe away his greefe, did but augment it, and let him know that there is no worſe eſtate then that of a diſcontented mind in an vnſound body. Hee woould not endure any one to talke vnto him, and was mad when they ſpake. If hee would haue ſuffred himſelfe to be ſeene it would haue giuen him eaſe, and by the cheerfulneſſe of his countenance his ſoldiers would haue recouered their ſpirits which this accident had danted. [b] Great ſorrows muſt be euaporated, for the more they are reſtrained the more they ſwell and grow more violent, but beeing paſt they muſt ſhew a countenance free from all perplexity or baſenes. Time did but increaſe the wound in the Soule of this Prince, his friends and allies contemned him. *Galeas* Duke of Milan ſeeing that by this loſſe all his Intelligences were croſt in Italy, turned his back to him. *Frederic* Prince of Tarentum, abuſed with a hope to marry his daughter, allies himſelfe to the houſe of France; whilſt that this triumphant Chariot went well, euery one would be on the top of it, but now it is ouerthrowne they abandon it. [c]

He is contemned of his friends.

The Duke of Lorraine ſeeking to make his profit of the Duke of Bourgundies misfortune, recouers his places loſt in Lorraine, with the horſemen he had of France, and ſome footemen from the Suiſſes and the Townes of Germanie. He beſieged Nancy, forced the Lord of Bures of the houſe of Croy to yeeld, after that hee had in vaine ſollicited ſuccors from his Maſter. [d] The Engliſh which were within it hauing loſt *Cohin* their leader began to murmure more at the length of the ſuccors then the languiſhing of the ſiege, for they had no other torment then the impatiencie of that which they attended. They told *de Bures* that if hee did not compound they would make their owne appointment. *De Bures* in ſteed of oppoſing himſelfe to ſo vniuſt & diſhonourable a demand yeelded vnto them. The Pilot beleeued the Galley ſlaues, and the Phiſition yeelded to the pleaſure of his ſicke patient. [e] The compoſition was made, and three daies after ſuccors came.

Duke of Lorraine recouers his own Cõtry and beſeegeth Nancy

Army of the Duke of Bourgondies before Nancy.

The Duke of Bourgundy, not to giue the Duke of Lorraine leiſure to fortifie Nancy, nor to furniſh it with men and victuals, blockt it in on euery ſide, hauing Pont a Mouſſon for his retreat. This was not done with the aduice of his beſt Captaines, [f] who held

[a] *A great courage is very ſenſible of publique diſgraces.* Mahomet *ſeeing himſelfe forced to raiſe the ſiege from Belgrade with loſſe and ſhame, called for poiſon to kill himſelfe. He neuer remembred this affront but he beat his head againſt the wall and tare his muſtachos.*

[b] *Princes in the change of their fortunes enter into fury againſt them that ſeek to adulate them.* Perſeus *hauing been defeated by* Paulus AEmilius, *ſlue 2. of his greateſt friendes, who ſlept forward to tell him ſome truth. Euery thing diſpleaſeth an afflicted mind.*

[c] *Proſperity finds many friends & kinſmen: miſfortune and miſery hath not any: often ſhe doth moſt commonly follow fortune, who hath fauour & good ſucceſſe at her ſides.*

[d] Rene *Duke of Lorraine recouered many places which the Bourgondians held. Espinal would not yeeld without ſeeing him, for that they were made beleeue that he was dead.* Nancy *hauing indured ten weekes ſeege it yeelded the 7. of Nouember.* 1476.

[e] *Pompey reſolued to make warre at the appetite of his ſoldiers, the which the Captaine of a ſhip ſhould not doe, much leſſe the Generall of an army, and againſt his owne mind, for he was wont to commend thoſe Phiſitions which did not pleaſe the diſordred Appetite of their Patients.* Plut.

[f] *Nothing doth more aduance the ruine of a Prince then not to beleeue Counſell, and to preſume to know more then any. They hold him, ſaith* Paulus AEmilius. *that would manage all thinges after his owne braine for an arrogent rather then a wiſe man.* Tit. Liu. Lib. 44.

held that ſeazing vpon the ſmall places thereabouts, he ſhould cut off their victuals, and in the end famiſh them without troubling his Armie, which had more need to refreſh it ſelfe in garriſon then to Campe. But his Councels were diſordred, and choller and fury made his ſpirit runne headlong. [g] His will voide of all reaſon and gouernment ſeemed to conſpire againſt himſelfe, the ſooner to aduance his miſery. [h] Hee would giue no credit to Pope *Sixtus* the fift, who ſent the Cardinal of Friuly [i] his Legat vnto him to treat a Peace betwixt him and the Suiſſes.

In the heart of winter, and of a very rigorous ſharp winter, he camped before Nancy. The Duke of Lorraine was at Lucerne to haue ſuccors from the Suiſſes. They giue him eight thouſand men, which paſſe at Baſil, croſſe throgh Alſatia, & ſpoile the Iewes in the townes of Enſicheim, Colmar & Schletſtat, making no conſcience to take in groſſe from the Iewes that which by their Vſuries they had robbed by retaile from the Chriſtians. All the Duke of Lorraines forces being together, he made two troupes, the which were not equall to the Duke of Bourgundies, being great in number, but very weak and languiſhing for their precedent loſſes, and the diſcommoditie of the ſeaſon, which was wonderfull rigorous, and wherewith notwithſtanding both Dukes were pleaſed, as if they had bin in the delights of their houſes. [k]

Suiſſes ſend ſuccors to the duke of Lorraine.

In the beginning of December the Duke of Lorraines Suiſſes and Germans goe out of Bergarten and charge the Bourgundians which were at S. Nicholas, ſlue aboue a hundred and tooke many horſes. The brute of this charge comming to the Campe before Nancy, awakes the Bourgundians, who preſently beat to field to ſuccour their friends and recouer the bootie which the enemy had taken at S[t] Nicholas. At the ſame time the French and Lorraines, who knew nothing of all this, enter the Bourgundians quarter of an other ſide, where they ſlue many and ſet fire of it. Some thought that if this had beene done by deſigne, and with intelligence, Nancy had been deliuered.

Bourgundians charged and ſlaine.

Famine preſt it extreamely, the inhabitants were forced to eat Horſes, Dogs, and Cats, their chiefe reſiſtance was in the extreme fury of deſpaire, [l] which would haue made them goe forth like famiſhed Wolues out of a wood.

It was impoſſible to put in any victuals, but with the hazard of many men. The approches were ſo kept as no pollicie, no ſtratagems, which are commonly practiſed in ſuch victuallings, could ſucceed. [m] *Rene* reſolued to put in certaine ſackes of meale vnder the conduct and hazard of a company of men at armes. They paſt not all, many were taken and preſented to the Duke, who commanded they ſhould be hanged by the rigour of the law of Armes, which

Famine extreme in Nancy.

g *Of an enterpriſe gouerned by choller and fury, there is no good iſſue to be expected.* Furor iracũ mentem precipitãt. *Fury and choller make the mind run headlong.*

h Phil de Cõ. *ſaith, that God propounds ſuch reſolutions to Princes, when it pleaſeth him to change their fortunes. lib. 5. c. 5.*

i *The Cardinall of Friuli the Popes Legat being at Baſill exhorted the Suiſſes to lay downe armes: But they ſaid they could not doe it vntill the D. of Bourgundy were out of Lorraine,*

k *Delicacy doth not become a Generall in his Armie.* Tac. *repreſents* Corbulo *as a Generall of an armie ſhould be in moſt diſcommodious ſeaſons.* Ipſe cultu leui capite intecto in agmine, in laboribus frequens adeſſe: Laudem ſtrenuis, ſolatium conualidis, exemplum omnibus oſtendere. *He was accuſtomed to goe in a light weed, to be bareheaded among the rankes, & to be preſent at labors, to cõmend the ſtrong, to comfort the ſickly, and to be an example to all.* Tac. lib. Ann. 17.

l *The fury of neceſſitie makes ſtrange reſolutions, when as there is no other health but danger.*

m *In militarie factions, as the victualling of a place neere preſt is one of the moſt difficult, ſo is it one of the moſt worthy. Policy can doe more then force. That of* Landrecy *in the yeare* 1543. *is one of the moſt memorable, by* Francis *the firſt in view of the Emperor* Charles *the fift he made ſhew to giue Battell, and the light horſemen being in skirmiſh he cauſed the victuals to enter, and then he retired.*

wils

wils that euery man attempting to enter into a place to fortifie it after that the Canon hath played ſhall be puniſhed with death. Among theſe there was a Gentleman of Prouence, caled *Ciffron*, *Stuard* to the D. of Lorraine, who before his death ſaid that he deſired to diſcouera matter which did import the ſafety of the dukes perſon. *Campobaſſe* who knew him for that he had bin imployed in the practiſe of his treaſon and intelligence with the Duke of Lorraine, makes the Duke of Bourgundy beleeue that his deſire to ſpeak was but to deſire to liue and to winne ſo much time. This Duke too tractable in a matter of ſuch conſequence, and which ſhould not haue been neglected, commands he ſhould bee diſpatcht. *Ciffron* ſaid that it was not any deſire to prolong his life, but to free his Conſcience, which made him deſire to be heard, they report this vnto the Duke, who ſends back to know what hee would ſay. This was to adde crueltie to death, to refuſe a little reſpight to a condemned man. n

Ciffron not heard meaning to diſcouer *Campobaſſes* treaſon.

Ciffron deſired no delay for himſelfe, for he was reſolued to die, but he required it to aſſure the Dukes life, to whom he ſent word that he could not truſt that which lay hidden in his breſt to any but himſelfe. *Campobaſſe*, who did wonderfully apprehend the laſt words of *Ciffron*, Kept neere vnto the Duke, to the end hee might take from him all meanes to diſcouer his Treaſon, wherefore comming out of the Dukes chamber hee ſaid that the Duke would not ſee *Ciffron* and that he commanded them to diſpatch him, ſo in ſtrangling him they ſmothered in his breſt the aduice which might haue ſaued the Dukes life. *A miſerable condition of them whoſe misfortune no man beleeues vntill it be paſt.* o

The blow, which *Campobaſſe* had receiued from the Duke of Bourgundy, did continually blow in his heart the fire of reuenge, vvhich lay hid, and to the end he ſhould not looſe the remembrance, he did entertaine that by the ordinarie obiect of a deuice which was wittily cruell. It was of a Fig-tree vvhich by his owne force did riue the Marble of an ancient Monument. p Not able any longer to couer the fire of his reuenge, nor to hide his vnnaturall treaſon, and fearing leaſt the beſieged, vvhom hee fortified with aduice and Councell, ſhould diſcouer him, he paſt to *Renes* troupes, and did vveaken the Dukes armie by ſome horſemen which followed him. That reaſon which makes traitors odious, and treaſon acceptable, cauſed him to be well entertained in *Renes* Court. Vice doth ſooner finde a vvife then vertue a husband. There is no ſuch villany but it pleaſeth when it profits. Yet the Suiſſes and Germans which were in the Duke of Lorraines Armie deteſted this treacherie, q proteſting that they would not fight with a Traitor. *Rene* ſent him to Conde vpon Mozelle, to keep the paſſage, and to make his profit of the ſpoile of the Duke of Bourgundies men. They did counſell the Duke to retire to Pontamouſſon to refreſh his Armie, and not to expoſe it in that weaknes to the hazard of a Battell, and to thinke that the ſuccors which *Rene* brought to the beſieged, was not anſwerable to the neceſſitie wherein they were. That his armie conſiſting

Campobaſſe leaues the Duke.

The D. of Bourgundy contemnes Councell.

n *To giue time to prepare ones ſelfe to die is an act of iuſtice and humanitie. The iudgements of Nero ſeemed the more cruel, for that hegaue not an houer to thinke of death.*

o *The Emperor Domitian ſaid that the condition of Princes was miſerable, for that hauing diſcouered conſpiracies made againſt them, they are not credited vntill they be ſlaine. They alwaies ſay vnto them, it will be nothing, it can not be.*

p Nicholas *of Campobaſſe carried for his deuice the Figtree of* Meala, Marmora Mealæ findit capri-ficus. Mart. lib. 10.

q *They that abandon their duties and loyalties are neuer eſteemed, Princes doe countenance & honor thē for a time, but Noblemen that are about them frowne on them.*

ſiſting of forraine troupes, could not long endure the toyles of the warre, nor the rigour of the winter, being certaine that the ſouldiour, which fights onely for pay growes diſcontent and disbands. That which he receiues is leſſe in his conceit then that which he ſuffers and thinkes to merit.[r]

Contempt an aſſured pretage of his ruine.

He would not beleeue this Councell, and reſolued with a courragious obſtinacie to the worſt, God had taken from him the tranquilitie of the minde, and the fore-knowledge of his owne miſeries. Fortune, which ment to caſt him downe headlong, blinded his eyes that he could not ſee this Precipice. [s] The wheele began to turne, to ſtay it was difficult, and the fall was infallible. *The deſcent vnto ruine is eaſie, but the aſſent to good fortune is paineſull.* The Duke of Lorraine diuided his armie into two great Battaillons, either of ſeuen or eight thouſand men, whereof the chiefe force were Suiſſes, glorious and proud of two victories which they had wonne at Granſon and Morat. The Duke of Bourgundy had not the third part of his troupes, and if he had made choiſe of the beſt to fight, he ſhould not haue found twelue hundred, yet he attends the enemy reſolutely being well intrencht, hauing before him a Brooke betwixt two thick hedgerowes, neere vnto the Hoſpitall of Magonne.

Defeates & death of the Duke of Bourgundy.

The Suiſſes vpon their firſt approch ſeaze vpon St Nicholas, and chaſe away the Bourgundians that were within it. The ſame night the Duke of Bourgundy thought to ſurpriſe Nancy before that the ſuccors ſhould arriue. The Duke of Lorraine was ſpeedily aduertiſed thereof: The Suiſſes let him vnderſtand that the ſeaſon was ſo rigorous, and the cold ſo extreme, as if the troupes did continue long without any imploiment they would ruine themſelues without profit. [t] The next day which was twelfe day, they aduanced towards Nancy, the Dukes chiefe ſtrength was in his ordinance, the which notwithſtanding wrought no great effect. The Duke being aduertiſed of the Suiſſes march, planted his Ordinance againſt the high-waies comming to Nancy, thinking they would come that way, but they tooke the left hand which was a rough and troubleſome way along the Riuer of Mozelle, paſſing a little Brooke through the Yce and Snow which then fell and ceaſed as ſoone as the Battell began. They recouered a little hill, by the which they might charge the Dukes Armie of both ſides. The Bourgundians diſcouering it, they raiſed a great cry to haue the Artillerie charged: But it was too late. The Suiſſes hauing taken breth, and made their prayers fell violently vpon the Duke of Bourgundies footmen, and after ſome reſiſtance woon their trenches, make them recoile, and diſorder them. The horſemen ſeeing the footmen in route fled that way where as *Campobaſſe* ſtopt their flight and their retreat. All the Bourgundians were at the diſcretion of their enemies. The Duke being knowne by the traitor *Campobaſſes* men was ſlaine with one blow of a Halbard, and two thruſts of a Pike.[u]

After

[r] *They that ſerue themſelues with ſtrangers find an vnaoubted inconuenience.* Thucidides *ſaith, that moſt commonly they make war with bragging words & ſhews but when they are to fight, they retire.* lib. 3.

[s] *God will not onely depriue moſt men of a quiet ſetled and happy life, free frō all troubles and care, but takes frō them moſt commonly the foreknowledge of calamities & afflictions which ſhall fall vppon them, and the meanes to preuent them, either for that he wil not haue his wil proue vaine & be diuerted, or to exempt them from the care & vexation wherin they might be, attending the blowe, if they ſhould foreſee theſe ineuitable accidets.* Nicetas Choniates.

[t] *An armie in time ſurmounts all accidents. In like manner which in time ruine armies. Of this kind are hunger, cold, & other diſcommodities of the ayre.*

[u] *When the D. of Bourgundies body was knowne, they found that hee had a blowe with a Halbard which did cleaue his head*

After the Battell they were full of care what was become of him. They ſought him both among the liuing and the dead. There was no difference, the bodies were all naked, the Lyon was ſtript by ſome poore Grey-hound which durſt not looke on him liuing. [x] They found him in a ditch, his face being plaiſtred ouer with mire and bloud, the ſharpnes of the winter hauing frozen all that they could not know him. Nature hauing giuen him no greater ſhare of ground in this fall then to the meaneſt ſouldiour. The brute was that he had eſcaped, and for ſorrow of ſuch a loſſe had attired himſelfe in a Pilgrims weed to wander throughout the world.[y] *Rene* Duke of Lorraine ſent to Metz to learne if he had not bin ſeen paſſe, the Secretarie of the Towne hauing made inquirie, aſſured him that he had not been ſeene.

The Dukes body found by a Page.

Campobaſſe killing all them that fled, had reſerued one of the Dukes pages, who did ſeeme to finde out his body, [z] the which he knew by diuers markes, the wanting his teeth of the vpper Iawe which he had loſt in his youth with a fall, by the ſcarre of a wound which he receiued in the throate at the Battell of Montlehery, by the withering of the skin vpon his ſhoulder which a cole had made; by a Fiſtula which hee had vnder his nauell, and by his nailes which he ware longer then any one of his Court.

The Duke interred at Nancy.

The Dukes Enſignes and coulours were preſently carried to *Rene*, who obſeruing the Fuzils or Irons to ſtrike fire which they carried ſaid. *What a Pittie, when this Prince would warme himſelfe, hee could not make vſe of theſe Fuzils to ſtrike fire!* [a]

The bodie was drawne from among the dead and carried to Nancy, where after they had waſht it, and attired it in a poore weed of linnen cloth, they layed it vpon a table, vnder a cloth of Eſtate of black Veluet, the chamber being hanged with the ſame. The Duke mourning in his outward habite for this death, and carrying ioy in his heart for his victory, would needs ſee him, and was not ſo ſcrupulous as *Pompey*, who turned away his eyes from the dead body of *Mithridates*, King of Pontus, leaſt he ſhould prouoke the reuenging wrath of the Gods againſt him.

At this ſight the Duke was moued to pittie and ſorrow, as compaſſion is not leſſe naturall in great courages, then crueltie euen againſt the dead is proper to baſe and cowardly mindes. [b] Taking him by one hand, he ſaid, *God receiue your ſoule, you haue cauſed vs much trouble and ſorrow.* He cauſed him to be interred with all kindes of Funerall Pompe, finding no expence ſo pleaſing as that which is made to interre an enemie.

K. *Lewis* aduertiſed of this death the next day.

It is ſtrange to reade what is written and credited, that the day after the Battell, King *Lewis* being at Maſſe, the Archbiſhop of Vienna ſaid vnto him preſenting him the Pixe. *Reioyce Sr your enemy is dead.* The Poſts which brought this newes ſo ſpeedily might truely be called windes, like vnto thoſe of *Elius Verus*. [c] And as the peo-

from aboue the care vnto the teeth, one thruſt with a Pike through his thigh, and an another in his fundament.

[x] *Cowardly dogges bite the skins of wilde beaſts wher they are in the houſe & pul off their haire, but they dare not touch them whe they are in the field.* Plut.

[y] *There was ſeen in the town of Bruxelle in the Dioceſe of Spire, a naked man couered only with a linnen cloth, whō they held to be the Duke of Bourgundy.*

[z] *The Duke of Burgundies bodie was knowen by a Portugall Phiſition, by the baſtard of Bourgundy, by* Oliuer *of* La March, *and by the Groomes of his Chamber.*

[a] *The duke carried in his coulours an iron to ſtrike fire betwixt two trenchers of wood, meaning that it was in his power to make a great fire of warre when he pleaſed.*

[b] *Great mindes are moued at the ſpectacle of the ruines of nature, and at the Tragicall effects of fortune.* Alexander *felt his eies to ſwell with teares when he read theſe words in Perſian vpon* Cyrus *tombe.* I am *Cyrus* who conquered the Empire of the Perſians, let no man enuy this little ground which couers my poore carkaſſe. [c] *The Emperor* Aelius Verus *gaue wings and the*

ple beleeue not that which they deſire not, his ſubiects were long doubtfull of the truth of his death. They ſaid that the griefe of this loſſe kept him hid, and that he had been ſeen in a Pilgrims weed. It is troubleſome to beleeue the death of Princes whom they loue, who haue won their hearts by mildnes and affabilitie.

This Prince ſaid, and his tombe ſpeakes it yet, that he neuer had any reſt in his life. He would be the Eagle of Princes in deſigne and execution, and as Eagles haue alwaies in their neſts ſtones which ſound, hee had alwaies ſome deſigne in his head which diſturbed his reſt. Hee that did inherit the mattereſſe whereon he ſlept, might well keepe it tocauſe ſleepe, ſeeing that a man ſo diſtempered did ſleepe little.

Wee muſt not ſuffer honor to grow old, nor to weare like a garment, it muſt be renued by ſome goodly action. He ſought by new deſignes and new enterpriſes, to maintaine the brute of this reputation, which he thought did paſſe away preſently, if ſome other couragious action did not renew it, and hee feared nothing more then that his idlenes ſhould giue the people occaſion to demand what he did. Meane men are not to giue an account of all their actions, but will know what great men doe or doe not. [d] His great courage was giuen him to afflict his bodie, & to torment his ſpirit. His force was not equall to his Ambition, leſſe pride or more power. His life was too ſhort to goe that great way. Hee would not haue been ſatisfied with halfe Europe. All or nothing. Hee had more valour then gouernment. Of this King & this D. might haue bin made the compoſition of a great and abſolute Prince; [e] for the two eſſentiall parts neceſſarie to make a great Captaine, Wiſedome, and Valour, he had but one, and would make himſelfe to bee eſteemed by actions which were rather animated by courage, then guided by Counſell.

But he was laborious and diligent, two qualities [f] requiſite to make a Captaine. He would be euery where, himſelfe did view the ſcituation of his Campe, with the aduantages and diſcommodities about it, he obſerued who went and came, who entred and who went forth. [g] He was ſtill walking among the ſouldiors, reprehending the Captaines priuately, and the ſoldiors publikely, when he found them to neglect their duties. The meaneſt fortune requires wiſedome to guide it, and the greater it is, the more it is enuironed with difficulties. This Prince grew ſo inſolent, & fell into ſo great a conceit of his own valour, after his firſt deeds of Armes, that although his naturall inclinations were not meerely warlike, yet hee tooke delight in no other exerciſe then warre; with ſuch great preſumption, as he held no wiſedome comparable to his Councels, nor force equall to his valour, and yet in that there vvas impatiencie and deceit, and in this raſhnes and violence. Preſumption was ſo violent in his imagination, as he would not haue giuen place to *Hannibal* nor to *Scipio*. [h] He had made a tem-

Humor of the D. of Bourgundy

Exceſſe of the Dukes Ambition.

names of winds vnto his Poſts calling one the North, an other the great wind, an other the South, &c.

[d] *A Prince ſhould neuer giue the people occaſion to inquire of his idlenes.* Cato *had reaſon to ſay,* Non minus otii quam negotii clarorum virorum rationem extare oportere. *The reaſon of famous mens Idlenes muſt be apparent, as wel as of their implo,ments.*

[e] *Who ſo could haue take ſome of the King our Maſters conditions and ſome of his, might well haue made a perfect prince, for without doubt the King exceeded him much in iudgement, and the end did ſhew it by his workes.* Phil. de Com.

[f] *He is a good Captaine that is both wiſe & valiant.* Hanniball *was valiant, &* Fabius *wiſe. This man by his wiſdome vnder-ſtood the heat & courage of the other.* Guicchiardin *ſaith. That it is no leſſe the dutie of a valiant Captaine to doe the workes of a wiſe man then of a courageous* Paulus Aemilius *did perſwade* Marcus Varro *his Colleage to temper the hot fumes of his courage, by the coolenes of his vviſedome.*

[g] Charles *D. of Bourgundy vvas called by many the toiling, for that he vvould ſee all and doe all, toiling himſelfe extraordinarily in all occaſions.*

[h] Antigonus *being demanded vvho vvas the beſt Captaine, he anſvvered.* Pyrrhus *if he had liued a mans age. But among them that liued ſo, the firſt ranke was due to* Haniball, *the ſe-*

ple

ple of his heart, which adored no other Deitie, then his Ambition.

The Duke grew preſumptuous and inſupportable.

After the Battell of Montlehery, hee did nothing by Councell, all aſtes his owne head, and according to his own humor, being not able to reſtraine the fiercenes of his pride, nor moderate the greatnes of his deſignes, [i] Vanity did ſo ouerſhadow the tree of his fortune, as it made it die. His death vvas the ruine & deſolation of the great body of the houſe of Bourgundy, vvhich hath continued ſome 100. yeares vnder foure Dukes in continuall felicitie & proſperitie. And ſo all ended, yea the empire of Rome which cõmanded al that was great, rich, & powerfull vpon the habitable earth, is in the end fallen to peeces. [k]

Example of the Dukes great iuſtice

He had vertues worthy of a Prince, but Pride, preſumption and wilfulnes blemiſhed all the glory. Aboue all he was a great iuſticer, and they report an admirable example of his Iuſtice againſt a Gouernour of a Towne in Zeland who was in a manner mad for the loue of a Lady which was equally faire and wiſe, and who had committed the gard of her beauty, to the loue of vertue. He attempted againſt her honor, and this violent curioſity to be partaker of an other mans pleaſure, [l] made him to ſue vnto her and ſerue her. Seing that hee could not winne her by praiers, ſeruices nor preſents, hee committed a notable villany, cauſing her huſband to be impriſoned, and faining that he was aduertiſed of ſome intelligence, which hee practiſed with the enemy. Behold hee is in an eſtate where hee muſt iuſtifie himſelfe or die, for in ſuch accuſations there is no other way. [m] His wife caſt her ſelfe at the Gouernors feet, whoſe intreaties ſhee had ſo often ſcorned, ſuing for the innocent, & innocently pleading plainly for the priſoners liberty. Why how now ſaith the Gouernor do you make ſute vnto him whoſe wil you hold ſubiect to your laws? reſtore me my ſelfe, and I will reſtore you your husband; he is my priſoner, and I am thine, it is in your power to ſet vs both at liberty.

A mind afflicted with fear & loue.

She ſaw her ſelfe reduced betwixt baſhfulneſſe and fear, bluſhing firſt, and then paleneſſe painted vpon her face, did witneſſe the one and the other paſſion: for ſhame to looſe her honour, by a crime more odious in her Nation then in any other, [n] and feare not to recouer her husband. The Gouernour gaue her no time to bethinke her ſelfe, for ſuppoſing that ſhee was in an Eſtate not to refuſe him any thing, he takes that by force which he could not haue with her heart, and for that hee would haue no companion in this tyranous poſſeſſion, to his looſeneſſe hee addes crueltie, which is pleaſed with that company, and doth commonly lodge in baſe mindes. [o] He cauſed the Husbands head to bee cut off, the Wife did ſummon him of his promiſe to ſet him at libertie, and he willed her to go into the priſon and take him: ſhe goes thither with a hart ſwelled with ioy for the deliuerie of her Husband, and with a great

Cruelty baſe and villanous.

cond to Scipio, *and the third to* Antigonus.

[i] *After that* Paulus Emilius *had vanquiſhed* Perſeus, *King of Macedonie, he ſpake theſe goodlie words.* Let vs learne to humble our ſelues, and let vs reſtraine our fiercenes and pride?

[k] *The Empire of Rome in the time of the Emperor* Adrian, *had* 200. *thouſand foote, and* 4000. *horſe entertained daily, with* 300. *Elephants for war, &* 2000. *Chariots armed with* 300. *thouſand Armours compleate: As for their ſea forces, they had aboue* 2000 *galleies, and* 1200. *galicaſſes, and* 800. *veſſels for pompe. ſiluered and gilt for oſtentation only, and in ready mony aboue fifty millions of gould.* Appian Alex. *in his preface.*

[l] Plut. *ſaith, that Adulterie is a curioſity of another mans pleaſure.*

[m] *He that is accuſed of a crime muſt haue no other thought but to die, or to iuſtifie himſelfe. It was the meſſage which that couragious woman of Sparta ſent vnto her Sonne, being told that he was accuſed of ſome crime. Either rid thy ſelfe of thy life, or of thine accuſation.* Plut.

[n] *When as* Tacitus *in his deſcription of Germany ſpeakes of their cuſtomes, hee ſaith,* Pauciſsima in tam numeroſa gente Adultera, quorum pœna preſens maritis permiſſa, acciſis crinibus nudatam coram propinquos expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. *There are very few Adulteries in ſo populous a Nation, whoſe preſent puniſhment that is allowed the husband, her haire being cut of, he driues her naked out of the houſe before the neighbours, and beats her through the ſtreets.*

[o] *Cruelty is an vlcer of the ſoule, proceeding from weakeneſſe and cowardiſe.* Ammi. Marcel. lib. 27.

deſire to reuenge this iniurie, but ſhe found him dead laid in a Coffin. She caſt her ſelfe vpon him, and with fearefull cries deteſted the Gouernours inhumaine and cruell deceipt: which done, ſhe goes forth more furious then a Tyger, [p] from whom they haue ſtolne her yong ones, and reports to all her friends this cruell aduenture.

They aduiſed her to goe vnto the Duke, to whom ſhee fled and caſt her ſelfe at his feete, where with teares of reuenge and greefe, ſhe acquainted him with this iniurie, demaunding Iuſtice. The Duke hearing of this barbarous accident, ſends for the Gouernour, who being confronted with this woman, feeles his face to bluſh for ſhame, as much as hers was pale for greefe, who after hee had with trembling denied a crime which had no other witneſſe but his owne conſcience, and tried that villanies are more eaſily committed then excuſed: [q] hee imbraced the Dukes knees, demaunded pardon of him, and promiſed to marrie this woman, to repaire the wrong & iniurie which he had done her. She craues reuenge for the death of her Husband, and not the loue or alliance of him that had ſlaine him. Thoſe that were preſent aduiſed her to accept of the offer, ſeeing the miſcheefe was done, and Iuſtice might well reuenge, but not repaire the wrong. She being forced to fly to forgetfulneſſe, the Goddeſſe of the vnfortunate, reſolued to giue her ſelfe vnto him, who had depriued her both of honour and husband, and to binde him vnto her for his life, which he could not ſaue but by her means. The promiſes were written, concluded, and ſworne, whereunto the Duke added this Article, that the husband dying firſt without Children, all his goods ſhould remaine to his Wife. This concluded, their hearts did ſacrifice to the concord of marriage, and they promiſed to liue louingly together. It ſeemed there was nothing elſe to be done, nor that ſo cleare a heauen as was that day, ſhould haue any lightning or thunder. The Duke turning towards the woman, demaunded if ſhe were content: *I am my Lord* anſwered ſhe, *by your bountie and Iuſtice*. *I am not*, replied the Duke, who wayed how much the Commonweale was wronged in this crime: that a Prince may well declare, but he cannot make an offender innocent: that he is bound to do Iuſtice, [r] & to giue an accompt of innocent blood, there being no triumph equall to that which a Prince raiſeth to his glorie in doing Iuſtice. He commanded the woman to retire, & cauſed the Gouernor to be carried to priſon, giuing charge that he ſhould looſe his head in the ſame place wher he put the womans husband to death, and that he ſhould bee alſo put into a Coffin. [s] Which done, he ſent this woman to the priſon, who being amazed at this ſpectacle, & to ſee her ſelfe the widow of two husbands in ſo ſhort a time, was ſo violently oppreſt with greefe, as within a ſhort ſpace ſhe followed the way which theſe two men had made her.

A woman deprined at one time of two husbands.

But to end the life and diſcourſe of *Charles* Duke of Bourgoundy,

[p] Iuſt Lipſius *who hath written this Hiſtory ſaith*, Retinere & placare conatur fruſtra; non tigris magis ſæuiat fœtu cæpto; ſtatimque Amicarũ fidis aduocatis, rem denarrat, eius ordinẽ & culpam ſuam nõ culpam; ac conſilium viamque vltioni exquirit: Cenſent omnes ad Principẽ eundũ: qui inter alias virtutes inſignes, niſi ſuperbia et pertinacia corripuiſſet, eximius Iuſtitiæ cultor erat. *He laboured in vaine to pacify her. No Tyger did rage more hauing loſt her young, ſhe preſently called her friends, to whom ſhe declared the matter, the maner, & her offence, yet no offence: and required their aduice & a courſe to reuenge it. They all thought it fit to goe vnto the Prince, who among other noble vertues, if pride and frowardneſſe had not corrupted him, was a great fauorer of Iuſtice.*

[q] *It is a trouble to colour and diſguiſe a villany. An ancient Lawyer being importuned by a Tyrant to excuſe a parricide, which he had committed in killing his owne Brother, anſwered, That it was much more difficult to excuſe an offence then to commit it.* [r] *A Prince doing Iuſtice equally, wins more glory then if he had giuen limits to the Sea, vanquiſhed Monſters, ruined hell, and ſupported heauen.* [s] D. Ferdinand *of Gonzaga, Lieutenant Generall to the Emperor* Charles *the 5. in Italy, made the like reparation to an Italian Lady. Hee cauſed his head to be cut off that had committed the rape, hauing firſt made*

he

he died at the age of three and fortie. He came into the world at Dijon on Saint Martins Eue, in the yeare 1433. The verie daie that he was chriſtned he receiued the choller of the golden fleece, and withall the name of *Charles*, which *Charles* Duke of Bourbon gaue him, the title of Earle of Charolois, and Lord of Bethunes.

him to marrie her, & to giue her all his goods.

The houſe of Bethunes entred into that of Flanders, long before the houſe of Flanders entred into that of Bourgundie. *Baldwyn* Earle of Flanders, who purchaſed the Empire of Conſtantinople by the force of his Armes, and the happie aſſiſtance of *Anthonie* and *Coeſne* of Bethunes, had two Daughters. *Ione* married firſt to *Ferdinand* Prince of Portugall, and afterwards to *Thomas* Prince of Sauoie, and dyed without Children. *Margaret* her Siſter, married *William* of Dampierre, and had three Sonnes and one Daughter; *Guy*, *William*, *Iohn* and *Marie*. *Guy* married the Daughter of *Fegard* of Bethune, *Robert* of Bethune ſucceeded him, to *Robert Lewis* of Neuers, to *Lewis* of Neuers *Lewis* of Malain, Father to *Margaret* his only Daughter, who was married to *Phillip* Duke of Bourgondy, great Grand-father to *Charles*. This houſe of Bethunes hath like vnto others [t] felt the iniuries of Time and Fortune. Of Time which changeth and rechangeth all things, which maketh the graſſe to grow vpon the tops of Towers, and giues bounds to Empires and Monarchies. Of Fortune, which makes of houſes and men as an Auditor doth of Counters, and a Melter of Medalles; the firſt doth value them as he pleaſeth, and the laſt doth caſt the ſame Image in Leade and Gold. It hath remained in a manner ouerthrowne, vnder the ruines of this houſe of Bourgondie, there remained nothing but the remembrance of her greatneſſe, and a mournefull conference of that which ſhe was, with that which ſhe had beene, but Vertue would neuer ſuffer Fortune to deface out of the courage of her deſcendants the magnanimity which was hereditarie vnto them. Valour and magnanimity were as naturall marks in their hearts, [u] as the Anchor, the Axe, and the Lance, to the Children of *Seleucus*, of *Pithon*, and of *Semes*; But as that riuer which hauing runne farre vnder ground, riſeth vp more proudly and violentlie, ſo this houſe continues about a hundred yeares vnknowne, and farre from fauours and great dignities, it ſhall be like vnto an example of vertue without fortune, of fidelity without credit, of merit without recompence: it ſhall not bee but to appeare more glorious, more powerfull, and more happy then euer.

[t] *The houſe of Bethunes hath brought forth many great Captaines vnder this name of* Robert. *Robert who defeated* Manfroy *in Sicily, & maryed the Daughter of* Charls *of Anion: Robert who beſeeged and forced Roche vandais, Looke in the Duke of* Sullys *Panegyre.*

[u] *Many at their birthes haue carryed marks of their extraction; the Childre of* Seleucus *caried an Anchor vpon their thigh, they of* Pithon *of Nſibe had vpon their bodies the impreſſion of an Axe, and the childrē of* Semes *founder of Thebes had a Lance.*

Death of *Galeas* duke of Milan.

At the ſame time *Galeas* Duke of Milan was murthered, his in-iuſtice and crueltie had made him odious and inſupportable. He cauſed a Prieſt to be buried quicke with a dead mans bodie, the which he would not interre without money. An extreame cruelty, and an extreame auarice. Nothing did ſo much haſten his ruine, as a diſgrace which he had done vnto his Schoole-maiſter, hauing cauſed him to haue as many blowes with a ſtirrop leather giuen him in his own preſence, as he had receiued ſtripes with a rod from him being his Scholler. [x] To reuenge this affront, hee diſpoſed there of his Diſciples whom he knew to haue beene wronged in their honours

[x] *Princes doe willingly remember the ſeuerity which hath beene vſed towardes them in their Infancies.* Nero *put* Seneca *to death.* Arſenius *fled into the deſart, for that* Arcadius *his Diſciple had reſoluced to kil him.*

by *Galeas* to kill him: the one had beene depriued of his benifice; the other two ſaw their Siſters diſhonoured, by the voluptuouſnes of this Prince. [y] The conſpiracie being reſolued, and they furniſhed with courage and armes for the execution, they go to him being at the doore of St. *Stephens* Church in Milan, approching neere him, & making ſhew to ſalute him, *Iohn Andrew Lampognano* ſtrook him in the windpipe, [z] *Ieroſme Olgiato* in the throat and ſtomacke, and *Charles Viſcount* wounded him in the belly. It was impoſſible to eſcape, preſently the Dukes Seruants ſeazed of them. The firſt being content to die, ſeeing that *Galeas* was dead, cried out as they cut him in peeces. *After this manner I deſire to die.* *Ieroſme* was taken aliue, and being condemned to be fleied and quartered vpon a ſcaffold aliue, he ſaied (making no other repentance for this crime) that of ſo cruell a death, the reputation would be perpetuall. [a]

Cruelties and whoredomes of the Duke of Milan.

He is ſlaine at the Church doore.

The King was not ſo much greeued for the death of *Galeas*, as he had beene for that of *Francis Sforce*, the beſt of his good friendes, frō whom he receiued 500. men at armes, and 3000. foot, led by *Galeas* againſt the league of the Commonweale, and to whom he was reſolued to retire, if he might not haue entred into Paris.

Lewis xi. a friend to *Francis Sforce.*

When as the King ſaw himſelfe freed of one enemy, he ſtudied what he ſhould do to be reuenged of another, and remembring that K. *Edward* had paſt the ſeas for the D. of Bourgundies paſſions, hee deſired to cry quittance with him, and therfore he ſent *Robert* o f Ireland a Scottiſhman, and a Sorboniſt, with two French Gentlemen, to perſwade *Iames* 3. King of Scotland, to make warre againſt England, but the Eſtate of Scotland was ſo full of bad humours, as they could not ſtir this bodie without danger of an incurable diſeaſe. [b]

Lewis ſends an Ambaſſador into Scotland.

The King was but ſeauen yeares old when he ſucceded to his Father, and the diuiſion was great to know who ſhould haue the Regencie and Gouernment of the Realme. Some were for Queene *Marie* his Mother; Others were for *Iames Kenneth*, and *George Douglas* Earle of Anguſe. The Queene cauſed her ſelfe to be declared that which ſhe would be, & they that were for her ſaied; that if they regarded Proximitie, there was not any neerer vnto the Sonne then the mother: If they did conſider the good of the childe, not any one could haue more care then ſhe: If they could not contend with her in the degree of Proximitie, it were indiſcretion to call her affection and fidelitie in doubt, hauing therein nature for her Cautiō. If they reſpect the common good, the condition of her birth was conſiderable, for that being a ſtranger, no way poſſeſt with loue nor paſſion, they ſhould not finde that ſhe would ſupport the one to the preiudice of the other, as they might doe which had Alliances, Kinſmen, and Intelligences within the Realme, who carried their deſſignes beyond the Kinges life, and might builde vpon his toombe: As for her, the death of her Son could bring her no other fruits but a perpetuall ſorrow, and therefore ſhe was bound to deſire his health and preſeruation.

Contentiō in Scotland for the Regency.

Kenneth ſeeing this, ſtirs vp the people to apprehend the iniurie which was done vnto the Lawes of a Realme, which had alwaies deteſted

Scottiſhmē hate the commaund of women.

[y] Galeas *Duke of Milan deflowred the Siſter of* Charls Viſcount, *maiſter of ouswardrobe, and then gaue her to one of his Mignons to abuſe.* Paul. Iou.

[z] *They write that* Lampognano *to accuſtome and incourage himſelfe to this execution, did euery day ſtabbe the Dukes picture with a dagger, and after his cruell meditations executed his deſſeigne.*

[a] Ieroſme Olgiati *being ſtrecht out vpon the ſcaffold to be quartered ſaid.* Mors acerba, fama perpetua, ſtabit vetus memoria facti. Brut. Lib. 5. Hiſt. Florent. *A bitter death, but a perpetual fame, the memory of the fact ſhall remaine old.*

[b] *Whilſt that a body is ſound, it feeles not the putrified and corrupted humors which are diſperced into diuers mēbers, but as ſoone as one part is grieued, all gather together & run thither. It is euen ſo of ſtates whilſt they are in peace, but vpon the firſt trouble, any thing that is wicked, ſeditious and rebellious diſcouers it ſelfe.*

teſted the rule of Women, as contrary to that of nature, [c] and which had ſeen the raigne of an hundred Kings, and not any one of their Daughters that ſucceeded. Shall wee not finde ſaied hee, among ſo many thouſands of men, one man that is capaple to commaund men? muſt a Nation which hath no other experience but armes, be forced to ſubiect their ſwords to the lawes of a diſtaffe, and ſuffer themſelues to be gouerned at the diſcretion of a woman, and of a ſtrange woman? [d] To pacifie this diſcord, they reſolued to leaue all matters as they were for a moneth, during the which, the paſſions of both parties were but the more enflamed. Many within the Realme, deſired rather to obey the Queene then any other that ſhould be of an equall condition, or ſuperior vnto them.

But as in ſuch occaſions a man of credit and authority workes wonders, drawing the hearts and opinions of men as he pleaſeth. *Iames Kenneth* Archbiſhop of St. Andrew, giuing the Parlament to vnderſtand, [e] that to giue the authority to the Queene, was to contradict the auncient Lawes of the Realme, to expoſe Scotland to dangers, and Scottiſhmen to the ſcorn of a ſhamefull gouernment; and who ſhould iuſtifie the reproach which might be made vnto them to commaund men, and to be commaunded by women.

That Scotland neuer knew what the gouernment of women was, they found no names in their language to expreſſe it, they had neuer ſeene woman preſide in their Councels nor Parliaments, nor to diſpoſe of Iuſtice nor of the Treaſure, and that which other Nations call Queene, Scotland cals the Kings Wife. [f] That for theſe reaſons he could not councell the Eſtate of the Realme, to preferre the gouernment of a woman before that of a man, nor to the Queene to attempt it, beſeeching her to thinke, that they which councelled her did it more for their owne fortunes, then for her honour. That although her vertues were not vnknown to Scotland, and that they muſt hope well of the vigour of her ſpirits, and the greatneſſe of her courage, yet they had but two many examples of the ruines which verie ſufficient women had brought to States, when as ſtriuing to excell their ſexe; they would exceed the bounds ordained by nature. [g] His aduice was, that they ſhould chuſe one, or more, capable to gouerne the Realme, vntill the King had force of minde and body to diſcharge them.

This opinion was followed by the greateſt part, and they that would willinglie haue croſt it, ſeeing themſelues ouerſwaied by the multitude, conſented. But to the end, one faction ſhould haue no aduantage ouer the other, they tooke two of either, giuing them power to keepe the Prince, and to gouerne the Realme. They left

Councell appointed for the Regency of Scotland.

[c] Gynecocratia *or the gouern ment of women is directly againſt the laws of nature, which hath giuen vnto men ſcace, wiſedom, arms, and commaundement, and hath taken it from wome: and the law of God hath wiſely decreed, that the woman ſhould bee ſubiect vnto the man, not onely in the gouernment of realms and Empires, but alſo in euery mans priuate family.* Bodin. Lib. 6 cap. 5.

[d] *The firſt woman which opened the waie for the rule of women in Scotland was* Mary Stuard: *and* Mary *the Daughter of* Henry *the* 8. *in England.*

[e] Cato *deſirous to let the Romans vnderſtand, that the commandemẽt of women was ſhameful, ſpake theſe wordes vnto them.* All men cõmand women, wee cõmand men, and women command vs. Plut

[f] *The hiſtory of Scotlãd reports the wordes of* Iames Kenneth: Maiores noſtri adeo eorant a cura publica muliæribus mandanda alieni, vt ſi omnia rerũ vocabula excutias, ne mulieb⁹ quidem imperii nomen apud eas inuenias. Quorſum enim ei rei nomen impoſuiſſent, cuius ipſi nullum, penitus vſum habuiſſent, nec impoſterum vllum fore ſperabant? Quas enim Reginas alii ſuo quiſque ſermone, nos Regum vxores appellamus. *Our Elders were ſo farre from giuing the gouernment of publike affaires to women, as if you will examine all words, there is not any one to be found with them of a womans gouernment: why ſhould they giue that a name whereof they had no vſe, neither did they hope there ſhould be. Thoſe whom other Nations in their language tearme Queenes, we call Kings wiues.* [g] Zenobia Palmyrena *hauing vanquiſhed the Parthians, and valiantly defended the Romaine Empire, in the end ſhe ſaw her ſelfe vanquiſhed and a priſoner. In a moment ſhe loſt the realme which her husband had inlarged and inricht. This ſeemes to ſhew, that the enterpriſes of women beyond their reach*

vnto the Queene the care to bring vp his two Brethren, *Alexander* Duke of Albany, and *Iohn* Earle of Marre, and his two Siſters: but ſhe died the yeare following. The affaires being thus ſetled in Scotland, the King of England made a truce with the Scottiſh men for fifteene yeares.

Boyd

About the ſixt yeare of his raigne, *Robert Bothwell* a bold ſpirit, being deſirous to haue a ſhare in the affaires, found meanes to approach neere vnto this young Prince, and told him, that hee had beene long enough vnder the gouernment of theſe old men, that it was time to make himſelfe knowne, and what God had ordained him to be. Perſwaſions to raigne and commaund are alwaies ſweet, eſpeciallie to Princes, who thinke they cannot begin their raignes too ſoone, nor end thē too late. Vpon this diſcourſe, the King ſuffered himſelfe to be led to Edingbrough, to begin his raigne. The Regents of the Realme were incenſed at this preſumption, & make *Bothwells* proceſſe. But the King declaring that hee had done nothing but for his ſeruice, and by his commaundement, makes him Lieutenant Generall of the Realme, and a Companion both in his authoritie and affaires. [h] He commits vnto his charge his owne perſon, his Brethren and Siſters, his Forts and Townes, vntill hee ſhould come to the age of one and twenty yeares, he bindes all the Noblemen that were about him, to acknowledge him in this qualitie, and he giues his eldeſt Siſter in marriage to *Thomas Bothwell* the ſonne of *Robert*.

Boyd
Robert Bothwell fauoured by the King.

Boyd

That which the King thought to do to aſſure this breeding greatneſſe was that which ouerthrew it, for the Nobles of the Realme did ſo enuy it, and did pretend ſo many dangers in this great Communication of the Royall Authoritie to a priuate perſon, as they coniured the ruine of this houſe. The King had demaunded *Margaret*, the King of Denmarkes Daughter in marriage: whereunto they did the more willinglie accord, for that by the treatie the controuerſie was ended betwixt thoſe two Crownes, for the Ilands of Orcades. The queſtion was to ſend one to conduct the Queene: This charge was giuen to *Thomas Bothwell* by the aduice of his enemies, to the end that this abſence might coole the great heate of the Kings loue (as commonly Princes affections fauour that onelie which they ſee) and weaken his faction, giuing more courage to his enemies to make their party againſt him. They that had neuer ſpoken word during his great proſperitie, cry now againſt thoſe Horſeleeches of State, againſt thoſe Rauens and Harpies. [k] All the complaints which had beene made againſt the Father for the bad gouernment of affaires, were reuiued with ſuch vehemencie, as the King ſaw himſelfe in a manner forced to heare them, and to prouide for it. A Parlament being called at Edinbourg, they make a great inſtance vnto him; he cannot bandie himſelfe againſt ſuch wholeſome reſolutions, and they let him vnderſtand, that the force of his Eſtate conſiſts in the Accord of his Will with thoſe of his Senate. [l] *Robert Bothwell* is ſent for to appeare in perſon, and to

Nobility of Scotland conſpire againſt *Bothwell*.

Boyd

Boyd

Boyd

[h] Tiberius called Seianus Socium laborum, *a Companion of his labours, he cauſed his ſtatue to be honored in Pallaces and Theaters.* Tacit. lib. 4.

[i] *The points reſerued to Soueraigne Maieſty ſhould neuer be imparted to any Subiect, no not by Commiſſion, leaſt they open a way to the Subiect to enter into the Princes place.*

[k] *For a time they ſuffer and diſſemble the publike iniuries and oppreſſions of priuate men, but when as any one begins to cry, all purſue them.*

[l] *A Prince cannot ſhew to much fauour, loue and protection to the generall Councell of his Eſtate, from whence goe all the reſolutions, for the good of the Cōmon-weale.* Otho ſpeaking of *the Senate of Rome, ſaid vnto his Armie.* Quid vos pulcherimā hanc vrbem, domibus, tectis, & congeſtu lapidum ſtare creditis? Muta iſta et inanima intercidere & reparari promiſcue poſſūt, æternitas rerum, & pax gentium, & mea cum veſtra ſalus, in columitate Senatus firmatur. *What doe you thinke that this goodly Citty conſiſts in houſes, buildings, and heapes of*

giue

Bothwell cõdemned by the Parliament.

giue an account of his actions. His flight into England did conuict him. His Sonne being ſicke, and not able to flie away was ſtained a priſoner, and condemned to looſe his head in the Spring following: *Thomas Bothwel* being come to Edingbourg with the Queen, much amazed after ſo many dangers which hee had runne for his ſeruice, to ſee his houſe thus ruined, and vpon the aduice which his Wife gaue him, of the ſmall hope there was to returne into fauour, he returned into Denmarke, paſt into Germanie, and ſo into France, to intreat K. *Lewis* the eleuenth, to make his peace with the K. of Scotland, but whē he ſaw that the king would not do any thing, he retired to the Duke of Bourgondie, and did him great ſeruices.

But he did not long enioy the peace and quietneſſe which hee thought to finde there, for the King of Scotland, who deſired to ſee this houſe vtterly ruined, commaunded his Siſter to leaue her Husband. [m] She was fullie reſolued to runne her Husbands fortune, but hee himſelfe intreated her to goe vnto the King her Brother, thinking that he could not haue more fauour, nor better ſollicit an end of his exile then by her. As ſoone as euer ſhe came to Court, the King married her to another, and makes her to ſend for her children which were in Flanders: *Thomas Bothwell* died for greefe at Antwerp, and the Duke of Bourgoundie, his heire, made him a rich tombe, not ſo much for any care of his memorie, as to erect vnto Fortune the trophee which ſhe had gotten by the ruine of a houſe, [n] againſt the which it ſeemed ſhe had no power.

King of Scotlands good inclination corrupted.

The King in the meane time who had been bred vp in great libertie, ſuffred himſelfe to goe whether his humors led him, and puts his Eſtate into ſuch confuſion, as there was nothing in a manner firme nor well ſetled. The Truce with England was expired, & it was feared they ſhould fall to vvar, for that the ſame time the Engliſh had taken and ſpoiled a great ſhip of Scotland, but K. *Edward*, who after that he had ended his buſines with Frãce, had no care but to take his pleſure, made no difficulty to reſtore that which had been taken, to the end the Truce might be cõtinued, & the mariage of one of his daughters treated with the Kings eldeſt ſon, the better to Cyment this accord.

The King of Scotland ſent two Embaſſadors to the Duke of Bourgundy to haue iuſtice of ſome complaints, made by the Marchants which did traffick vpon his coaſt. Being arriued in Flanders, there came a Phiſition called *Andrew* to viſit them. Hee was a great Sorcerer, and one of thoſe who to ſteale diuination, thinke to imitate Diuinitie, and to abuſe the world with illuſions, wherewith their Demons abuſe them. [o] He met them with amazement, for he told them that they needed not to make ſuch haſt, for that within two daies they ſhould haue newes of the Duke which vvould make them to change their reſolution. The two daies vvere not expired before the newes of the Dukes death vvas brought to Gand.

Andrew a Scottiſh Phiſition a great Sorcerer.

ſtones, theſe dumb & ſenceleſſe things may fall and bee repaired againe, the eternitie of things, the peace of Nations, and my health with yours is ſetled by the ſafety of the Senate.

[m] *An extreme hatred from an extreme loue which forceth the K. of Scotland to breake a bond which could not be diſſolued but by death. An example that there is nothing aſſured in the great fauour of Princes, and an inſtruction to ground our felicitie vpon our ſelues and not vpon an other. Man begins to be ſubiect vnto Fortune when he ſettles his felicity without himſelfe.*

[n] *The houſe of the Bothwels was as ſoon ouerthrowne as raiſed. The Hiſtory of Scotland ſaith.* Ita Bodiorum quæ tum erat in Scotia florentiſsima familia intra paucos annos & creuit & corruit, magno poſteris documento quam ſint lubricæ Regum adoleſcentium Amicitiæ. *So the familie of the Bothwels which then did floriſh much in Scotiãd within few yeares did both riſe and fall; a great inſtruction to poſteritie how ſlipperie the loue of yong Kings is.*

[o] *The diuels inſpire illuſions into Sorcerers minds, to the end they ſhould not ſee that which is, & ſee that which is not.* Quicquid miraculi ludunt per Dæmones faciunt. *What miracle ſoeuer they play, they doe it by their Diuels.* Min. Felix. *They are Apes of Diuinitie and theeues of Diuination.* Emulantur Diuinitatem, dum furantur Diuinationem. *They imitate Diuinitie, whileſt they ſteale Diuination.* Tert. Apolo. c. 22.

An

An accident which ouerthrew their embaſſage, and ſent them home into Scotland, where they did not forget to tell the King (as Courtiers doe willingly diſcourſe of that vnto their Maſter which pleaſeth him) that *Andrew* a Phiſition had foretold them of the duke of Bourgundies death. Curioſitie and idlenes had already framed this Princes ſpirit to receiue theſe vanities for infallible ſciences, beleeuing that he could not be a King if hee were not a Magician. [p] The brauery of the Court was all in theſe Impoſtures, if there were any ſpirit corrupted with theſe errors, he was preſently led into the Kings Cabinet, whoſe ſpirit was like an infected Lyuer which draws out of a great glaſſe of water a drop of wine to corrupt it more, [q] ſome of his learned women had foretold him that the Lyon ſhold be ſinothered by the yong Lyons. To haue more knowledge of this prediction, he ſent for this Phiſition, he gaue him Benefices & great entertainments to make him ſtay in Scotland, and conſulting with him as the Oracle of his fortune, hee had this anſwere from him. *That the dangers which threatned his life ſhould come from the conſpiracie of his owne.*

King of Scotland giuen to Sorceric.

Theſe words made ſo ſtrange a Metamorphoſis in this Prince: as being gentle, milde and courteous, he became inacceſſible, iealous and diſtruſtfull. [r] He thought that crueltie would purchaſe feare, and feare would aſſure him, and diſappoint the deſignes which ſhould be made againſt him. Hee held his neereſt kinſmen for enemies, and the greateſt of the Realme to be traitors. Hee made new creatures and gaue himſelfe to be gouerned by baſe men, who managed the ſtate at their pleaſures, and neuer did well but when as they thought to doe ill.

The Nobilitie of the Realme beeing offended at this bad gouerment, and to ſee that the King was a ſlaue to men, who could not remember their fathers condition without bluſhing, and who held him coopt vp like a ſauage beaſt that he might not grow tame, they reſolued to free him: but to preuent it, theſe petty tyrants of the Kings will ſeaze vpon his Brethren, [s] they make the yonger dye by bleeding, the other was put in priſon, but he eſcaped and got into France, with his wife, Daughter to the Earle of Bullen, being forced to make that his contrie where he found his fortune, thinking to ſee the ſame ſunne euery where which he ſaw in Scotland. He beſought K. *Lewis* the eleuenth to aſſiſt him with ſufficient forces to make war in Scotland. [t] The bad vſage he had receiued frõ his brother caried him totheſe motions to ouerthrow all that hee could not remoue. The K. thought it not fit to ground a war againſt his allies vpon an other mans paſſions: ſo as the Duke of Albany ſeeing that he could not obtain that he expected frõ the king, he paſt ouer into England, and perſwaded K. *Edward* to make war againſt the K. of Scotland. [u]

The Noble-men conſpire.

Parricides and cruelties.

The Noblemen of the Realme apprehending this ſtorme aſſembled together by night in a Church, where they reſolued to caſt all

that

[p] Apuleius *ſaith that to be a King in Perſia hee muſt be a Magitian.* Vlli inter Perſas conceſſum eſt Magum eſſe, haud magis qnam regnare.

[q] *When a ſpirit begins to be depraued it ſeekes the ill although it be ſhut vp & enuironed with good, and conuerts the good into bad nouriſhment.*

[r] *Crueltie giues vnto a Prince the Titles of Cyclops, Buſyris, Phalaris, and others, wherewith* Maximin *was defamed for his cruelty, and to make it a Maxime.* Niſi crudelitate Imperium nõ retineri. *An Empire is not held without crueltie.* Iul. Cap

[s] Iohn *Earle of Marre the Kings brother was ſluine in priſon, he was accuſed to haue ſought to bewitch the king, they cauſed twelue Sorcerers to be burnt*

[t] *Euery ſoile is the Countrie of a great courage.* Quo modo lucem noctemque omnibus hominibus, ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit. *As nature hath opened the day and night for all men, ſo hath ſhe al contries for men of courage.* Tac. lib. 4

[u] *It is alwaies dangerous to make warre vpon the Councels of men that are baniſhed from their countries, and reduced to thoſe extremities to ruine it for reuenge. Paſſion doth eaſily tranſport them, they promiſe that which they cannot hold, and their wils are ſubiect to change.*

that into the Sea which was the cauſe of this tempeſt, and which made the King to play at tenis with his ſubiects heads, [x] being neceſſary to rid himſelfe of domeſticke enemies before he did incounter ſtrangers. The King who had ſpies in all places was aduertiſed of this aſſembly, and ſent *Cocheran* one of his fauorites to diſcouer it, he was met by *Archembald Douglas* Earle of Anguſe, who took him by the neck and made him faſt with the ſame chaine of gold which he himſelfe ware, and then he gaue him in gard to certaine ſoldiors vntill it was day, at the breake of which hee was carried vnto a gibbet, lamenting his hard fortune, which had raiſed him vp to ruine him. Some cried out to haue him diſpacht, others were moued to pittie. [y] All reioiced to ſee the Court purged from this contagious plague. He goes directly to the Kings Chamber, and ſeazeth vpon all theſe Empericks of ſtate, vnder whoſe gouernment impietie had ſo raigned, and iniuſtice been in ſuch credit in Scotland, and cauſeth them all to be hanged.

Conſpiracie of the Nobilitie executed.

The King of England made his profit of theſe broiles, for hauing ſent *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter his brother into Scotland with a mighty Armie, he forced the King to reſtore him Barwick, which the Scottiſhmen had kept one and twenty yeares, by meanes wherof a Peace was treated and ſworne.

King of England ſends an armie into Scotland.

The Nobilitie of Scotland thought that the King would grow wiſe, hauing no more theſe inſtruments of folly about him, [z] but hee made them to change their opinions, for hauing ſetled his affaires abroad, he began to call them to an account at home, and to be reuenged of them which had preſcribed him a law. This cauſed anew reuolt, to pacifie the which the King fled to the Pope, who ſent a Legate, to draw the Rebels to their duties, and hee intreated the King of France and England by his Embaſſadors, to aſſiſt him to quench a miſchiefe, the contagion whereof might creep in among their ſubiects. Not holding himſelfe ſafe in Edinbourg, hee would haue retired to Sterling, but the Gouernour would not giue him entry. He was then forced to keep the field hauing no retreat; his enemies incounter him, & he accepts the Battel which they preſented, and fought valiantly, but finding his horſe wounded, he retires vnto a Mill, whether hee was purſued, and ſlaine, in the yeare 1488. the 31. of his age, and the eight and twentith of his raigne.

King of Scotland ſlaine.

[x] *Nothing is of ſo little reſpect to a cruell Prince as the bloud of his ſubiects.* Stratocles ſeeing them *buy the heads and n ckes of beaſts for his ſupper ſaid it was that wherwith they that gouerned the commonweale played at toſſe-ball.* Plut. in Demet.

[y] *In theſe changes of fortune ſome ſing, others we pw-n* Radamyſtus *cauſed* Mithridates *to bee taken & vnchained, the people remembring the rigour of his cõmandements added blows to his misfortune: others lamented the change of his fortune.* Vulgus duro Imperio habitum probra ac verbera intentabat. Et erant contra qui tantũ fortunæ commutationem miſereren ur *The common people. requited his hard command with reproches and blows. And there were others which pitied the change of his fortune.* Tac. lib. 4 *To be wiſe we muſt fly the converſation of fooles.* Magna pars ſanitatis eſt hortatores Inſaniæ reliquiſſe. *Sen. Epiſt.* 94. *It is a great part of health to haue left the perſwaders to madnes,*

FINIS. THE

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THE

THE HISTORIE
Of LEWIS *the eleuenth.*

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

1477. TWO great occaſions preſented themſelues vnto the King to augment his Empire, after the death of the Duke of *Bourgonay*. In the firſt, it ſeemed that *Italy* was not diuided, but to vnite it againe vnder the gouernment of one alone; and that not any one but the *French* King, might vndertake it, or hope for it.

K. *Lewis* counceľd to make his profite of the diuiſion of Italy.

They councelled him to make his profit of theſe diuiſions, and to renue the right which the Crowne of *France* had to the Realme of *Naples*; ſince *Charles*, Earle of *Anjou* [a] & *Prouence*, brother to the great King, who renowned by the power of Armes, and much more by the holineſſe of his life, deſerued to be declared a Saint.

Robert of Saint *Seuerin* came vnto the King, [b] and made him diuers ouertures to moue him thereunto: but he, who was a Prince which made more account of the eſſence then of the appearance of things, would not hearken to it. The Geneuois intreated him to take them vnder his command, hauing liued happily vnder King *Charles* the 7. He was contented that *Iohn Galeas*, Duke of Millan, [c] ſhould do him homage; and whē they ſaid, that they gaue themſelues vnto him, he gaue them vnto the Diuell, refuſing a command ſo ill grounded, as vpon the quicke-ſand of the will of a multitude. He was alſo reſolued not to meddle with the affaires of Italy, hauing learned from his fore-fathers, that to ſend Armies beyond the Alpes, was nothing but *to purchaſe repentance with much charge, and great difficulties.* [d]

Troubles at *Florēce.*

He ſent the Signior of Argenton to Florence, being full of trou-

[a] *Pope* Vrban *the third, called* Charles *of Anjou againſt* Manfroy, *and promiſed him the Inueſtiture of both Siciles.* Charles *came to Rome in the yeare* 1264. *in May, and receiued it frō* Clement 4. *and from the ſame hand the Crown at S.* Iohn de Latran. *the* 28. *of Iune.*

[b] Robert *of S.* Seuerin *came to the King, to make him reſolue to come into Italy.* Paulus Æmilius *ſaith, that the King anſwered him, that he had learned frō his Predeceſſors, that the Frēch could neuer keepe any thing in Italy.*

[c] Iohn Galeas *Duke of Millan did homage for his mother, for the Dutchy of Genoa to the Lord of Argenton, returning from his Embaſſage to Florence in the yeare* 1476.

[d] *The Geneuois haue often ſought a Maiſter.* Guichardin *ſaith, that deſiring with great inſtance to giue themſelues to* Lewis *the eleuenth, he did not accept the donation, and had often refuſed,* Dimeſcolarſi in Italia come coſa piena diſpeſe & difficulta & all vltimo pernicioſa al regno di Francia, *to meddle with the affaires of of Italy, as a thing full of charge and difficulties, and in the end dangerous for the realme of France.* Guic. l. 1.

bles for a conſpiracy made againſt the houſe of *Medicis*: *Laurence de Medicis* liued in that Common-weale as a Cittizen, and commanded as a Prince: for alwaies in ſtates which depend of the authority of many heads, there are ſome which excell the reſt. [e] His Grand-father the great *Coſmo*, had laid the foundation of a great authority, which did threaten the Common-weale with a new forme of gouernement vnder the power of one alone: He was in ſuch reputation, through fauour of his wiſedome, as he began to terrifie the liberty of the Citty; and as *Machiuel* ſaith, the other Citizens held it dangerous to offend him, and moſt dangerous to ſuffer him. The contrary faction attempted to ſtoppe the growing of this deſigne, the which they thought they could not effect, but in killing *Laurence* and *Iulian de Medicis* brethren, who were not odious vnto great men, but for that they had too great credite, and their vertue too much reputation and applauſe. [f]

Heauen, which reſerues vnto it ſelfe the diſpoſition of States, and which aduanceth or ſtaies the Deſtinies as it pleaſeth, had reſolued to raiſe the houſe of *Medicis* by the ſame meanes that their enemies ſought to ruine it. [g] It was already growne to that ſplendor, and raiſed ſo high, as the ſight of the vulgar ſort was dulled, and could not diſcerne it. The Lords which carried this Name, being hardy and couragious, knew their owne merit, and knowing themſelues capable to reigne worthily, paſt all difficulties to reigne aſſuredly.

The Conſpiracie was executed vpon *Iulian* being at Maſſe in Saint *Reparées* Church, but *Laurence* ſaued himſelfe in the Veſtry. The Conſpirators were hanged at the Palace-windowes, and the Conſpiracie held ſo execrable throughout all the world, as *Mahomet* [h] would not ſuffer one of the Conſpirators to liue ſafely in Conſtantinople. The Archbiſhop of Piſa was among them that were hanged: *Nicholas*, Cardinall of Saint *Georges* was put in priſon: Pope *Sixtus* the fourth was offended, and fauoured all thoſe that had beene dealers in this Conſpiracie; he did excommunicate the Florentines, and cauſed *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, King of Naples to Arme againſt them: the Duke of *Vrbin* was Generall of the Popes Army, and of the King of Naples, and with him the Kings two ſonnes, they did ouer-runne the Territories of Florence, yet they ſpared that which did belong to *Laurence de Medicis*, to bring him into ſuſpition, and to make the people beleeue that he had intelligence with them. [i]

This Common-weale was in deadly conuulſions of her liberty, ſcarce knowing what ſhould become of her: Her Phyſitions had rather ſee her rot with languiſhing, then to cure her, or

[e] *In popular Eſtates there hath alwayes beene ſome priuate man more eminent then the reſt.* Pericles *at Athens*, Epaminondas *and* Pelopidas *at Thebes.*

Coſmo de Medicis ſurnamed the Great.

[f] *In a free Cittye the great vertue and reputation of one alone is alwaies ſuſpected.* Cato *ſaid againſt* Scipio, *that a Citty could not be tearmed free, in the which the Magiſtrate did reſpect & feare a priuate man.*

[g] *Conſpiracies do many times ſucceed happily for them againſt whom they are made.* Brutus *in his Hiſtory of Florence, the 6. Booke, ſaith:* Conſilia quæ à coniuratis ad Medicum potentiam euertendam inita fuerant, ad eorũ principatum ſtabiliendum mirifice contulerunt. *The councels which the Cõſpirators had taken to ouerthrow the houſe of Medicis, did wonderfully ſerue to ſettle their power and authority.*

Pope excommunicates the Florentines.

Army againſt the Florentines.

Changes of gouernment at Florence.

[h] *All Princes are intereſſed in the puniſhment of traytors; When as* Mahomet *vnderſtood that one of the Conſpirators was in Conſtantinople, he cauſed him to be apprehended, and ſent bound to Florence.*

[i] *So* Hanibal *ſpoiling and burning the houſes which were about Rome, forbad the Souldiers to touch any thing that did belong to* Fabius Maximus.

bury

bury her. [k] She had paſſed through all the formes of gouernements which the lawes haue eſtabliſhed ouer people. From *Oligarchia* ſhe fell to an *Ariſtocratia*, and then the people banded againſt the Nobility, and were reduced to thoſe tearmes as they intreated the Pope to giue them a Prince. This was *Charles* of Aniou[l] brother to the King S. *Lewis* going to Naples.

He had ſcarce let them know what difference there is betwixt the iuſt command of a Monarchy, & popular confuſions, but they that were bred vp, not to endure a maiſter, bring the popular eſtate againe into credit; then they returne to a Soueraignty, and ſubmit themſelues to the Duke of Athens, againſt whom they made their conſpiracies, and forced him to leaue them: [m] then they returned to their firſt confuſions, they change and rechange their policy & gouernement, thinking that they had got much by the change, when they had new Officers, and that they which gouerned had new names, the peoples vnderſtanding beeing dulled with a deſire of Innouation: ſo as we finde, that in leſſe then a hundred yeares, they haue changed their eſtate ſeuen times, euery man ſeeking to haue his ſhare in the affaires, and thinking himſelfe more capable then his neighbour.

Duke of Athens died at the battell of Poitiers.

Florence in an 100. yeares changed eſtate ſeuen times.

That wherin they were now, was to be held moſt lamentable, and would haue beene more, if the King had not ſhewed his affection for their defence. He ſent them not any force againſt their enemies, but he made an Edict, forbidding his ſubiects to ſend any money to the Court of Rome, either by billes of exchange, or otherwiſe, to obtaine prouiſions of benifices, to the end that France ſhould not furniſh the Pope with money to ruine his friends.

King *Lewis* declares himſelfe for the Florentines.

In the Edict which the King made to forbid them to ſend money to Rome, bearing date the 16. of *Auguſt*, 1478. after a great and patheticall complaint of the enterpriſes, and practiſes againſt Florence made by *Count Ieronimo*, whom he calles an Vpſtart, a man almoſt vnknowne, of baſe and meane condition, we reade theſe words: *We did hope that our holy Father, like a good Father and Paſtor of Chriſtian people, would haue imployed himſelfe for a peace, and not haue ſhewed himſelfe partiall of either ſide; and hoping that for our ſake, who haue alwayes carried a great reuerence and deuotion vnto the holy Apoſtolike Sea, hee would do ſome thing, we haue let him vnderſtand of the ancient friendſhip, league and alliance which we haue with the Sgniory and Commonalty of Florence;* [n] *which hath beene alwayes ſo well affected to vs, to the King and houſe of France, as they haue held them for their ſingular Protectors; and in ſigne thereof, whenſoeuer they renew the Gouernours of their Signory, they ſware to be true and loyall to the houſe of France, and to defend their honour, and to entertaine themſelues in their friendſhip, good will, and ſeruice.*

Oath of the Gouernment of Florẽce

[k] Pauſanias *ſaid, that he was a good Phiſition which did not ſuffer the ſicke to languiſh nor rot but did bury thẽ ſpeedily.* Plut.

[l] *The Citty of Florence was made deſolate by the cruell factions of the people, which made the blaud to flowe in, the ſtreets, and put all into combuſtion. The Lucquois came and parted them, & it was reſolued, they ſhould take a maiſter from the Pope, ſo as he were royally deſcended. This was* Charles *of Aniou, brother to the King S.* Lewis.

[m] *It is hard for a multitude to continue long in one forme of gouerment, eſpecially when it is a ſtirring, actiue, and ſubtill Nation. Theſe changes haue bin noted in the Athenians, Samians, Megarians, Syracuſans, Florentines & Genouoys. The Athenians chãged 6 times in leſſe then a hundred yeares. The petty Cantons of the Suiſſes haue maintain'd thẽſelues in their firſt popular eſtate.*

[n] *The Florẽtins haue beene alwaies Allyes & Confederate to the Crowne of France, they holding that their Citty being ruined by* Totila, *King of the Gothes, was built againe by* Charlemaigne, *& cheriſhed by the ſucceeding kings, whoſe party they haue alwaies followed, and declared themſelues Guelphes for their ſakes. Moreouer the King was bound to fauour this houſe of Medicis, which hath beene alwayes affected to his ſeruice; and he remẽbred the great* Coſmo *had exhorted his Citizens not to break with France, to fauour the deſignes of the Pope, of the King of Naples, nor the Duke of Millan. And in conſideration of theſe great proofes of affection & good will, he had ſuffered* Peter *his ſon, in the yeare* 1465. *to carry three Floures de Luce in his Scutchion.*

But notwithstanding all these aboue-named things, and without respect of the present necessity of Christian people, our sacred holy Father, hath shewed himselfe partiall in this matter, against the said Signiory, and Common-wealth of Florence, and in like manner against the Duke and Signory of Venice; wherefore they cannot by any better meanes, fortefie the Turke and Infidels against Christians, then to molest and oppresse them, that maintaine the Warre against the Turke: which things are so strange to thinke of, as the Vniuersall Church, and euery vertuous and Catholicke Prince should be grieued at it. And moreouer, wee haue beene aduertised, that our said holy Father hath said; that in this warre against the Florentines, Venetians, and others of their part, hee would employ his Person, Goods, and all that he could furnish. The which is a very strange thing, that the goods and reuenewes of the Church, which are appointed for the seruice of God, defence of the Catholicke Faith, and for the sustenance of the poore, should be imployed in such warres, and for such Factions against Christians, and to mainetaine such conspiracies to vsurpe the Signieries of Italy, and such murthers and execrable crimes. In like manner it is very strange that they suffer the indue exactions which are made at Rome, by expectatiue Buls and other meanes, and by the Vacants which they leuy, contrary to the holy Cannons and Decrees of the Church, made, and constituted, by the holy Fathers, and against the determination of the Vniuersall Church, and of holy councels, to employ the mony which hath beene so gotten, to any Earledomes and Signories, to giue them vnto men of base condition, and to aduance them, without precedent merite, or without any aide or succour which they haue giuen vnto the Church. Among all the Kings and Realmes of Christendome, we, our sacred Realme of France, and Countrey of Dauphine, and generally all our Subiects, haue a very great interest and losse, by the great aboundance of money which is drawne and paid by a great excessiue taxe, contrary to the said holy Decrees, and the liberties of the French Church.

The Venetians made a league with the Florentines: The Pope excommunicates them, being no lesse offended at this League, then at the troubles which happened in Florence: The Duke of Milan entred also into their League. The warre was managed with that spleene wherewith their spirits were then transported. The Venetians contemne these flashes of lightening, and are amazed that Rome when it was Pagan had forbidden their Priest to looke vpon dead men, ° and being Christian, that he suffers men to kill one another: That *Pallas* Priests durst not curse *Alcibiades*, ᵖ and that the Pope being head of the Church, should curse a whole Common-wealth.

League betwixt the Venetians and Florentines.

Italy became the force and store-house of the warres of Christendome, there being no hope to quench the fire which his wilfulnesse had kindled, but by the bloud of the vanquished. The King knowing that the common enemy should reape all the profite of this warre, sent his Embassadours to the Pope, to beseech him not to show himselfe implacable to these two Christian Common-wealthes

5 *Lewis* intreats the Pope for the peace of Italy.

° The Priestes at Rome diuerted their eyes from all funerall sights, when as Tiberius made his sonnes funeral Oration, there was (said Seneca) a vaile betwixt him and the body: Quod Pontificis oculos à funere arceret: *That it might keepe the high Priests eies fro that mournfull sight.* Sen. in Conf. ad Mart.

ᵖ Pallas *Priests at Athens would not curse* Alcibiades, *although the people commanded it, for I haue (answered shee) the office of a Priest to pray for men, and not to curse them.*

wealths. The Pope receiued them with much contentment, as the Angels and Messengers of peace: They came to Rome in February, [q] and had audience as soone as they demanded it: They let the Pope vnderstand that the Kings affection to the holy Sea, and his zeale and piety to the seruice of the Church, had bound him to seeke the meanes to quench this great diuision, and to vnite the childrens will vnto the fathers, for that he was well aduertised that Christendome should haue need to ioyne all her forces to resist the Turke, who had a desire that yeare to inuade Christendome, and it may be would begin with Italy, and therefore the League did promise to giue eare vnto a Pacification, to the end they might contribute their forces and meanes for the common defence of Christendome.

Offer made by the King for the League.

The Pope [r] did thanke the Kings Embassadours with great affection, he did much commend that commendable desire in *Lewis*, whom he termed the *Great King*: (he that saith *Great*, saith enough, it was the glorious Title of the Kings of the East, [s] and which comprehends all other greatnesse) and desired that when there should be any occasion presented, to seeke and aduance the good of Christendome, his affection should neuer giue place to any other, and that he had made it well knowne all the time of his Popedome, by so many Legations which he had sent into all places, to maintaine the Publique Peace, and make warre to cease, and by that meanes supply the necessities, and serue for the defence of the Faith: That neuer Bishop [t] sold himselfe more willingly for his brethren, then he would do, for so many poore Christians, which do groane vnder the yoake of Infidels.

The Pope desires Peace.

Embassadours of France make an ouerture for a Peace.

The Kings Embassadours, as Arbitrators and Iudges of the Controuersie, propounded some Articles to end it, and among others: That there should be a suspension of Armes and Censures; That the Cardinall of S. *George* should be set at liberty; That they should ordaine certaine Suffrages and Prayers, for them that had beene slaine in the Tumult of Florence; That the Florentines, and *Laurence de Medicis* should humble themselues vnto the Pope, as they offered to do, for the reuerence of the Apostolicke Sea; And that all together should demand absolution, after the forme ordained by the Church: That they should giue caution and assurance, for their obedience and fidelity, and to maintaine the Liberties of the Church: That all the forces of either side should be vnited together, and paied for two or three yeares, to make warre against the Turke.

Articles of peace imparted to the Consistory.

The Pope hauing imparted the Articles and Instructions of the French Embassadours to the Colledge of Cardinals: Euery man commended the Kings Integrity, Religion, and Wisedome, but they found them not full enough in matters which concerned the

[q] *All this discourse is drawne out of the Oration which is in the Acts of the Vatican of Sixtus the 4. the which is eloquēt & iudicious for that time, and for the estate of the businesse, it begins after this manner.* Proximo Februario venientes ad nos dilectos filios Oratores Christianissimi Francorum regis, pro nostra in eum principem solita charitate læti suscepimus. Auxit lætitiam missionis tam longinquæ causa. Ad pacē enim in Italia procuranda dicebātur venire. *Our deere sonnes, the Embassadours of the most Christian French King, cōming vnto vs, we receiued thē ioyfully, for our wonted charity vnto that Prince. The cause of this long Embassage did encrease the ioy, they were said to come to procure a peace in Italy.*

[r] Egimus pro meritis gratias, & pium magni regis desiderium laudib⁹ quibus potuimus extulimus. Nō vinci nos tanti boni affectu monstrauimus. *Wee gaue them thankes for their well deserning, we did cōmend as much as wee could, the godly desire of that great King: And, we did shew that we could not be vanquished in affection to so great a good.*

[s] *For the title of Kings, that of Great is excellent, and common to the kings of Persia,* Μέγας Βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης.

[t] *The History of Affricke saith, that the Bishop of Nola, after that he had sold all his goods to redeeme Christian slaues, he sold himselfe vnto the Vandales for his brethren.*

Holy Sea, [u] which the Pope did chiefly regard, and yet they were allowed, vpon hope that they would produce a Peace, and an vnion of Chriſtian Forces, againſt the enemy of the Church; and alſo for that the King pretended to make the Venetians and Florentines conſent to any thing that ſhould be thought reaſonable for ſatisfaction of the holy Sea.

Vpon this aſſurance, the Embaſſadours of Venice and Florence were welcome; for the Pope did beleeue that they came to performe all that which the King had promiſed on their behalfe: without this beliefe he had not receiued them, for the Church dores are alwaies ſhut againſt them that are Excommunicate, * when as they preſent themſelues to contradict his iudgements, and to excuſe their faults: But as they were about this Treaty, the Pope ſuppoſing there would be no other difficulty, but for the Ceremonies and Circumſtances of the Reparation, which was due for the offence done vnto the holy Sea; a Poſt comes vnto the Venetians, bringing them newes of an accord which they had made with *Mahomet*, by the which they did giue vnto him, Scudry, Tenare, the Promontory of Lyconia, with the Iland of Lemnos, and they did promiſe to pay him yearely eight thouſand Crownes for the liberty of the Traffique. This Peace brought ioy vnto the Venetians, but it did terrefie all the Princes of Italy: For this Tyrant was ſo neere, as he ſaw them from the Port which he had newly gotten [y].

The Pope receiues the Embaſſadours of Venice and Florence.

The Pope was wonderfully diſcontented, ſeeing that the foundations of the Peace of Chriſtendome were ouerthrowne, and that the King was diſauowed by them, in whoſe name he had made ſuch inſtance for a League againſt the Turke, [z] yet he did acquaint the Venice Embaſſadours with the Articles; and they demanded reſpite to anſwere, and to haue aduice from their Superiours. This anſwere was attended two and twenty daies: The Pope thinking that the longer they were to conſult, the more iuſt and reaſonable the reſolution would be. [a] But for their anſwere, they demanded before all things, a Suſpenſion of Armes and Cenſures, adding great cõplaints, the which *Sixtus* maintained to be contrary to the

Venetians demand ſuſpenſion of Armes and Cenſures.

[u] Non multos poſt dies jidẽ oratores ſicut internos atq; aduerſantes nobis mediatores acceſſerãt, ita media quędam ad conueniendum ſcripta dederunt integritatem, religionem, & ſapientiã deuoti regis monſtrãtia ludicio tamen noſtro & venerabilium fratrũ noſtrorum ad honorẽ ſedis, quem imprimis ſeruatum volebãt ſatis non pœna. *After ſome few daies, as there came aduerſe mediators vnto vs, ſo they propounded certaine meanes for an accord, ſhewing the integrity, Religion, and wiſedome of the Great King, yet in our iudgemẽt, and of our reuerent brethren, they were not ample enough for the honour of the Sea, which they would haue chiefly kept.*

[x] *They that bee excõmunicated are not heard, but to demand pardon and abſolution. Pope* Nicholas *in the ninth Epiſtle to* Lewis *and* Charles *Kings of France, ſaith vnto them: That hee could not heare King* Lothaire *in his reaſons, for that hee had beene diſobedient to his commandements*: Quod ſi contra propoſitum noſtrum forte preſumpſerit venire Romam minime cum qua cupit honeſtate vel hic ſuſcipitur, vel hinc profecto regreditur: *That if hee ſhall preſumme to come to Rome contrary to our purpoſe, he ſhall neither bee receiued with the honeſty that hee deſires, neither ſhall he depart.* [y] Mahomet *did beſiege Scudry, the fifth of Iune, with foure ſcore and fiue thouſand men, the ſiege continued nine monthes.* [z] Indoluimus pro fidei cauſa vehementius, & quia potiſſimum conficiendæ pacis fundamentum ſubmoneri ex hoc videbamus, nec minus ipſius Regis Chriſtianiſſimi gratia, in cuius dedecus maximopere redundat quo dum ſe huius pacis ad Ligæ requiſitionem autorem profitetur ab ijs tamen pro quibus orati, tam iniurioſe contra fidei cauſſam affectus fuerit. *Wee were much grieued for the Faiths cauſe, and for that he did ſee the foundations of making of a Peace ſhaken, and no leſſe for the moſt Chriſtian kings ſake, to whoſe dishonour it doth much redound, who whilſt he doth profeſſe himſelfe author of the Peace, at the inſtance of the League, yet he is iniuriouſly delt withall, by them for whom he had entreated.* [a] Fatemur errorem (dilecti filij) dies tam multos, ad ſaniora conſilia pertinere credidimus, quanto inter eos conſulebant diutius tanto & iuſtius & reuerentius ad ſalutem animarum vtilius reſponſuros putauimus. *Deere ſonnes wee confeſſe our errour, that there were ſo many daies of reſpite giuen, wee did thinke they had bene employed in ſounder counſels, the longer they did conſult among themſelues, the more iuſt and reuerent we thought their anſwere would haue bene, and more for their ſoules health.*

truth

truth, intreating them to reſolue within eight daies.

Vnpleaſing to the Cõſiſtory.

The Pope reports all this vnto the Conſiſtory, and they finde it hard to ſuſpend the Excommunication, [b] before that they which were excommunicated had made any ſatisfaction to the Church, nor made demonſtration of repentance: It was held a diſtaſtefull thing that the Accuſed ſhould preſcribe a Law vnto his Iudge, that the Iudge ſhould do the duty of the Accuſed, and the Accuſed performe the office of the Iudge: It was a ridiculous thing to demand ſuſpenſion of that which had not beene obſerued, and that they ſhould grant that which they had already taken of their owne authorities, and they ſaid; if they feare Cenſures, why do they contemne them? if they feare them not, why deſire they to haue things granted, which in their iudgement, they hold not neceſſary?

Suſpenſiõ of Armes not alwaies neceſſary to make a peace.

Moreouer they conſidered, that it was not alwaies expedient to haue a ceſſation of Armes to make a Peace: That many Treaties had beene made, both within and without *Italy*, in the heate of Armes; That in this ſuſpenſion there might not onely be loſſe but alſo danger, for that the courſe of the correction being broken, mens minds grew incorrigible & more obſtinate: And yet the Embaſſadours of France did ſhew, that priuate conſiderations could not haue ſuch great effect as the generall for the common good of Chriſtendome; That the peace which the Venetians had made was no let, but the other Soueraigne powers of Italy might ioyne together to reſiſt the Turke, euery one binding himſelfe to entertaine a certaine number of Souldiers, for ſo long time as ſhould be thought fit.

Cenſures ſuſpended & a Truce made.

Vpon this conſideration, the Cenſures and Armes are ſuſpended, [c] The Embaſſadours of Venice and Florence fall to an examination of the Articles: They finde not any pleaſing vnto them, they make new demands, & wil haue all reſtored which had ben taken during the war, they paſſe ouer the Popes intereſts & reſpects highly, and ſay plainely that the affaires are changed, being no more in the eſtate they were in before they had made a peace with the Turke, the which they declared they would maintain conſtantly and fully: As for demanding abſolution, after the forme of the Church, there was no ſuch meaning: [d] They thinke it would be no

Conditiõs of Peace refuſed.

b Dura res videbaturminuſque æſtimationi Apoſtolicæ dignitatis conueniens, ad eorum condemnatorumq; nutum, nullã pœnitentiæ ſignificationé edentium irrogatas pœnas ſuſpendi, dieſque tantum octo, ad eam ſuſpenſionem edici. Peruerſa & cõfuſa iuſtitiæ norma haud dubiè apparebat ex reo iudicem, & ex iudice reũ conſtitui. Porro auté cum Cenſuræ ipſæ noſtræ ludibrio habitæ eſſet, magiſtratumq; imperio interdictum nullibi obſeruatũ, omnibus in locis, omnia profanata, ridiculum iudicabatur, id ſuſpendi quod ſeruatum non eſſet, id concedi quod ſibi peccatores ante ſumpſiſſent. Et enim ſi cenſuras timebãt, quærebatur cur eas ſpreuiſſent, ſi non timebant, expediens non videbatur rem iudicio peccatorum non neceſſariam vel concedi, vel peti. c In ijs diſceptandis anguſtijs publica charitas priuatum noſtrorum periculum vicit, & deſiderio intenti ad ea quæ Gallici Oratores finem procurandæ pacis, & oratione ſua & mandatis & medijs regio nomine ediderunt, de iure noſtro deceſſimus, acquieſcendumq; putauimus. *In diſcuſſing of thoſe doubts, the publicke charity preuailed ouer our priuate intereſt, and inclining with a deſire to that which the French Embaſſadours had deliuered in the Kings name, and by his mediation and commandement, for the procuring of a a peace, we haue relinquiſhed our owne right, and thought good to ſurceaſe.* d Pia inſuper ſanctaque impiè & nefandiſſimè occiſorum Chriſtianorum Domini ſuffragiã, & Cardinalis legati detenſionẽ ambagibus quibuſdam prætereunt. Qui vero monumentũ declinandum exiſtiment, ſi noſtram eam infamiam putant æquo animo per Deum ſuperflui officij curam deponant: Nam conſcientia pluris eſt nobis quam omniũ ſermo & benefactis, quorum teſtis eſt Deus, malorũ calumnias veras nobis laudes adſcribimus. Diſcrimen iniuſtæ criminationis malumus ſubire, quam tot defunctorum animas refrigerio iuſto carere: Qui ſi ad ſeipſos eam infamiam referunt impiè q; factorũ delere de ciuitate memoriã cupiunt: ſunt haud dubiè in ſeipſos & mortuos duri. Ad iterandam enim contritionem, proximiſq; præbendum exemplum, ſubleuandumq; imprimis extinctorum animas ſtare ante oculos peccatum volunt: duræ nimirum recuſationis ſuæ culpa hæc eſt, non miſericordis poſtulati noſtri.

honour

honour for them to entertaine an odious remembrance of things paſt, cauſing Anniuerſaries to be ſaid for the ſoules of the dead, & to giue new aſſurance of their affection toward the Church, there was no mention.

When as the Pope ſaw this, he aſſembled the Conſiſtory, with the Embaſſadors [c] of the Emperour *Frederick*, of *Lewis* the French King, of *Edward* King of England, of *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, of *Maximilian* Arch-Duke of Auſtria, and of the Confederates: He complained of the contempt of his authority, and told the Embaſſadors of the league, that he lamented the obſtinacy of their Princes, who would not hearken to the voyce, and wholeſome counſell of their father, whoſe bounty they did abuſe, and had more confidence in their owne Armes, then affection to the Church their mother: That he was exceeding ſorry that the Kings Embaſſage, and the good Offices which he had done to the holy Sea, ſhould remaine without effect, that for his part, his conſcience ſhould neuer accuſe him to haue contemned any thing for the good of the Church, that his armes were alwayes open to receiue them that would repent. And for that the Embaſſadors of Venice, Florence, and Millan, demanded leaue to depart, he declared that they were free, that he would not force the neceſſity of their returne; but if they would ſtay, they might with all ſafety, that it might be, time and their preſence, might make thoſe things eaſie, which ſeemed difficult; and that ſometimes Treaties were broken off to be vnited againe more firmely.

Popes cõplaint againſt the League.

Intelligẽces of the Duke of Brittaine diſcouered.

But it is more time to repaſſe the mountaines, and ſee how the King makes his profite of theſe laſt accidents. Eſtates are like vnto ſhips, all things are not ſo well, but there is ſtill ſome diſorder: It ſeemed that the Duke of Bourgundies death had brought France to that eſtate, as ſhe could not deſire any thing elſe to make her felicity perfect; But there is yet another Duke which hinders this perfection: It is he of Brittany, who ſince the Treaty made at Victoire neere vnto Senlis, hath not diſcontinued his practiſes in England, forgetting that the Engliſh had alwayes reſerued this Prouince for the exerciſe of their Armes, when they ſhould be weary of peace; [f] and that they haue taken delight to ſee him in bad tearmes with the King. The Duke was more earneſt and carefull hereof, when he ſaw that he had loſt the Duke of Bourgundy, aſſuring himſelfe that the King would fall vpon him, and that it would be verified of him what the Fable ſayes of the Larke in the Hawkes tallants: [g] Wherefore he ſent often to viſit the King, to entertain him in a good opinion of his pains, and the fidelity of his promiſes, and yet he continued his practiſes with the King of England.

Diſpoſition of *Peter Landais*

The ſecret of this practiſe depended of *Peter Landays*, Super-

[c] Vertimur ad vos Itali, & Cõfederati Oratores, quorũ cauſa hæc agimus: lamentamur primo coram Deo, & fratribus noſtris, ceteriſq; Legatis in hoc loco preſentib⁹, vocem patris, & plena ſalutis cõſilia ad hunc diem, non audita eſſe. Clementia noſtra veſtros Principes, pie non vſos plus apud eos armorum & belli fiduciam, quam Matris veſtræ Apoſtolici Sedis charitatẽ, obſeruantiam valuiſſe. Angimur & quoque tam longinquam miſſionem amiciſſi Regis, curamque eius & vigilias pro viribus ſuſceptas, ſanctumq; pro fide propoſitũ, ſucceſſum per vos non habuiſſe.

[f] Edward *the third, King of England, would not haue the Duke of Brittaine comprehẽded in the Treaty of Bretigny, to the end he might haue meanes to vent in this prouince the boiling humours of his Realme, & haue where to diſcharge himſelfe of his Souldiers.*

[g] *The weake receiues from one that is more ſtrong, what Law he pleaſeth. The Larke* (ſaith Heſiodus) *demanded of the Spar-hawke, why he offered him violence.* Miſerable (*anſwered the Spar-hawke*) why doſt thou complaine, a ſtronger hath thee in his power?

intendant

intendant of the Dukes affaires and Treaſure, an able and ſufficient man to manage ſuch Monopolies: He had Flattery for great men, arrogancy and brauery for Inferiors, and he was difficult and ſeuere to them that were his equals: [h] He imployed and called *Maurice Bromell*, who carried and recarried the Packets. The King, who had ſpies euery where, diſcouers the meſſenger, and wins *Bromell*, who by meanes of a Norman that could counterfeit the King of Englands hand, the Duke of Brittaines, and their Secretaries, ſent the originall letters vnto the King, and carried the counterfeit Copies into England.

The Duke of Brittaine, who thought he had no other witneſſe in this action, then the Sunne, and that the king could haue no knowledge therof, [i] ſent his ſeruants often vnto him, to aſſure him, that he was wholly at his deuotion, and would not depend of any but of him. When as the King had meanes to verifie the contrary by the proofes which the Norman put into his hand, hee cauſed *Chauuin*, Chancellour of Brittanie to bee ſtayed, with all them that did aſſiſt him in his Embaſſage, to the number of ſixe or ſeuen of the Dukes Councell, and committed them to cloſe Priſon for ten or twelue dayes, the reaſon whereof they did not vnderſtand. [k]

Chauvin ſeeking to iuſtifie his Maiſters Actions, and imputing this impriſonment to the power which ſome ſlanderous ſuggeſtion had ouer the King, they did ſhewe him all the Letters which did witneſſe the ſtrict intelligence which was betwixt the King of England, and the Duke of Brittaine. *Your Maiſter* (ſaid the King) *is much too blame, who aſſuring me of his affection, ſhewes the contrary in ſeeking the ancient enemies of this Crowne. I haue told him often, that ſo long as he ſhould hold the Engliſh for his friends, hee muſt needes bee an enemy to France; and to the end hee ſhall not excuſe himſelfe, nor contradict this truth, behold two and twenty Letters vpon this ſubiect. Chauvin* viewes them, and conſiders of them: All his Rethoricke is not able to excuſe the Duke, he had rather calme the Kings iuſt choler by confeſſing and yeelding, then to incenſe him more by contradicting.

Letters of the Duke of Brittary ſhewed to his Chancellor.

The Duke of Brittanny ſeeing, that by the treachery of his Seruants, his faith could not bee vntainted with the King, hee ſent for *Peter Landays*, who alone had the charge of this Negotiation; Being much confounded, he had no other anſwere, but a proteſtation of his Innocency, ſubmitting himſelfe to the rigors of Iuſtice, if hee were found tainted with any ſuch diſloyalty: then remembring that hee had not employed any therein, but *Maurice Bromell*, who had carried the Letters, and the anſweres, hee cauſed him to bee apprehended. This miſerable wretch confeſt all; and vpon his confeſſion, he was put into a

Peter Landays ſuſpected of treaſon.

[h] *Theſe three qualities attributed to Landays, haue been giuen to* Curtius Rufus, *a man whom* Tiberius, *to hide the baſeneſſe of his extraction, ſaid to be borne of himſelfe.* Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex ſe natus Curtius Rufus *ſeemes to me to be borne of himſelfe.* Tacitus *addes that hee was,* Aduerſus ſuperiores triſti adulatione, arrogans minoribus, inter pares difficilis. *To his ſuperiours a ſowre flatterer, arrogant to his inferiors, and difficult to his equals.* Tacit. Animal. Lib. 11.

[i] *In Actions which we think to keepe moſt ſecret, there is alwaies one witneſſe irreproueable, our owne Conſcience.*

[k] *When as an inferior Prince deales not plainly and ſincerely, with one that is mighty, he muſt not thinke it ſtrange, if hee makes knowne the knowledge he hath of his ſubtilties, euen vpon them that know not any thing: and who, by the Law of Nations, ſhould not be drawne in queſtion. For this reaſon* Lewis *the eleuenth commits to priſon* Chauvin *the Chancellour, the Seneſhall of Vennes, and ſixe of the Duke of Brittanies Councellers.*

Sacke, and caſt into the Riuer, to the end the King ſhould diſcouer no more.

Peter Landays was vpon the declining of the precipice of his life, and of this great fauour which hee had with the Duke of Brittaine, if *Bromel* had not beene found; but hee was not contented to haue eſcaped this danger, his diuelliſh malice engaged the Chancellour *Chauvin*, whoſe Iuſtice and Integrity hee could not endure, being mad to ſee him ſo honeſt a man. [l] The meaneſt Vertue may procure Greatneſſe that is vitious to enuy. Hee thought that the Wheele of his Fortune could not well be ſtaied; but being obſerued by ſo quicke and piercing an eye, to diſcouer and cenſure that which hee did, and that which hee did not. But hee had more paine to accuſe him, then to ſlander him. *Chauvins* actions were like vnto well poliſhed Tables, the flyes of detraction could not ſticke vpon them, they reſt vpon rough and vneuen places.

Hatred of *Landays* againſt the Chancellor *Chauvin*.

[l] *An honeſt man is a great torment to malitious and wicked mindes: for although they blame and flye Vertue, yet they conſider the glory and light, and that whatſoeuer is goodly in the world, is tributary to it. All the gold that is aboue, or vnder the earth, is not comparable to Vertue.* Plat. & Plut.

Hee makes the Duke beleeue, that without *Chauvin* the King had neuer diſcouered the Negotiation of England, that hee had Intelligence with him, depended of his Commandements, and was his Pentioner. The Duke was ſo hooded by *Landays*, as he did not ſee but by his eyes, giues eare to this ſlander, chargeth the Innocency of this good ſeruant, puts him in priſon, and makes him dye there with griefe, languiſhing, and hunger. [m] He was ſo old, as he could not liue many yeares, but his memory ſhall liue euer, as a memorable example of the iniuries which Fortune hath done to Vertue.

Death of the Chancellor in priſon in great pouerty.

[m] Chauvin, *Chaunceller of Brittaine, after two yeares and a halfe impriſonment, dyed of languiſhing and want in priſon: foure poore Beggars carried him to be buried in the Franciſcans Church at Vennes.*

Soone after *Landays* appeared vpon the Theater of *Gods* Iuſtice, to make knowne the ſhame which attended him at the laſt ſtep of his greatneſſe. The Duke could not preuent it, but he muſt iuſtly feele the ſame fortune which he had cauſed *Chauvin* to run: for he was taken priſoner euen in the Dukes Chamber, his proceſſe was made, and hee did inſolently and arrogantly confeſſe all the exceſſe of his life, vpon aſſurance which the Duke had giuen him to ſaue him, and to draw him out of the Hang-mans hands. In the end, for his Concuſſions, Violences, Thefts, Outrages, and other Crimes, he was condemned to be hanged, and the Iudgement executed before the Duke had any aduertiſement; the Caſtle gates were guarded vntill the execution was done, to the end, that not any one ſhould enter. [n] This *Landays* came of baſe parentage: hee was the Dukes Taylors Boy, he had charge of his Ward-robe, and by little and little grew to haue the abſolute command of the affaires of Brittaine. When as men of baſe condition are aduanced to great places, they forget themſelues, they abuſe their fauour, and reſpect not their fortune with that humility and moderation which they ought.

Landays proceſſe made,

And hanged at Nantes the 19. of Iuly. 1485.

[n] *It was thought fit that the Earle of Cominges ſhould go and entertaine the Duke, during the execution; when as the Duke ſawe him, he demanded in what eſtate* Landays *proceſſe was: he anſwered, That the Iudges wold come and ſpeake with him. They ſhall do well, ſaid the Duke, for whatſoeuer he hath committed, I pardon him, and will that hee ſhall not dye. When as hee vnderſtood of the execution, hee ſaid, that his treherous Goſſip, the Earle of Cominges had deceiued him. He was therewith ſo troubled in minde, as few men ſaw him.*

Brittaine

Misery of the Duke of Brittain

Brittaine had no need to haue ſo great a King for enemy, ° it had felt the ruines and deſolations which the Iuſtice of God brings vpon Principalities for the ſinnes of the Princes and People. The diuiſion betwixt the Houſes of *Montfort* and *Blois*, had brought it to the laſt extremity, and it had ſeene an Act of wonderfull preſumption of a vaſſaile againſt his Lord; Duke *Iohn* hauing beene priſoner to *Oliuer* of Blois, with ſuch vnworthy vſage, as hee was in a manner depriued of the aire, which all the powers of the world cannot take from Man, there beeing nothing but death that can depriue him of breath.

This poore Prince had no Aire at all, but was in darkeneſſe, ᵖ and in a little Chamber, where hee could not ſee, (but by a hoale made with a Pinne) the Sunne; for the which many haue beleeued they were in the world: A more tedious kinde of life then death it ſelfe, and hee that is reduced vnto it, hath a ſtrong reſolution if he doth not murmure that God ſuffers him to liue ſo long. One of the wiſe Stoickes thought that hee gaue man leaue to depart this life, when as he gaue him no meanes to liue.

Anaxagoras ſaid, that hee was in the world to admire the Sunne

Townes vpon the riuer of Somme recouered by the king.

But let vs returne vnto the King: Before the newes of Duke *Charles* his death was aſſured, hee brake the Truce which ſhould haue continued ſeuen yeares longer, and ſeized vpon Abbeuille, Dourlans, Monſtreuil, Montdidier, Peronne, Han, Bohain, Saint Quintin, and the Townes vpon the Riuer of Somme, which by the death of *Charles*, the laſt Male of the Houſe of Bourgondy, returned vnto the King.

Lewis deſires to marry his ſonne to the heire of Brittain

Hee wiſht hee might haue done as much to all the Low Countreyes, and by ſome iuſter meanes, then by Armes, in marrying his ſonne to the heire of Bourgondy. But beſide the great inequality of their ages, hee had promiſed him to the Princeſſe of England, and he deſired to giue him the heire of Brittaine, for ſhe was more ſutable to his ſonnes age; and this Princeſſe was a Rampart againſt the fury of the Engliſh, who being ſeconded by the Dukes of Brittaine, haue entred that way, and come into the heart of the Realme.

He perſwaded himſelfe to preuaile by other meanes: he had good ſeruants at Gand, who had made ſhew that this kinde of gouernement was againſt their mindes; and that they affected new Maiſters. ᑫ He thought that in taking ſome of the chiefe Townes of the Countrey, the reſt in this confuſion of Councels, and weakeneſſe of forces, would yeeld of themſelues; and as if there had beene no other difficulty, he diſpoſed already of places and gouernments of Prouinces.

His humor was to imploy meane men in great affaires, and to handle great works with ſmall engines. He ſent *Robinet* of Odenfort to S. Omer, and *Oliuer le Dain*, his Barber, to Gand, who was of ſuch power and authority, euen with the King, as the French going out of the Realme, they demaunded of them in mockery, among

° *The Duke of Brittaine ſhews the pittifull eſtate of his impriſonment in a Sentence giuen againſt the Earle of Pontbreur, in theſe wordes;* The Windowes of our Chamber were ſhut cloſe and wee made a little hole with a Pinne, through the cloth that was waxt, by which hole we did looke into the Caſtle-yard. *Hee ſaith alſo, that* Margaret *of Cliſſon, Mother to the Earle of Pontbieure, came & ſcoft at him, vſing theſe words* Depoſuit potentes de ſede. *He hath put the Mighty from their ſeate. Hiſt. of Brit.* Lib. 11.

ᵖ *When as God, (ſaith* Epictetes) *takes from thee neceſſary things, as food, raiment, and thy ſences, he ſounds a retreat, hee opens the doore, and commands thee to come.*

ᑫ *The day after that the Gantois receiued newes of the Dukes death, they put to death 25 men of their Lawe. The pretex was, for that they had executed a man before they were confirmed in their charge.*

other newes of Court, if *Lewis* were in good tearmes with *Oliuer*. [r] This man, for that hee was borne in a village neere vnto Gand, was ſo preſumptuous, as hee thought he could make this Towne ſubiect to the Kings will, and tooke this charge vpon him to goe thither, vnder colour to carry ſome meſſage to the Princeſſe, who had called an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at Gand, [s] and vnder hand practiſed men to what he had intended: he ſtiled himſelfe Earle of Melun. This purple-hue did nothing at all beautifie the Ape, but made him more ridiculous to them that knew the baſeneſſe of his breeding. [t]

Preſumption of *Oliuer le Daine.*

Yet the King perſwaded himſelfe that hee would doe wonders in this Citty, telling the chiefe Noble-men of his Court, that they whom he had ſent to Gand, and Saint Omer, were able to get the keyes of the Towne, and to draw in his Troopes. He made account of the one, as *Auguſtus* did of *Mecenas*, [u] and of the other, as *Agrippa*.

Oliuer hauing demanded audience of the Princeſſe, and refuſing to ſpeake vnto her, but in priuate, hee cauſed himſelfe to bee ſcorned; and this diſgrace concerned him that had ſent him, who had not conſidered, that ſuch Commiſſions did properly belong to men of birth, or of great merit; and that it ſeemes they contemne the Prince to whom they ſend Embaſſadours of baſe condition. [x]

Affront done to *Oliuer* at his audience with the Princeſſe.

The Gantois hauing diſcouered, that hee had ſome ſecret practiſes in their Towne, hee was in danger to haue beene caſt into the Riuer; whereupon hee retired to Tournay, and practiſed thirty or forty men, by whoſe meanes hee brought in *Mouy* with his Company, which hee had at Saint *Quintin*, and ſeized of the Towne, ſending ſeuen or eight of the Gouernors to *Paris*.

Negotiation of *Oliuer le Dain* at Gand, and taking of Tournay.

The Princeſſe Councell ſeeing that her ſubiects fidelity was ſhaken, and the Townes of Picardy deliuered vnto the King, that ſhe had to deale with a *Cyrus*, and that ſhe was no *Tomyris* [y] to ſay vnto him, *If thou comeſt not, I will goe*: that euery one followed the ſtrangers fortune, they ſent a great Embaſſage vnto the king, conſiſting of many Noble-men, and of all the orders of the Countrey; among which were *William Hugonet* her Chancellor, and the Lord of *Himbercourt*, the dukes chiefe ſeruants, they found the king at *Peronne*, where he had made his entry, and preſent the Princeſſes letters vnto him, who beſought him to protect her, rather then oppreſſe her, as hauing the honour to come out of the Houſe of *France*, and rather conſider the pittifull eſtate of her preſent Condition and Sexe, the which beſides was ſubiect to the Councels and Authority of paſſionate Men, then the reſpects of his owne priuate Intereſt: That all ſubiects of Hatred and Offence ſhould bee buried in the Tombe of Duke *Charles* her Father:

Embaſſage ſent from the Princeſſe of Bourgundy to the King.

[r] *Strangers mock at princes which depend vpon petty companions, and giue themſelues, as it were, in a prey to their conduct.*

[s] *Eſtates in the Low Countries held at Gand. The Oath of fidelity was reuued to the Princeſſe: for it had bin already taken by* Guy *of Rochfort, Lord of Pluvat, her Chamberlain, & by* Guy Perrot, *her Secretary of ſtate.*

[t] *Baſeneſſe of birth is a reproach which is giuen to them that gloriouſly forget themſelues.* Iphicrates, Tully *and* Marius *endured it.*

[u] Auguſtus Cæſar *loued 2. men aboue all others,* Agrippa *for his patience, and* Mecenas *for his ſecreſie, and diſcretion. Being in Councell with them after the war of Actium, how hee ſhould gouerne himſelfe,* Agrippa *aduiſed him to liue a priuate life: but* Mecenas *wiſht him to think of a monarchy.* Dion Plut. & Suet.

[x] *They that carry the Title of Embaſſadours, ſhould be men of credit & reputation.* Cæſar *ſaid, that the Suiſſes ſent Embaſſadors vnto him,* the chiefe wherof was *Deuico*, he who in the *Caſſian* warre had bin their Generall.

[y] *Cyrus hauing attempted againſt the Maſſagets, a people of Scythia,* Tomyris *their Queene being Imperious, high minded & proud, ſent him the choice, either to go & aſſaile her in her owne countrey, where ſhe would attend him, or that he would ſtay in his owne, and ſhe would go vnto him.*

[z] That

[z] That it was piety, for a great Prince, her Kinſman and Soueraigne, to defend her in her Countries and Eſtates, whereunto ſhe ſucceeded according to the Lawes and Ordinances of Kings his Predeceſſors, and in the end that ſhe was reſolued to referre her affaires, to the good gouernment of foure perſons, of the Dowager her Mother, Siſter to King *Edward* of England, of *Rauaſteen* brother to the Duke of Cleues, her neere kinſman, of *Hugonet* her Chancellour, and of the Lord of Himbercourt.

The King winnes the Princeſſes Embaſſadors.

The King gaue them good words, and hauing entertained euery Deputy a part, following the firſt precept, not to force all at once, but to pull of the horſes taile haire by haire: [a] Hee drew the cheife of them to be at his deuotion, vpon the aſſurance of the marrying of his ſonne with their Miſtreſſe: *Hugonet* hauing all his lands in Picardy towards Amiens, and *Himbercourt* in Bourgundy, giue themſelues vnto him, and for the firſt proofe of their affection, they diſpoſe *Phillip* of Creuecœur Lord of Cordes to open the gates of Arras vnto him, holding him freed from his oath to the Princeſſe: They thought that if this marriage tooke effect, there were nothing to be diuided betwixt the houſe of France and Bourgundy.

Townes yeelded to the King.

Vpon the ſame opinion, Hedin, Therouenne, and Monſtreuill yeeld: [b] Bulloine did not beleeue ſo lightly, it endured a Battry; the King entred, and finding this Towne fit for the fortification of the frontiers (as it hath bene alwaies famous on either ſide the Sea) he compounded with *Bertrand de la Tour*, who was Lord in propriety, and as the new Lord, he did homage without Girdle or Spurres, bare-head, and on his knees, to the Virgin *Mary*, offering as a right and duty vnto her image, a Hart of Maſſiue Gold, weighing two thouſand Crownes, vpon condition that from thence-forth, he and his ſucceſſors Kings, ſhould hold the Earledome of Bulloine of the Virgine, ſhould do her homage, and at euery change of a Vaſſall, ſhould pay a Hart of pure Gold of that weight.

Boloigne vnder the Virgine *Maries* homage.

Arras beſieged.

Thus the Princeſſe of Flanders, ſaw herſelfe forced to quite that, which ſhe could not keepe; [c] yet the King held nothing of Arras but the Citty, which *de Cordes* had deliuered vnto him, and wherein he remained Gouernour. The Lord of Lude defeated the Horſemen which they of Doway had ſent, and in this Encounter *Vergy* was taken, and remained a whole yeare priſoner in chaines, for that he would not be ſworne vnto the King, proteſting obſtinately that he could not ceaſe to be ſeruant to the houſe of

[a] *When as the Supreame Authority lights vpon a woman, ſhe muſt of neceſſity bee ſupported with great and eminent vertues, with a generous courage, and a wiſe conduct to gouern her ſelfe: vpon the firſt refuſall diſcontetments grow, and then factions.* Simon Roſgon *Biſhop of Agria, demanded of Q.* Elizabeth, *daughter to* Sygiſmond, *and wife to* Albert *King of Hungary, the Arch-biſhoprick of* Strigonia, *to whom ſhee anſwered:* Whilſt I raigne you ſhall not haue it; *and he replied;* as long as I liue you ſhal not raign, *and they both kept their words.*

[a] *To ſhew that perſeuerance & cotinuance doth by little and little preuaile ouer all things:* Sertorious *cauſed two horſes to be brought, the one leane, feeble, and old, the other fat and ſtrong; behind the leaner he ſet a ſtrong and mighty man, and behind the other a ſlender weake one: a ſigne being giuen the ſtrong man tooke the leane horſe by the taile and ſought with all his force to pull it of, but he laboured and ſweate in vaine: The weake man who was behind the great horſe began to pull it haire by haire, and ſoone ſtript it without any paine.* Plu. [b] *That which the Ancients called* Geſſoriacum, *is at this day named by the French* Bologne, *by the Engliſh* Bollen, *and by the Flemings* Beunen: Beatus Rhenatus *ſaith, that he had ſeene an old Inſcription, where were theſe words:* Geſſoriacum, quod nunc Bononia. [c] *It is better to quite that which we cannot keepe, then to looſe it in keeping it.* Phillip *of Macedon did willingly abandon many places vnto the Romanes, and a great continent of his Country which he ſaw he could not defend, rather then to be ſeene to haue loſt it vnwillingly: So after the Battell of* Cannes, *the Romanes refuſed to ſuccour many of their Allies, deſiring rather to looſe them, then to be blamed for that they were not able to defend them.* T. Liu. Dec. 4.

Bourgundy, nor begin to affect that of France: [d] They of the Towne ſeeing themſelues preſt demanded a Paſport of the Baſtard of Bourbon, Admirall of France, for two or three and twenty Deputies vnder colour of going to Bollen to treat with the King.

They go forth with this paſport, but being followed and ſurpriſed vpon the way to Flanders, they were led to Hedin, and by a ſentence giuen by the Prouoſt condemned to looſe their heads: the King arriuing vpon the execution ſtaid it: Princes alwaies cauſe puniſhments to ceaſe when they are in preſence: They told him that among them that were executed, there was a Pariſian called *Oudard* of Buſſy, to whom he had giuen the office of a Maiſter of Accompts in the chamber at Arras: Hee cauſed his head to bee ſet vpon a ſtake in the Market-place, wearing a ſcarlet hood, furred with Meneuer. A breach being made, an aſſault valiantly giuen, & baſely defended, Arras yeelded by compoſition, the victory was but of bare wals, for their hearts remained firme to the houſe of Bourgundy: [e] The king alſo thinking it impoſſible to make this people obedient, and to imprint the Flower de luce in their hearts, cauſed moſt of the Inhabitants to depart, [f] & planted naturall Frenchmen, commanding the Town ſhould be *Francis*-towne, & that with her firſt name, ſhe ſhould looſe the ancient hatred ſhe bare vnto France. This people had no ſooner yeelded, but they made it known how much they were grieued to ſee themſelues reduced vnder the command of a new Maiſter, for the King hauing ſent the Cardinall of Bourbon, the Chancellor of Oriole, *Des Cordes* Gouernor of the Towne, and *Guyot Pot* Bayliffe of *Vermandois*, to receiue the oath of fidelity; [g] they ſaw themſelues aſſayled, in the Monaſtery of *S. Vaſt*, where they dined, with a furious mutiny of the people, crying *kill, kill*, The kings ſeruants were onely made afraid, but theſe mad-men repented it, for many of them were ſtript and ſlaine, and the City fined at three-ſcore thouſand Crownes.

Arras yeelded by compoſition.

The Princeſſe remained at *Gand*, with much trouble to keepe the *Gantois* in obedience: She knew well their ſedition, but ſhe diſſembled the nũber of the ſeditious; [h] ſeeming to make account of their fidelities whoſe reuolt and treachery ſhe held to be certaine: They would haue againe the priuileges, which her father & grand-father had taken from them, they vndertake the conduct, and abſolute direction of affaires, not being able to endure them, who for their wiſedome and experience had deſerued the firſt places in the Princeſſe Councell, & ſhe had not any perſon capable to make head againſt this Mutiny, the which doth neuer fortefie it ſelf, but through the weakeneſſe and cowardiſe of them that may ſuppreſſe it. [i]

Gantois ready to reuolt againſt their Princeſſe.

They made an Aſſembly in forme of Eſtates, and reſolued that from thence-forth ſhe ſhould be gouerned by the aduice of the Eſtates, who ſhould ſend vnto the King, to acquaint him with this reſolution,

[d] *It is diſhonorable raſhly to fall from the duty which we owe vnto the Prince,* L. Manius *an Officer to* Auguſtus, *being carried priſoner to* M. Anthony, *he demãded of him,* What wilt thou ſhall bee done with thee: that they ſtrangle mee, anſwered *Manius*, for neither for grace, nor puniſhmẽt, will I euer ceaſe to be *Cæſars* ſouldiour, neither will I beginne to be yours.

[e] *There were a good number of Citizens found in Arras, who ſuffred theſelues rather to be hanged, then they would ſay,* God ſaue the King.

[f] *To people a Towne with ancient ſubiects, & to expell the naturall Inhabitants, is a means to aſſure it, but very inhumane: It was a pittifull ſpectacle to ſee poore men lade with their infants vpon their ſhoulders, paſſe out of the Coaſt Townes where they were borne, by the commandement of* Phillip *king of Macedo, & to go into Emathia, quitting their houſes and inheritances to the Thracians.* Tit. Liu. lib. 10. Decad. 4.

[h] *It is not good to hold all them to be wicked, in open ſhew, which are ſo in effect: In old time they did not thinke it neceſſary to marke all their ſlaues, to the end they ſhould not know their owne ſtrength: In ſeeking out all the ſeditious, they know one another, & learne how many they are.* [i] *A people which is fearefull, is alwaies humble and tractable: when as Mutines ſee the powerfull ſword of Iuſtice before their eyes, they diſtruſt one another: Being all together they are Lyons, and diuided Goats.*

reſolution, and to beſeeech him to allow thereof, and in this conſideration to ceaſe all Acts of Hoſtility againſt her Countries: Theſe Embaſſadours come vnto the King, thinking to bring him a ſubiect of great content: aſſuring him that their Princeſſe deſired nothing but the honour of his friend-ſhip and protection; being reſolued not to do any thing but by the aduice of the three Eſtates of her Countries. The King, who knew well the humour of the Gantois, the confuſion of this Princeſſes affaires, and had a deſire to make his profite in this trouble, [k] ſaid vnto them: *My Maiſters, I know not what to thinke of the cauſe that drawes you hether, knowing wel, that it is not conformable to that which you ſay vnto me, & that your miſtreſſe will not aduow that ſhe hath giuen you charge to tell me, that that ſhe would be gouerned by the aduice of the Eſtates of the Country, for ſhe hath giuen me to vnderſtand the contrary*: And as theſe men proteſted of the truth of their inſtructions, and ſeemed reſolute, the King heares them coldly, & ſhowes them a letter written by the Princeſſe, and brought by *Hugonet* her Chancellor, & *Himbercourt*.

Embaſſadours contradicted & confoũded.

At the ſight of this letter, which made mention that the Princeſſe was reſolued to referre her affaires to the diſcretion of foure perſons, & not of the Eſtates, they end their Embaſſage, and attend no other anſwere, being ſatisfied to ſee themſelues deceiued, and the King ſuffers them to go ful of choller & reuenge. They preſent thẽſelues vnto the Princeſſe, to giue an account of their Embaſſage, complaining, bitterly and indiſcreetly, that ſhe had made them to carry a meſſage vnto the king, contrary to that which ſhe had reſolued; that ſhe had reſerued truth in the heart, and put falſhood in their mouths to ruin them: When as the Princeſſe ſought to iuſtefie the truth of her intentions, [l] aſſuring them, that what ſhe gaue them by inſtruction, was what ſhe thought; they preſent vnto her the letter which the King had giuen them: She held this for a great affront, and contempt, and the bloud which appeared in her face, diſcouered the trouble of her mind: The Gantois hauing no means to diſcharge their choller vpon her, vpon her mother in Law, nor vpon *Rauesteen*; they vomite it out vpon *Hugonet*, and *Imbercourt*, the chiefe of the Princeſſes Councell. They were inſtantly ceaſed on, impriſoned, and accuſed to haue cauſed the Citty of Arras to bee yeelded, [m] and to haue taken money of a priuate man of Gand, to giue him a fauourable end of his ſuite, and to haue infringed the priuiledges of Gand, the which may not be changed nor broken without paine of death: Vpon theſe accuſations, or rather ſlanders, the Maior & Aldermẽ of Gand, condemn thẽ to looſe their heads. In 6 daies their proceſſe was made, the number of their freinds, nor the appearance of their innocency, which in thoſe extremities is the laſt refuge, could not ſaue them. [n] Three houres after the ſentence was pronounced they were executed, without any reſpect to the appeale which they had made to the Court Parliament at Paris,

The King deliuers the Princeſſes letters to the Embaſſadours.

Hugonet & Imbercourt condẽned to die.

[k] *In many things, but eſpecially in this,* Lewis *did imitate the moſt politick of Romane Emperours, who held it for one of the beſt maximes of State, to haue peace at home, & warre abroad. Princes which haue followed this courſe, haue attained to a perfect proſperity of their affaires, others haue gone aſtray.*

[l] *When as the Deputies of Gãd preſented themſelues vnto the Princeſſe Councell, ſaying; That the King had let them ſee the contrary of their Embaſſage, the Princeſſe ſought to maintain that ſhe had done nothing contrary to their inſtructiõs,* Then *(ſaid* Philip de Comines*)* the Pentioner of Gand, drew out of his boſom the ſaid letter, before al the world, & gaue it her. He ſhewed that he was a bad man and of ſmal reſpect, to do that affront to a yong Gentlewomã, to whõ ſo villanous a ſcorne ſhould not bee done: for if ſhee had committed any error, ſhe ſhold not haue been reprehended publikely: It is not to bee demanded, if ſhe were aſhamed, for ſhe had told

euery one the contrary: Phil. de Com. [m] Oliuer *of la March ſaith, that the Chancellour* Hugonet, *confeſt that he had concealed the Duke of Bourgundies letters, written at Nancy, the which did much import the ſafety of his perſon and Army.* [n] *Innocency is the laſt refuge of the miſerable, & helps him much, that hath nothing elſe remaining: It hath ſometimes ſet the condemned in the Iudges place:* Neri, *ſonne to* Vgucione *of Fagiuola, Lord of Luga, condemned* Caſtrucio *to death, and the people freed him going to execution, and ſet him in* Neris *place.*

or reuerence to the day, which was one of the moſt religious of the yeare, being holy Thurſday, the third of Aprill 1476. The Princeſſe being well informed of the merites and ſeruices of them that were condemned, did what ſhe could to ſaue them, ſhe went to the Towne-houſe to demand them, and was preſent at the execution: And as in a multitude there are diuers opinions, ſome cryed out to haue them deliuered, and others to haue them diſpatcht. Theſe men preuailed, and ſhe was forced to turne away her eies, and to retire her ſelfe: They were lamented ° euen of their enemies, but leſſe of them which remembred what a bad part they had played with the Earle of S. *Paul*. Thus the ſeruices which deſerues beſt of the Common-weale, haue not alwaies happy ends, nor recompences: It happens often as with a little Brooke, after that her faire and cleere ſtreame hath watred the weeds, Gardens, and Orchards of ſome Royall Pallace, and cleanſed euery thing, they make it paſſe into ſome ſtinking and obſcure ſinke.

° *Vertue is alwaies lamented, and euen they that perſecute it deſire it. The people of Rome grieued for* Manlius *whom they had put to death.*

This execution don, the Gantoies to ſhew that they could attempt, and execute, without them whom they had put to death, erected an iniurious Oſtraciſme, chaſed away them that had beſt deſerued of the Common-weale, and the houſe of Bourgundy, aud gathered ſome forces together at Gand, Bruges, and Ypre.

Adolph of Gueldres was priſoner at Namur, by the Duke of Bourgundies commandement, the which was too milde and honorable a puniſhment for his impiety: ᵖ His memory will bee for euer diſhonoured in the Hiſtory, for the cruell and inhumane ingratitude he vſed againſt his father: Seeing himſelfe of age capable to command, he was diſcontented that his father liued and ruled ſo long, wherefore he bred factions among the Subiects, to whom he made the father odious, and eaſily made them paſſe from hatred to rebellion, and then to Armes. The father as mighty in force, as in right, beſieged his ſonne in the Towne of Volonne, and forced him to his duety: The warre which had promiſed him content in his immagination, gaue him repentance in effect.

Ingratitude and impiety of *Adolph* of Gueldres.

ᵖ *There are puniſhments too honorable for ſome crime, and ſome perſones. The Athenians did murmur for that* Hyperbolus *a wicked man had bene condemned to the Oſtraciſme, a puniſhment which did belong onely to great Perſonages.*

The Neighbour Princes being offended at ſo vniuſt a warre, which ſhould haue bin ruled with ſtones againſt the ſon, ᑫ laboured to reconcile thē, & make them conſent to an accord, by the which the Towne of Nieumegen ſhould be in the ſonnes abſolute power, and in no ſort acknowledge the father: But he that couets all will not be content with a part; *Adolph* breakes the Treaty, and tranſported with fury and ſpight, cauſeth ſome of his fathers ſeruants to be taken and hanged, and finding himſelfe ſtill too weake, he thought to fortefie his cauſe by the aſſiſtance of one that was more mighty: He goes to *Phillip* Duke of Bourgundy, and diſguiſing the truth, accuſeth his father, excuſeth himſelfe, and repreſents his miſery, and the great ſeuerity, which he had vſed and continued long againſt him.

Accord betwixt the Duke of Guelders and his ſonne.

ᑫ *The Law of God allowes the father to ſtone a diſobedient ſon, as you may reade at large in the* 22. *chapter of* Deuteronomy.

This good Prince, had his eares ſtopt to his complaints, knowing that they were without ſubiect or reaſon; and not doing like

vnto

vnto them, with feare to draw them vp by the haire which are fallen into the water, and had rather suffer them to drowne then hurt them; he told him very sharpely, that his desire was nothing but ingratitude and impiety: Seeing himselfe preuaile nothing, he vndertakes (being profane and impious) a voyage to the Holy Land, but he returned nothing better, for he carried himselfe with him whereſoeuer he went. [r] At his returne he knowes not to whom to addresse himselfe, but to his father, he beseecheth him to receiue him into Grace, and to consider that necessity had beene of more force with him, then Duty, and that if he had not growne miserable, he had not beene so wicked: [s] The father receiued him, and reioyced at his returne, as at the lost Sheepe found againe.

Adolph returnes to his duty.

But vnder this feigned obedience, and dissembling repentance, he hatcht and committed a notable villany: Some dayes after he came to visite his father, who kept at Graue with his wife, he receiued him as his sonne, and had no memory to thinke vpon his forepassed excesse: He inuites his friends to reioyce with him, at the returne of so deere a person; they spend a whole day at the Table, they adde some part of the night, and the remainder was spent in dancing. The father, who for his old age had escaped from the follies of youth, as from a furious maister, [t] forceth himselfe for company, and displeaseth his owne humour, and his health, to please his sonne; hauing drunke better then the yong men, he would also dance like them, and then he steales from these youth, and retires to his bed: He had scarce shut his eyes to rest, but behold a troupe of Souldiours of Nieumeghen, whom the sonne had secretly brought in, which present themselues at the chamber dore, the knocke roughly and demand to enter: The father, who thought it had beene some of the dancers, said; *My Maisters wee haue danced enough, I quit the party, I can no more this night, Farewell, Good-night.*

Ingratitude and impiety of *Adolph* of Gueldres.

Adolph carries his father prisoner to Bure.

They breake open the dore and enter, they force the Duke to rise and follow them: He demanded, *whether will you leade me, and where is my sonne?* He found Infidelity and ruine, where he did hope for defence and succour. This barbarous wretch said roughly to him: *Dispatch, dispatch, you must march, and yeeld to necessity.* They gaue him no more respite but to take his shirt, and so, without stockings they drew him out of the chamber, and being naked, and on foote, they make him to follow his son, who was on horsebacke: They cary him to Bure, and shut him vp in a darke and stinking dungeon.

Accord betwixt the Duke of Guelders and his sonne.

He continued there sixe months, or as some others write sixe yeares. [u] This long Imprisonment gaue euery man cause to speake of the sonnes ingratitude: The neighbour Princes and Noblemen were offended, and among others, *Iohn* Duke of Cleues his

[r] *Mens mindes change not in changing the place of abode: Trauell profites them litle which carry with them the mischiefe which is not cured by the chage of the Aire:* Quid miraris nihil tibi peregrinationes prodesse, cum te circũferas? *What dost thou wõder that thou dost not profite by thy Trauels, when thou carriest thy selfe about with thee.* SEN.

[s] *Necessity forceth the will to excesse, Many would not bee wicked, if they were not miserable.* Expertus sum parum fidei miseriesse. *I haue tryed that there is little faith in wreches.* Salust. in Iug.

[t] *They that are freed from the pleasures & excesse of youth, should reioyce like vnto him that hath escaped from a furious and insupportable Master.* Plut.

[u] Phillip de Comines *saith, that he remained there 6. months.* I. Lipsius *speaks of sixe yeares:* Pater filiũ nudis pedibus & corpore, ita sequitur Butam vsque. Ibi carcere retro includitur, & sex annos totos (non illius sed & popularium impietatem culpo) sex annos detinetur. *It is likely that he continued long there, for there was great warre betwixt the duke of Cleues and* Adolph, *and the Duke of Bourgundy laboured often to pacifie them.*

Brother in law, at whoſe inſtance, the Pope, and the Emperour *Fredericke*, ſend vnto *Adolph* to ſet the Country at liberty, and to yeeld obedience to his father; and vpon the contempt of this commandement they write vnto the Duke of Bourgundy, not to ſuffer this impiety any longer.

The Pope and Emperor offended at this impiety.

The Duke was then about Dourlans, he commanded *Adolph* to come, and to bring his father: *Adolph* durſt not diſpleaſe ſo mighty a Neighbour: The Duke heares them in their complaints, and confronts them together; The ſonne accuſeth the father of villanous and wicked actions, whereof he preſently purgeth himſelfe, and by the teſtimony of Noblemen that were there preſent; at this confrontation the ſons ſlander was diſcouered and deteſted, then the father, tranſported with extreme griefe preſented the ſingle cõbat vnto his ſon. The Duke would not allow it, for the vncertaine euent could not be (where ſoeuer the victory fell) without a certain crime: Hauing conferred of this buſineſſe with his Councell, hee ordained that the father ſhould retaine the title of Duke with the Towne of Graue, and 3000. Crownes for his entertainment, & the ſon ſhould haue all the reſt. Notwithſtanding that this iudgement was ſo fauourable for the ſonne, as all men thought that the Iudge was more affected to him then to the father; [x] yet this vnnaturall ſonne, ſtraying from all obedience & duty, [y] would not be ſatisfied, ſaying; *That his father had raigned long enough, and that he ſhould content himſelfe with the penſion of 3000. Crownes, and that he ſhould neuer ſet his foote in the Countrey of Guelders*: To be ſhort, *that hee had rather caſt his father into a Well, and himſelfe headlong after him, then conſent to the conditions of this ſentence.* [z]

Duke of Bourgundy Iudge of the quarrell.

The Duke being preſt to go vnto his Army before Amiens, leaues them in this diſpute, and would not alter his iudgement. The ſonne fearing that his obſtinacy might bring him to the place where he had put his father, and knowing that few men affected him, ſtale away in a diſguiſed French habite, and tooke the way to Graue: But paſſing the Riuer at Namur, with one man in his company, he was knowne by a Prieſt, and ſtaied by others, and conducted to the Duke of Bourgundy, who ſent him priſoner to Villeuor, and afterwards to Courtray, where he remained miſerable, and no man pittied him in his miſery, [a] vntill that the Gantois ſet him at liberty, to be their Generall in the warre of Tournay. The father dying had giuen the Dutchy of Guelders to the Duke of Bourgundy.

Adolph ſteales away and is taken priſoner.

The warre being vndertaken, by them of Gand againſt Tournay, and the Mutiny growing inſolently violent againſt the Dutcheſſe of Bourgundy, they had need of a Head, for without it their hands were not much to be feared: They caſt their eyes vpon *Adolph*, draw him out of priſon, and like mad-men (as they are) thinke

He is ſet at liberty by the Gantois.

[x] Adolph *had maried* Catherine *of Bourbon, daughter to* Iohn *Duke of Bourbon, and* Anne *of Bourgundy, ſiſter to* Phillip: *The Sig^r. of Argenton ſaith, that the Duke fauored* Adolph *in reſpect of this marriage.*

[y] Decius *was commended for that hee refuſed the Empire, ſaying; that being Emperour, hee ſhould forget to be a ſonne.* Imperet pater meus, meum imperium ſit parere humiliter imperanti: *Let my father rule, my Empire ſhall be, humbly to obay him that rules:* Val. Max. lib. 4.

[z] *It is an impious thing, ſaith* Plato, *for any one to force his father, and his Country, he ſaith more-ouer that the child ſhould haue a care not to offend him, for there is not any praier which the Gods heare ſooner, then that which the fathers make againſt their children.* [a] *It is a cruelty and inhumanity to pitty a parricide: The puniſhment which he endures, how great ſoeuer, doth not giue ſo much amazement, as the crime cauſeth horror and execration.*

thinke that this cruell wretch, who could not loue his father, will haue a care of their affaires. [b] They giue him abſolute command, being reſolued to aduance him higher then his Predeceſſours, and to make him huſband to the Dutcheſſe. People in ſuch diſtractions haue played madder prankes, and made more indiſcreete elections.

He lead them to Tournay, where hauing burnt the Suburbs, he was ſlaine: His death was not more honourable vnto him then his life. The Princeſſe was not ſorry for this action; For if hee had returned tryumphing from this exploite, the Gantois had forced her to mary him; and rather then to haue had a husband of their choice, ſhe would haue taken one by chance, as the heire of Bohemia had done, who marryed *Primiſlaus*, and drew him from labour, to the honour of her Marriage, and Crowne. [c]

Primiſlaus a Laborer becomes King of Bohemia.

The Princeſſe of Bourgundies affaires impaired. Many Phyſitions vndid the Patient. The King had a mighty Army, which kept all the Low Countries in awe, in his abſence it was commanded by the Baſtard of Bourbon Admirall of France: There was nothing attempted by the enemy, but was defeated. In many exploits of warre, which were made vpon this Frontier, I finde that *Guerin le Groin* Baliffe of Saint *Peter le Mouſtier*, and *Robinet* of *Queſnoy*, Either of them Captaine of a hundred Lances, tooke a great Conuoy of Money, which came to Doway, and with a ſmall Troupe defeated a great number of Horſe, which did gard it.

If the King of England had declared himſelfe for the Princeſſe of Bourgundy, there had beene a great alteration, and ſhe had leſſe apprehended the power and hatred of the French King, who had wiſely preuented it: He knowing that King *Edward* loued his eaſe, and that he would not ſhew himſelfe too paſſionate in his Neighbours quarrels, cauſed his Embaſſadours to obſerue him, and entertained him often with Viſits, and Preſents, [d] but eſpecially with the hope of a Marriage betwixt his ſonne, and his daughter; Whom in England they called the Dauphine: He cauſed the fifty thouſand Crownes, due by the Treaty of Piquigny, to be paied at the day in the Citty of London, which the Engliſh called the Tribute of France: He gaue great Penſions to the Chancellor, Chamberlaine, Admirall, and Maiſter of the Horſe in England; This made ſome to ſpeake, and others to hold their peace touching the affaires of France: [e] There neuer came any Embaſſadours but commended his bounty at their returne, and held themſelues, in a manner, bound to fauour his intentions: by which proceedings, hee held himſelfe, in a manner, aſſured on that ſide.

Lewis entertaines friendſhip with the Engliſh.

This made the Princeſſe of Burgundy reſolue to marry, & to fol-

[b] *What pietie can bee expected of him that hath beene impious, and inhuman to his owne father? Quiſallere audebit Parentes qualis erit in ceteris? He that dares deceiue his Parents, what will hee bee to other men?* Caſiod.

[c] Lybuſſa *daughter to* Gracus *ſecond King of Bohemia, declared in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, held in an open field, that ſhee would take him for husband, before whom a horſe ſhold ſtay, which ſhe ſhould let go, without guide or force: He ſtayed before* Primiſlaus, *who was tilling his Land. They tooke him, and led him to the Princeſſe, who made him her huſband, and gaue him to the people for their King: His wodden ſhoes were long kept in the Cathedrall Churche of Prage, and ſhewed to the Kings of Bohemia, to make them remember their beginning.*

[d] *To ſend wiſe and polliticke Embaſſadours to Princes who they feare, vpon diuers pretexes, is the true meanes to preuent their deſignes.*

[e] *To caſt Gold into a Princes Councell, is a great charme for greedy minds: Gold is a medecine which at one inſtant workes two contrary effects:* To ſpeake, and to be ſilent.

low the counſell of the Lady of *Haluin*, her firſt Lady of Honour, which was to take a man, and not a child, for ſhe was capable to beare them: [f] Shee refuſed the king of Englands brother: It was thought that if they had propounded, the Earle of Angoleſme, father to King *Francis* the 1. ſhe would haue hearkened vnto it, [g] her affections inclining to haue a Prince of France, although ſhe were much diſcontented, for that the King had beene the cauſe of the death of her two good ſeruants, *Hugonet* and *Imbercourt*.

Princeſſe of Bourgundy wil haue a mā to her huſband.

The Emperour *Frederick* ſent his Embaſſadours vnto her, to put her in minde of the letter which ſhe had written, by the commandement of Duke *Charles* her father, carrying a promiſe of marriage to the Arch-duke *Maxamilian* his ſon. The Duke of Cleues, who had another deſigne, inſtructed her to referre her ſelfe to her Councell, [h] and not to ſay any thing to the Embaſſadours: but at the ſight of this Letter, and a Diamond which did accompany it, ſhe declared that ſhe had written the Letter, and giuen the Diamond, by her fathers commandement. The marriage was treated, and *Maximilian* came into Flanders to conſomate it, and before the yeare was expired, *Philip* father to *Charles* the 5. was the firſt fruits of this marriage, *Maximilian* was then but twenty yeares old, [i] &deſiring to ſhew that the loue of the Princeſſe of Burgundy was not blind, in chooſing him among ſo many Corriuals, he ſought to recouer that which ſhe had loſt.

Princeſſe of Bourgundy marries *Maxmilian*.

The King ſent *Craon* into Bourgundy, [k] who hauing a power, and being aſſiſted, by *Iohn* of Chalons Prince of Orange, reduced the Towne of Dijon vnder the Kings obedience: The Prince of Orange ſeeing himſelfe deluded by him, and that he did not deliuer vp the places vnto him, which he had taken, according to the Kings commandement, grew diſcontented, reuolted, and recouered in a manner all that *Craon* had wonne in the County, and then caſt himſelfe into Gy.

Kings Army in the French County.

From thence *Craon* beſieged Dole, contemning them that were within it, as men whom he held to be without courage or defence. This contempt, accompanied with careleſſeneſſe, made him to looſe his honour, the Kings fauour, and the Towne which he might haue taken; for the beſieged made a ſally in a night that was windy, darke, and rainy, with ſuch aduantage, as they ſurprized him, and forced him to ritire, with the loſſe of ſome of his Ordinance, and of three thouſand men. [l]

Dole beſieged.

Charles of Amboiſe, Lord of Chaumont, was ſubſtituted in his place, who aduiſed the King to renew his aliance with the Suiſſes, and thereby to weaken the houſe of Bourgondy. The perſwaſion

[f] *There was a great diſparitie of age betwixt the Dauphin, and this Princeſſe, who was mother of three children, before the Prince was a eleuen yeares old.*

[g] *The Annales of Aquitane ſpeake thus vpon this occaſion: King* Lewis *wanted iudgment in this action, for if he had not, hee would haue married her to* Charles *Duke of Angoleſme, father to King* Francis *that now is.*

[h] *In a Councell held vpon the reception of the Embaſſadours, the Duke of Cleues ſaid, that after they had deliuered their meſſage, the Princeſſe of Burgundy ſhould ſay vnto them, that they were very welcome, and that ſhee would referre it to her Councell, and no more.* Phil. de Com.

[i] *When as* Maximilian *came into Flanders, he was but twenty yeares old: Hee was borne in the yeare* 1458. Elenor *daughter to* Edward *king of Portugal was his mother.*

[k] Peter *or* George *of Tremouile, Lord of Craon, Liuetenant of the Kings Army in Bourgundy.*

[l] *The fault of a Generall of an Army is ſufficiently puniſhed by the loſſe of his honour, and his Princes loue and fauour. The Romanes had no puniſhment for ſuch errours, to the end their Commanders ſhould not haue their minds troubled with the dangers, and ordinary Inconueniences in ſuch charges, and with the examples of ſuch, whoſe faults had bene puniſhed with death: For* it is impoſſible to reſolue iudiciouſly betwixt feare and ſuſpition.

of

of this counſell was not difficult: the King thought nothing more fit for the ſafety of his eſtate, then to make his enemies weake of Intelligence and Friends: He ſent ſome to practiſe this league, and purſued it with great vehemency. He had receiued ſo great content in the ruine of the moſt obſtinate of his enemies, as after the Battels of Granſon and Morat, hee did nothing but ſpeake of the Suiſſes valor, [m] and eſteeme their Friendſhip. He put them in greater reputation then euer they had beene, although they had much honoured the eſtabliſhment of their liberty with a triumph of nine or ten Battels; and that we may ſay of them, as *Titus Liuius* did of the Romans, [n] That neuer Common-weale was better maintained in her ancient diſcipline; nor wheras Auarice had leſſe credit, and Simplicity more honour, then in that of the Suiſſes.

Alliance of France with the Suiſſes.

For theſe reaſons the king made a defenſiue leaue with them, & by the Treaty, gaue himſelfe the Name of the firſt Ally of their Common-weale, and tearmed himſelfe their Bourgeſſe. [o] They promiſed to furniſh him with eight thouſand men at all times for foure German Florins and a halfe of monthly pay. Moreouer, he gaue them a penſion of twenty thouſand Franckes, to be diſtributed among them.

2000 poūd ſterling.

By the meanes of this Alliance, his forces increaſed greatly in Bourgondy, Dole was taken by aſſault, ſpoiled, ruined, and made miſerable. But this pillage did impoueriſh the King, beeing certaine, that what is taken from Townes vanquiſhed, is loſt for the Victor. [p] Auſſonne held out but fiue dayes; Beſançon, an Imperiall Towne, continued in her liberties, and was not forced to more duety then ſhee had beene accuſtomed to yeeld vnto the Earles of Bourgondy. Verdun would not yeeld but by force, and ſuffered for her wilfulneſſe. Beaune auoyded it, ſubmitting herſelfe to a fine of forty thouſand Crownes.

Eſtate of the affairs of Caſtille

The King labouring to ruine the houſe of Bourgondy, apprehended the riſing of that of Caſtille, ſeeing that by the marriage of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, the Realmes of Caſtille and Arragon, which had beene diuided 405 yeares, were vnited. [q] He would haue beene nothing ſorry, if the contention which was betwixt them, who ſhould haue the gouernment of Caſtille, had continued longer. *Queene Iſabel* ſaid, that as daughter to King *Iohn* of Caſtille, ſhee was ſole heire of the Realme, and that her marriage ſhould not depriue her of her quality. King *Ferdinand* obiected, that he was ſonne to *Iohn* the ſecond, King of Nauarre and Arragon, deſcended in the direct line from *Iohn* the firſt, King of Caſtille; and that it was not fit a woman ſhould carry the Scepter of ſo great a Realme. [r] It was concluded by the aduiſe of the *Grands*,

[m] Lewis *the 11 greatly aduanced the reputation of the Suiſſes. After victories which they had wonne againſt* Charles, *Duke of Bourgondy, he cauſed them to bee much eſteemed. Hee ſent Embaſſadours with rich preſents: hee gaue them after the battell of Granſon, vntill his death, aboue a million of Florins of the Rhin.*

[n] Nulla vnquam Reſpublica nec maior nec ſanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam tam ſeræ auaritia luxuriaque immigrauerint, nec vbi tantus, ac tamdiu paupertati ac parſimoniæ honos fuerit. *There was neuer Common-weale greater, nor more holy, nor richer in good examples, nor into which auarice & luxury crept later, nor whereas pouerty and parſimony were ſo long honoured.*

[o] *The Duke of Sauoy ſaid, that the Title of the firſt Ally of the Suiſſes, belonged to him before all others.*

[p] Cræſus, *King of Lydia, ſeeing* Cyrus *Souldiers running vp and downe the Towne of Sardes, he demanded whither they did run. They go to the ſpoyle of the Towne anſwered* Cyrus. They take nothing from me (*replied* Cræſus) all they carry away is thine, and not mine.

[q] *Caſtille & Arragon in the beginning were but Earldomes, they were made Realmes after the death of* D. Sancho, *the great king of Nauarre, who was the laſt Earle of Arragon & Caſtille.*

[r] Lipſius *ſpeaking of this Prince and Princeſſe giues this cenſure,* Maritus cætera vir egregius reſtrictor aut timidior erat retinere ſua melior quam augere. Hæc dilatabat. *The husband a worthy man, a holder faſt, or more fearefull: hee was better to hold his owne, then to augment it. She enlarged it.*

that all Letters and Expeditions should bee made in the name of both, and vnder the Seale of both Realmes, of Castille and Arragon, and the money coined with the Armes quartered.

This iudgment (wherwith *Ferdinand* was not well pleased) was grounded vpon the great and eminent vertue of *Isabel*, another *Zenobia* of Spaine; and who did neuer breath any thing, but what was great and generous: A great Iusticer, if euer any were, and inexorable to rebellions, [r] she made the Court of Spaine a true Academy of honour and vertue, out of which came *Gonsalue* the great Captaine: her counsels were followed as Oracles, and often times her husband and the Grands of the realme, hauing found that no great matter was effected, if it were not approued by her aduice, neuer disputed against that which she had resolued. Vertues of *Isabel* of Castille.

It is she that began and ended the war of Portugall, expelled the Moores out of Grenado, added the realme of Nauarre to that of Castill, and gaue meanes to *Christopher Columbus* [t] to discouer new countries: they also commend her for her great & constant piety, and for her admirable sobriety, hauing neuer drunk wine: she loued learned men, and tooke delight in the knowledge of the Latine tongue: she was full of courage & resolution in aduersity; for being vpon the treaty of her daughters marriage with *Emanuel*, King of Portugall, newes being brought her of the death of her only sonne, [u] she did not cease to proceed, suppressing her griefe vntill that *Emanuel* was aduertised therof by others. She was very constant in al distemperatures and dolours of the body, for she was deliuered of her children without any groane or cry. [x]

King *Lewis* beeing very iealous of the county of *Rousillon*, which was a thorne in the foot of Castille, held the kings in iealousie and expences, and desired to haue the realme of Nauarre continue in the possession of the successors of King *Iohn*, who died in the end of the yeare 1479. [y] He was a great Prince, & like vnto others, had past the pikes of fortune. It hath beene said before, that his son *Charles*, and after his death his subiects of Barcelona, and after all that the king of Castille, and then the kings of France made warre against him: he saw his realme in horrible combustions by the factions of *Beaumont* and *Grandmont*, which he had seene spring vp, & neglected to quench them in their breeding. About the end of his dayes, when as he had more need of a Tombe then a wife; and that the law *Papia* [z] had buckled him vp, being aboue fourescore years old, he fell in loue with a yong maid, named *Francina Rosa*, which was no helpe for him to recouer his sight, which extreme age (for the interest of so long an abode in the world) had taken from him. Death of D. *Iohn*, King of Nauarre.

[r] *The Citty of Sensle being reuolted, through the factions betwixt the houses of Gusman and Ponti, the queen* Isabella *went thither, & forst them all to their duties: she caused all that were in the Castle to bee hanged, hauing refused her the entry.*

[t] *In the yeare* 1492. *the third of August, the Queene D.* Isabella *sent* Christopher Colũbus *from* Palos de Moguet *in* Andalusia *to discouer the westerne Indies: hauing sailed* 2. *moneths and* 8. *dayes, hee first landed in the Iland of Guanahamo, betwixt Florida & Cuba.*

[u] *The Prince D* Iohn *of Castille, being married to* Margaret *of Austria, died at Salamãca. The History of Spaine saith, that the King D.* Ferdinand *to acquaint his wife D.* Isabella, *with this death, caused a brute to be raised that hee was dead, and then presently shewed himselfe vnto her, so one sudden consolation betwixt two great afflictions, did moderate both the one and the other.*

[x] In partus acutissimis doloribus & gemitum & vocem supprimebat, rem incredibilem, nisi à fidissimis matronis quæ à cubiculi cura erant: id certo se cognouisse Marinæus Siculus adfirmaret. *In the bitterest pangs of childbearing, she did neither groane nor cry, an incredible thing, if* Marinæus *the Sicilian did not affirm that he had receiued it from the faithfullest, matrons of her chamber.*

[y] D. Iohn, *king of Arragon died at Barcelona, being* 81 *yeares old, hauing raigned in Nauarre* 53. *yeares, and* 4. *moneths: and* 21 *yeares six moneths in Arragon. He was buried in the Monastery of Poblete.*

[z] Augustus *in his latter dayes caused the Senate to make the Law* Papia, *it had many heads, & amongst others, a man of* 60 *years old, & a woman of* 50, *might not marry. This word* Buckle *was vsed by* Seneca; *and after him, by* Lactantius. Quid ergo est quare apud Poetas sa laciſſimus Iupiter desierit liberos tollere? sexagenarius factus est & illi lex papia fibulam imposuit?

The

The yeare before his death, he went to ſee his ſon D. *Ferdinand* at Victoria, to conferre with him vpon the affaires of the realme, which he ſhould leaue vnto him: In this incounter the father had not any with him, but ancient men, aboue threeſcore years old, and the ſonne was attended on by the flower of all the Nobility of Caſtille. It was noted that the father in all things gaue place to the king, *D. Ferdinand* his ſon, as the head of the houſe of Caſtille, from whence he was deſended. [a] The diſpute of this precedence had bin begun in the Councell of *Conſtance*, and decided in that of *Baſil*, in fauour of Caſtille; *Alphonſo*, the fift king of Arragon, would not yeeld it to his father *Iohn* the ſecond King of Caſtille. [b] The law of Maieſty was of more force then that of reſpect and naturall obedience, wherof the ſon, how great ſoeuer, many not diſpence himſelf towards his father. The Crowne of Caſtille had alwaies pretended that Arragon depended of it in ſoueraignty; and that if it were free, it was by grace. The King *D. Iohn* the ſecond, at his returne from this voyage, dyed at Barcelona.

Peace and Alliances renewed with *Spain*

It was by his aduice that a peace was at that time treated, of betwixt king *Lewis* the eleuenth, and the kings of Caſtille, to confirme the ancient Alliances that were betwixt the two Crownes. [d] The Embaſſadors of France were the Lord of Leſcut, and the Biſhop of Lombais, Abbot of S. *Denis*: they of Caſtille were *Iohn de Gamboa*, Gouernour of Fontarabie, and *Iohn de Medina*, one of the kings Councell. This peace being concluded, the Embaſſadors of Caſtille came into France, they were receiued at Paris with great honour, on Saturday, the third of Iuly, 1479. they did the like to the Embaſſadors of France, who went to Guadalupa, whereas *D. Ferdinand*, and *D. Iſabella* were buſied in puniſhing the diſobedience of the Marques of Villena, who had hindered *D. George Manriquez* from chaſtizing them of Cinchilla, who had reuolted. [e]
The Articles are ſworne by the king; and moreouer it was agreed, that the Towne of Parpignan ſhould be put into the poſſeſſion of the Cardinall of Spaine, & that the two kings ſhould name an Arbitrator, to decide within fiue yeares what K. *Lewis* did pretend to be due vnto him. After the death of *D. Iohn* the 2[d], king of Nauarre and Arragon *D. Ferdinand* ſucceeded in his fathers Eſtate of Arragon and Sicile, and *D. Leonora* to the Mothers, as daughter to *Blanche*, Queene of Nauarre; but this ſucceſſion which ſhee would haue aduanced, contrary to the Lawes of Nature and Humanity, beeing blamed by the Hiſtories of Spaine to haue cauſed her elder Siſter to be poyſoned, [f] did not paſſe the fifteenth day after her Coronation.

Shee had by *Gaſton*, Earle of Foix, many worthy Children,

[a] Alphonſo *the fifth King of Arragon, brother to* Iohn *the ſecond, king of Nauarre would haue his Embaſſadors giue place to them of* Henry *the fourth, K. of Caſtille, in ſigning the Articles of a Treatie made at Naples.*

[b] *It is a difficult thing ſometimes for the prerogatiue of nature to giue place to that of fortune, & dignity; witneſſe the Senator of Venice, who would not giue place to his ſonne, although he were Duke, who to binde his Father, did alwayes carry a great Crucifix, to the which the father ſaid hee did his duty.*

[d] Philip de Comines *ſaith, that the Alliances of France and Caſtille, are betwixt King and King, Realme & Realme, Man & Man of their ſubiects.*

[e] *At that time when as the Court was at Guadalupa, the Marques of Villena, head of the faction, being incenſed that his enemies had cauſed ſix of his Souldiers to be hanged, wold do the like to as many of theirs, being his priſoners: the chance fell vpon a Souldier of Villeneufue of Laxara, neere to Allarcon, in whoſe place the yonger brother preſented himſelfe, and intreated that hee might dye for him, for that his brother had wife and children, who was ſet at liberty, and his offer accepted.* Hiſt. of Spa. Lib. 22.

[f] D. Blanch *being put away by* D. Henry *the vnable, was carried as it were a priſoner to Leſcut in Bearne, by* Gaſton *Earle of Foix her Brother-in-law, to the end ſhe ſhould not marry againe. The Spaniards write that her ſiſter* Elenor *cauſed her to bee poyſoned.*

Gaſton

Gaſton, Earle of Foix; *Iohn*, Vicount of Narbona; *Peter*, Cardinall of Foix; *Iames*, who ſerued King *Lewis* the twelfth in the warres of Lombardy, and fiue daughters; [g] *Mary*, wife to *William*, Marquis of Montferrat, *Ioane* married to the Earle of Armagnac, *Margaret* to *Francis* Duke of Brittanie, *Catherine* to the Earle of Candale, and *Elenor* promiſed to the Duke of *Medina Celi*. *Elanche*, Counteſſe of Foix, mother of many children.

The peace of Caſtille did not hinder the warre which the King had againſt *Maximilian* of Auſtria; who to diuert the Kings forces, and fruſtrate his deſignes, beſieged Therouenne: [h] the Lord of Cordes came to ſuccour it: *Maximilian* went to meet him, and both Armies encountred at Guinegaſte. The [i] Caualarie of France ſhewing their ancient valour, brake that of *Maximilian*, and chaſed them as farre as Aire, which made their Foot-men to wauer: yet they were ſtaied by the conſtancy and good order of the Captaines which did fight on foot. *Maximilian* put himſelfe among the foot-men: the Earle of Rhomont, and *Engelbert* Earle of Naſſau, behaued themſelues ſo valiantly that day, as they carried away the honour, and *Maximilian* had the field and profite. The French being Victors, buſied themſelues at the ſpoyle, [k] and loſt the victory which they had certaine. 1479. Battell of Guinegaſte.

When newes was brought vnto *Lewis*, hee would not beleeue that the loſſe was ſuch as they ſaid. If it be true ſaid he, that the victory be loſt for me, fare-well all my Conqueſts. This loſſe made a Truce, and the Truce a peace, Chriſtendome had great need to vnite her forces againſt *Mahomet*, who beſieged Rhodes. The King obtained a Iubile from Pope *Sixtus*, and cauſed it to be publiſhed throughout his Realme to gather mens Almes and Deuotion for the reliefe and defence of that mighty Bulwarke of Chriſtendome. But the Hiſtory doth not ſay that he gaue any thing of his owne to the Relligion, as King *Charles* the ſeuenth had done, to prepare himſelfe againſt the Agreſſion of ſo mighty and fearefull an enemy, who vnder a vaine and deceitfull propoſition of peace, [l] laboured to diſcharge vpon them all the furies of warre.

But it was vaine againſt Rhodes, by the valour and vigilancy of the great Maiſter of Aubuſſon, who vpon the firſt aduice that was giuen him of *Mahomets* deſigne, prouided carefully for the defence and ſafety of the Towne, hee cauſed ſome Churches to bee beaten downe, which might haue annoyed them, if the enemy ſhould get them; but hee would not attempt this demolition tumultuouſly, nor of his abſolute authority, but would firſt haue the Prieſts, Monkes, and all others that were intereſſed. Theſe men, by the permiſſion of the Metropolitan of the Grecians, and of the Archbiſhop [m] Coloſſenſis, or of Rhodes (for there is a great Re- Siege of Rhodes by *Mahomet* valiantly defended.

[g] *Out of this houſe of Foix, were iſſued four Queenes, couſin germans, at one time:* Catherin *Q. of Nauarre*, German, *Q. of Caſtille, and Arragon*; Anne *Queene of France, and Dutcheſſe of Brittaine*, Anne *Queene of Bohemia & Hungary.*

[h] Maximilian *camped before Therouenne with* 10000. *Flemings, ſome Troopes of Germans, and* 300. *Engliſh. It was relieued by* de Cordes *with* 8000. *Franke Archers, and eleuen hundred men at Armes.*

[i] *The Gaules Horſemen were alwaies eſteemed and feared.* Plutarch, Polibius *and* Appian *commend the. Cæſar ſaith, that in the war of Affricke,* 30 *horſemen Gaules, put to rout* 2000. *horſemen Numidians.*

[k] *Greedineſſe of ſpoyle hath many times made them looſe the victory who had it moſt aſſured. They that eſcaped frō this battell, and were at that of Nouara, committed not this error in purſuing the victory, as to fall to ſpoyle: they were heard to cry out in the field*; Companions, remember Guinegaſte.

[l] *Nothing doth ſo much fauour the deſignes of warre, as an opinion of peace*: Mahomet *cauſed his ſonne* Zizimi *to make ſome ouerture of a truce vnto* Demetrio Sofrano, *Embaſſador of the Order, and vnder this negotiation he prepared for the warre.*

[m] *There is alwaies a great correſpondency betwixt the Order of the Church, the inferiors ordaine nothing without the aduice of their ſuperiors. The Synode of Laodicea forbad the Biſhops (diuided among the Villages of the Prouince) to doe anything without the Biſhop which was in the Towne.*

lation

lation of authority and obedience, of power and reſpect among them) conſented. In all his deſignes hee euer reſpected the Kings aduice and counſell, and informed him of all that paſt; yea, of the fortifications which he made in the Iſland, and of the ouertures of an accord which *Mahomet* made to deceiue him; beſeeching him, that the French Commanders and Knights, which were within his Realme, ſhould not looſe ſo goodly an ocaſion to ſerue Chriſtendome.

1480. Tribute refuſed to *Mahomet.*

The ſiege of Rhodes began after that of Scutari,[n] in the end of May, 1480. After that *Mahomet* had knowne, that it was impoſſible for him to haue that tribute from the Rhodians which he demanded, in regard whereof he would ſuffer them to liue in peace; the Army camped on Saint *Stephens* Mountaine, and vpon little Hilles thereabouts, it conſiſted of an hundred thouſand men, and a great quantity of Artillery: A great troope of horſe and foote came furiouſly from the Mountaine, to diſcouer the Towne of Rhodes; the which were twice beaten and repulſt. Their Batteries being planted, the Canon played againſt S. *Nicholas* Tower: The great Maiſter was informed of euery thing in the Turkes Army by a Germaine Inginer, who caſt himſelfe into the Towne, and left the Infidels, making ſhew that the onely zeale of religion had moued him; hee related the whole eſtate of the Campe, and diſcouered that which they could not learne, but by him. But his zeale was meere treachery and treaſon; for the which he was ſoone after hanged, by the commandement of the great Maiſter, who feared Traitors more then Enemies.[o]

Treaſon of a German Inginer.

He refreſht the Garriſon in S. *Nicholas* Tower, and placed of the moſt valiant Knights, and beſt Souldiers to guard it; he viewes the ruines which the battery had made, and cauſeth them to be repaired ſpeedily. The Turkes aſſaile it with an incredible fury; but they were ſo receiued, as in leſſe then an houre they loſt 700 Souldiers, beſides them that were wounded; and they that retired ſuddenly to their Gallies, were drowned. The great Maiſter went triumphing to Rhodes, to giue God thankes for this victory.

Aſſault giuen by the Turkes.

The Turkes, to weaken the forces of the beſieged, and to vanquiſh them the more eaſily being diuided, batter the Towne in many places[p] with peeces, and Engines of warre of an vnknowne greatneſſe. There was neuer Fort more furiouſly battered, neither was there euer Campe more annoyed by the battery of the beſieged. The aſſailants made ſome ſhot, whoſe noyſe was like vnto Thunder, and their ruines like that of Thunder-bolts. The Rhodians had a Canon which they called the *Tribute*, which carried away great heapes of the enemies. The Scorpions, Rammes, Slings, and Croſſe-bowes of the old warres, which carried and forced Mil-ſtones, and Rockes, with ſuch great violence, and ſo farre off, wrought not ſuch terrible effects. The Turkes ſhot out of Engines, the ſtones whereof ruined houſes where they fell. And after this maner *Philip Auguſtus*, and *Richard*, King of England, had

[n] *At the ſiege of Scutari, the Aſſailants ſhot ſo many Arrowes into the Towne, as the beſieged, for a long time after the ſiege, burnt no other wood but Arrowes*: Mahomet *was forced to raiſe the ſiege. The Venetians, Lords of Scutari, left it him to haue a peace.*

[o] *At the ſiege of Towns, the practiſes within are no leſſe to bee feared, then the attempts without.* Scipio Africanus *ſaid, that he was not ſo carefull to defend himſelfe from the enemy, as from traitors.*

[p] *The Artillery battering the walles of Rhodes cauſed the Iland tremble; and it was heard plainly at the Iland of Caſtle Roſſo, towards the Eaſt, an incredible way off.*

in former times ruined Ptolemaid: There was danger to remaine within, and danger to come out of the houſes. [q]

The great Maiſter, whoſe prudence was without feare, and valour without raſhneſſe, would not neglect it: he was as couetous of his peoples bloud, as he was prodigall of his owne; he could not ſee them die miſerably, but provided a good remedy, [r] commanding the Women, Children, and vnable perſons, to leaue the houſes, cauſing them to be lodged in a void place, betwixt the houſes and the Towne-wall, vnder Tents, ſupported with great peeces of timber. The ſtones they ſhot out of their Bombards alwayes paſt ouer them: for the Turkes ſhot onely at the houſes, and at the places moſt frequented; and if any ſtone fell there, it found reſiſtance, and did no harme. At night the people retired into Churches, that were vaulted.

He commanded publicke prayers to be made, euery man caſting his eyes to heauen, hauing no other hope of helpe: it was impoſſible to defend the wall, and therefore hee made intrenchments, where the Women laboured with a wonderfull affection; they would haue giuen their haire [r] to haue made ropes againſt the Turkes, more willingly then euer the Dames of *Rome*, *Aquilea*, or *Bizantium* did to make bow-ſtrings againſt their enemies. When as the Baſhaw ſaw, that the ſole preſence of the great Maiſter was the chiefe force and defence of Rhodes, he ſet two men to poyſon him: the firſt being ſurprized, and trembling at the firſt demaund they made him, entring into Rhodes, diſcouered the ſecond.

The Baſhaw ſeeks to poyſon the great Maiſter.

Saint *Nicholas* Tower did ſo command the Port, as the enemy thinking that all the defence of Rhodes depended theron, gaue an aſſault by night, when as they thought that the beſieged, tired with the continuall toyles of the day, had neglected the defence, they made their troopes to land ſecretly, and marched directly to the Mole, (it is the Port whereas ſometimes the Coloſſe, one of the wonders of the world ſtood [u]) but found them that attended them, who repulſt them in ſuch ſort, as they loſt a great number of their companions.

The Baſhaw by theſe firſt attempts, did iudge of the Iſſue of the ſiege, thinking that he did beate in vaine againſt this rocke, and that he might win the great Maiſter by ſome other meanes; he demaunded to ſpeake with him vpon the ditches banke, where hee told him, that hee wondered at his preſumption and raſhneſſe, in ſeeking to reſiſt ſo mighty a Prince, and obſtinately to refuſe him tribute, [x] ſeeing that he could not receiue more honor, then to be

[q] Paulus Æmilius *ſaith, that at the ſiege of Ptolemaid,* Saxorum ictu quæ Tollenonibus mittebantur tecta domorum ſuperne perfringebantur. *The toppes of houſes were broken downe with the ſtones they caſt out of engines.*

[x] *To feare to looſe his men, & to ſpare their liues, is the duty of one that commands.* Fortes paratiſſimi effundere ſanguinem ſuum, alienum videre non poſſunt. *Valiant men are ready to powre forth their own bloud, but they cannot ſee anothers.* Sen.

[r] *Women haue often giuen their haire to make Inſtruments for the warre, or ſtrings for bows, the examples are reported by* Vegetius, lib. 4. *The Senate of Rome in remembrance thereof, did dedicate a Temple vnto them, called* Venus without haire. In honorem Matronarum Templum Veneri caluæ ſenatus, dicauit Iul. *cap.*

[u] *The Coloſſe of the Sunne at Rhodes, was 70 cubits high of braſſe ſet vpon the port, all ſhips paſt betwixt the legges: It was ouerthrowne by an Earth-quake, and laie long vpon the ſhore:* Mabia, *a Captaine of the Sarazens, hauing defeated* Conſtant, *the ſon of* Conſtantine, *and nephew to* Heraclius, *in a battell at ſea, ſeized vpon* Rhodes, *and ſold the mettall of this Coloſſe to a Iew, who laded* 900. *horſe, and ſent it to Alexandria, in the yeare* 614. *that is to ſay,* 1460 *yeares after that* Charles *the Indian, an excellent Grauer, had made it.* [x] *It is a troubleſome and importune demand, to require a tribute of free-men; yea it is inſupportable to them that are born to ſeruitude. The King of Caſtille demanded from* Muly Alboacen, *King of Granado, the Tribute and Arrerages, to whom the Embaſſadors anſwered, that the Kings of Granado, tributaries to them of Caſtille, were dead, and therefore their bond was voyd; and that in Granado they carried no more gold nor ſiluer, but heads of Lances, Arrowes, and ſuch like Armes, to turne them againſt their enemies, and to free themſelues from ſeruitude and charge.*

Tributary

Tributary to a Prince, to whom the greateſt of Aſia, Affricke, and Europe paid tribute.

Although the great Maiſter did not thinke it fit to ſpend time in words, and anſweres, for that in ſuch occaſions, a Generall ſhould not haue his hands on his tongue, but his tongue in his hands, yet would he not ſuffer the Baſhaw to returne without an anſwere, as without any profite of his diſcourſe; and therefore he ſaid vnto him: *Know that thou haſt not to doe with baſe and effeminate Aſians, but with Chriſtian Knights, who are ready to burie themſelues in the ruines of this Towne, rather then once thinke of yeelding.*

Generous anſwer of the great Maiſter.

The walles of Rhodes had in few dayes endured 3500 Cannon ſhot, the Towers, the Baſtions, with the goodlieſt buildings, were beaten downe and ruined: there was a breach on all parts, but in the knights hearts, who were reſolued to looſe themſelues, rather then to leaue it.[y] The Baſhaw, the more to incourage the Souldiers to an aſſault, gaue them the ſpoile of the towne, and cauſed it to bee proclaimed by Trumpet, declaring that nothing ſhould bee ſaued, but the Infants to bee conducted to the great Turkes Serrail, that all the reſt ſhould bee put to the Sword, hauing cauſed 8000 ſtakes to be made, to impale them that ſhould be taken aliue.

[y] *Conſtancy and courage is neuer beter tryed, then in Townes beſieged, whereof there haue been admirable examples ſeene. Some more through obſtinacy then reaſon, haue firſt ſlaine their wiues and children, and then killed one another, to win the honour to be conſtant.*

All things beeing ready, forty thouſand Turkes came vnto the aſſault towards the Iewes wall, and the quarter of Ieruſalem, with ſuch fury, as if their Prophet had beene behinde them, like vnto the Egyptian Gods:[z] The attempt was ſo great, as the Chriſtiſtians could not hinder them from planting of their ladders, the wall was wonne, and their Enſignes ſet vp in ſigne of victory; but they continued not long: the great Maiſter, and *Anthony* of Aubuſſon, Vicount of Montelier his brother, came to ſuccour them: they finde many Turkes within the Towne, whom they cut in peeces, repulſt the reſt, and follow them euen to the Baſhawes Pauillion, where they take the Turkes ſtandard Royall, and carry it to Rhodes.

Scalodoe repulſt.

[z] *King* Amaſis *making warre againſt the Arabians, cauſed the ſtatues of the Ægyptians gods, which they did worſhip to bee carried after them; to the end they might goe more cheerefully to dangers, remembring that they had behinde thē their Gods for ſpectators, and that they were bound to ſaue them, and not to leaue them in their enemies power.* Policenus, lib. 7.

They ſay, that in this aſſault, the Turkes ſaw[a] in the aire vpon the walles, a ſhining Croſſe of gold, a virgin attired in white, with a Target on her Arme, and a Launce in her hand, and a man muffled with a Camels skinne, followed with a great troope of armed men, all glittering, which ſeemed to come to ſuccour the towne: that the aſſailants were ſo amazed and terrified with this viſion, as they that were neereſt vnto the walles, durſt not goe on, and they that were farre off, fled. This miracle hath beene mentioned by all the Hiſtorians that haue written of this ſiege: and *William Coarſin*, Vice-Chancellor of the Order, ſpeakes amply in his Commentaries.

Viſion miraculous.

[a] *This viſion is related at large by* I. Boſio, *in the firſt part of his Hiſtory, accordingly as it is ſet downe in the Text, the which to auoyd repetition, I omit.*

The Bashaw mad at their great constancy and resolution, retired, & caused his Artillery to be carefully drawne away, whereof a Generall should haue an especiall care; for the losse is dishonorable: He caused it to be imbarked, with his hurt men. The rage which he could not poure forth vpon the Inhabitants of Rhodes, shewed it selfe round about the Towne, leauing no tree vn-cut, Vine vn-puld vp, nor house vn-burnt. The Bashaw going out of the Port, discouered two great ships, which *Ferdinand*, K. of Naples sent to their succour: he held it an affront if hee should suffer them to passe without fighting. But in despight of him, and 20. Gallies which assailed these two ships, they entred the Port after three houres fight. Retreat of the Turks

Thus Rhodes, the cleere Sun [b] of the sea, so famous in the Histories of Antiquity, was preserued for the Christians. All the Citty in signe of ioy, made bon-fires, shot off Ordinance, & rung their bels. The Trumpets, Hautboyes, and drums were vpon the walles, vpon the newes which the great Maister receiued from Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, of a mighty Army which came to his succour. The Bashaw desirous to know the cause of this ioy, sent certaine Grecians to demand it of the Centinels, who told them, it was for that the Christian Army was neere; which being reported vnto him, hee commanded to weigh anchor, and to set saile, the 18 of August, hauing continued at this siege 89 dayes, and lost the best part of his Army. This valiant resistance, for the preseruation of the Island of *Rhodes*, did purchase much glory to Christendome, and bound Christians to praise the God of Victories, to make him fauourable when hee should be called [c] in the like necessity, for that the defence of towns and the defeat of Armies come only from him. The Crosse triumphed ouer the Cressants. *Mahomet*, after this affront, did but languish, hauing propounded, for a reuenge, to make a great enterprise vpon Italy, to make Rome another Constantinople, a Serrail of the Vatican, and a Mosquee of Latran. Vpon the apprehensions of such ruines and desolation, *Sixtus* the fourth was ready to abandon Rome, and go into Erance. Italy being too weake to resist so mighty an enemy, who hauing made himselfe Maister of 12 realms in the lesser Asia, of the Archipelagus, of Albania, and of Sclauonia, of all the Empire of Cõstantinople, & of Trebizond, threatned to enter into Europe by Apulia, & Calabria, [d] where he had caused wonderfull desolations, and spoiled Italy of the flower of her horse-men; and it may be, he should not haue found Princes which would haue sent backe his Embassadors so couragiously, nor contemned his threats, as *Mathias Coruinus*, K. of Hnngary, and Poland did: for when this Barbarian had sent to him, to haue him yeeld him his realme of Polonia, he made this braue and hardie answere to his Embassadors; [c] *Go and tell your maister, that he reignes in Greece by my meanes, and that he shall remaine there no longer then I please.*

[b] *For that there is no day, how cloudy soeuer, but the Sunne is seene at Rhodes: the ancients said it was consecrated to the Sun. It lyes in the Carpatian sea, in the Prouince of Licia, separated from the coast, by an Arme of the sea, which they call, the Canel of Rhodes, 20 miles broad: It is long and square about 120 miles compasse. Towardes the North lyes Licya, Ægipt to the south, Cyprus to the East, and Candy to the west.*

[c] *Xenophon exhorts men to honour the Gods in prosperity, to the end they may be fauourable vnto them in aduersity.*

[d] *Mahomet the 2d. made warre three yeares in Apulia, and Calabria, hee tooke the Townes of Ydrunte, Tatum, and Leuce, by force.*

[c] *This generous answer made by* Mathias Coruinus, *is related by* Ioachin Cuneus, *in the Annals of Silesia,* Mahomet *did euer after feare him.*

The end of the eighth Booke.

THE

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THE HISTORIE
Of LEWIS *the eleuenth.*

THE NINTH BOOKE.

WHAT auayleth it for Stagges to haue goodly and ſtrong heads, if they haue not courage to vſe them? The Archduke *Maximilian* had more ſubiect to repent himſelfe, then to reioyce for the ſucceſſe of Guinegate, for that he did not make vſe of his aduantage: If he had preſented himſelfe before Therouenne or Arras, hee had found amazement for reſiſtance. But hee durſt not attempt it, [a] So as the battell which ſhould haue purchaſed him glory among the Flemmings, made him contemptible, for they knew well, that the place of battell was not left him, but to preſent vnto him the inequallity of the loſſe, hauing loſt a greater number of men then the King, who was ſtill Maiſter of Artois, without the which, the Earles of Flanders are but petty Princes.

Maximilian makes no great vſe of his aduantage at Guinegaſte.

Hee loſt more then he got.

Thoſe Eſtates are vnhappy which are forced to ſeeke ſtrange Maiſters, they are like vnto counterfeite legges and armes, ſet on to naturall bodies: It fareth not much better with Princes which are alwaies hated, who being not loued cannot bee well obeyed. [b]

Maximilian had not beene bred vp in affaires, his youth could not be ripe before his time: The Emperour *Fredericke* his father, one of the moſt couetous Princes in the world, had neither giuen him men, nor mony, ſufficient to performe thoſe wonders which were expected from him, before they ſaw him: In a word, hee had not done ſacrifice to reputation, [c] entring into the Country.

His age without experience.

[a] Phillip de Cõmines *ſaith, that after the battell of Guingaſte, if* Maximilian *had beene counſelled to returne before Therouenne, hee had not found any creature within it, nor yet in Arras.*

[b] *It is a glorious Title for a Prince, when hee can ſay, that hee is well beloued of his ſubiects. It cannot be purchaſed but by royall vertues, which are more to be eſteemed then Kingdomes.* Il regnare depende ſpeſſo della fortunà, ma il Re che ſi proponga per vnico fine la ſalute & la felicità de populi ſuoi depende ſolamente da ſe medeſimo & della propriavirtu. *To raigne, depends often vpon fortune, but that King which propounds vnto himſelfe for his onely end, the health and felicity of his people, depends ſoly of himſelfe and his owne vertue.* Guic.lib.1. [c] *By the firſt iudgements which are made of a new Prince, his reputation is weake or ſtrong, and therefore the wiſe aduiſe.* Inſtandum famæ nam prout prima cedunt cenſentur vniuerſa. *We muſt ſtand vpon fame, for as the firſt ſucceed, all the reſt are cenſured.*

Moreouer

Moreouer as men are more grieued for the fayling of things promiſed, then for thoſe which are but in expectation; they ſaw the Emperour *Fredericke* did not care to aſſiſt him, nor to releeue him with forces equall to the ſubiect which did preſſe him; For he had written vnto the chiefe Townes, that as ſoone as he had ſetled the affaires of the Empire, he would follow his ſonne: and yet he left him in a confuſion of miſeries,[d] hauing not where with at all to defray the charges of his owne houſe, ſo as the Princeſſe was forced to ſell and pawne part of her reueneues.

So the battell of Guinegaſte was not followed by any other loſſe. Onely the Prince of Orange would make vſe of it, hauing found, that what he had deſigned againſt the Kings perſon brought him nothing but ſhame and repentance. Reuenge inuents villanous practiſes to pleaſe it ſelfe: Being offended with the King for that he had not giuen him ſo great authority as he thought he had deſerued, he was not content to haue left his ſeruice to follow the Arch-duke, and to haue cauſed the Townes of Bourgundy to reuolt, but he attempted againſt his life, thinking that to free him-

Attempt againſt the Kings perſon diſcouered.

ſelfe from feare hee ſhould vtterly ruine himſelfe, [e] *Monſr. d'Eſpilly* the Kings Atturny Generall in the Parliament of Dauphine (who is one of thoſe that in merite and ſufficiency finde more men to imitate him then to go before him) ſent mee an extract out of the Regiſter of the Chamber of Accompts of Dauphine which related a ſtrange example thereof, and ſerues as in a cleere Lanthorne, that the eternall Prouidence hath neuer failed in the preſeruation of this Monarchy, diuerting thoſe ſtormes which hell had raiſed to ouerthrow it. And behold the Hiſtory.

Iohn Renond a Lionois.

Iohn Renond, Borne at Saint Chaumond in Lionois, and making profeſſion of a Mercer, and an Apothecary, [f] in the Towne of Clermont in Auuergne, vndertooke to go to Florence to ſee one called *Franciſquin*, whom he had ſometimes ſerued, and who was a ſeruant in the houſe of *Medicis*, carrying him a horſe of ſome twenty Crownes price, being in hope that he would do him ſome good, for men of that ſort, giue not, but to receiue. He beganne his iourney before Eaſter, paſt the holy weeke at Lyon, and paſt the Monday after towards Mantua, where he was incountred by

Priſoner to the Prince of Orange.

fiue men who led him to Saint *Claude*, to the Signeor of Erbens, who committed him to priſon, for that he ſaid hee was a French-man, and ſent him to the Prince of Orange, who was then at Arbois.

The Prince of Orange informed himſelfe curiouſly of all that he knew, and finding by his diſcourſe, that a deſire to draw ſome-thing from the Maiſter which hee had ſerued at Florence had made him vndertake ſo great a voiage, that neceſſity made him

[d] *By the Emperor* Fredericks *letters written to the Towne of Dole, bearing date the* 12. *of February*, 1477. *wee ſee that hee promiſed to follow him preſently.* Nos vero cõpoſitis pauliſper negotijs noſtris eundem filium noſtrũ ducem *Maximilianum* illico ſubſequemur, & ad vos in propria perſona accedere volumus parati & inclinati vt ad omnem gratiam & fauorem quos vos intuitu dictorum ducis *Maximiliani*, & contoralis Duciſſę *Mariæ* impartiri poſſumus. *Ann. of Bourg.*

[e] *To attempt againſt an enemies life is a teſtimony of feare and cowardiſe, vpon an apprehenſion that hee will bee reuenged: It is a counſell of ſafety, not of courage.*

[f] *By the Proceſſe verball, it is ſaid, that this* Renond *was married, at Clermont, that hee had two brethen at Lion, one Beneficed in the great Church, and* Peter Renond *a Hoſier, Tenant to Maiſter* Michael Lambert.

capable

capable of any thing, and that it made him of a ſicke mans humour, to whom a ſinal matter fitly adminiſtred giues eaſe: he began to caſt forth ſome words of the tediouſneſſe and difficulty of the way, aſſuring him of greater good with leſſe paine; he demanded of him if he would not be as well pleaſed to haue it done him there, as to ſeeke it ſo farre off. *Renond* anſwered that he was well content, and that he was ready to ſerue him againſt all men, yea were it to go againſt the King: The Prince of Orange replyed: *Thou ſayſt well, thou art the man I ſeeke for,* commanding they ſhould make him good cheere; and after that time they ſuffered him to go vp and downe the Towne where he liſted, yet they cauſed a Legeois to accompany him, leaſt he ſhould eſcape. The Baſtard of Orange did ſound him, to ſee if he continued in this humor, & if he did embrace it willingly, or with griefe,[h] & aſſuring him that if he did perſiſt, he ſhould find a happy fortune: that if he would ſweare to ſerue the Arch-duke of Auſtria faithfully, the Prince of Orange had power to do him good, and his authority was ſuch, that if he gaue him halfe the Country, the donation ſhould not be reuoked. Theſe words wrought the effect, which may be expected from a ſoule of that diſpoſition, and in ſuch affliction as to recouer his liberty, he would haue promiſed any thing.

Hee offers to do any thing.

He is ingaged with the hope of great rewards.

The Prince of Orange, thinking that there was not any elſe to do but to bind him, cauſeth him to come into his chamber, in the preſence of the Baſtard of Orange, to ſweare vpon the Maſſe-booke, and the Figure of the Crucifixe, to do all that he ſhould command him, and adding this clauſe vnto his Oath,[i] that if hee did it not, he renounced God, his Chriſtianiſme and Baptiſme. *Renond* ſware, and ſpake thoſe words freely, and takes a chamber in Hell (thoſe were his words) if he fayled to effect that which ſhould be commanded him; but his heart did not conſent to this Oath, deſiring rather to deceiue his heart, then to betray his Maiſter.

He ſwears to do what hee would haue him.

They left him yet three daies, to ſee if hee did perſiſt in this reſolution, and to obſerue if there were any coldneſſe in his words, or amazement in his Countenance, for that words the moſt certaine in ſhew are changed by the inconſtancy of will, the Nature of man being ſuch, as it oftentimes taketh away Will from all his intentions,[k] and in theſe dangerous bargaines, we muſt not buy men by the ſound, as they do veſſels of Tinne, the eye muſt iudge both of the inward and outward man.

The Prince of Orange gaue him a horſe, and carryed him to Bleterans, where he cauſed him to come into his Chamber, and commauded the Baſtard of Orange to bring him fiue boxes of

t *Benefits which preuent the demands of them that haue need, and whom neceſſity doth preſſe, worke great effects, and are like vnto thoſe eaſy remedies which being fitly giuen, doe much caſe the Patient*: In ægris oportunitas cibi ſalutaris eſt, & aqua tempeſtiue data remedij locum obtinet. *In ſicke perſons, the opportunity of meat is healthfull, and water fitly giuen is inſtead of a remedy.* Sen.

h *We muſt not hope for any good ſucceſſe of that which is done vnwillingly.* Per multum intereſt vtrũ ſponte noſtra quid faciamus an inuiti. *There is a great difference whether we doe any thing willingly or by conſtraint.* Ariſt.

i *An oath ſhould haue three conditions, Truth, Iudgement, and Iuſtice, if it wants any one, it is execration: we muſt alwaies forbeare to ſweare to deceiue him that truſts vnto the oth that is made vnto him.* In dolo iurat qui aliter facturus eſt quam promittit, cũ periurium ſit nequi et decipere credentem. *He ſweares deceitfully that doth otherwiſe then he promiſeth, being periury, wickedly to deceiue him that beleeueth.* Auguſt. 21. q, 2. Can. in dolo.

k *There is nothing conſtant in humane reſolutions, man is ſubiect to reiect that ſuddenly which he hath promiſed and ſworne.* Quia non ex toto vult, non ex toto imperat. *For he that doth not wholly will, doth not wholly command.*

leade,

They ſhew him fiue boxes of poiſon.

Leade, preſenting which vnto *Renond*, he coniured him by the oath which he had taken, to vſe them as he ſhould direct him: He let him ſee that thoſe Boxes were full of diuers Liquors, and that euery one was of a different colour; then he ſaid vnto him. *Thou knoweſt that when the King hath heard Maſſe, or done his deuotions, hee is accuſtomed to kiſſe the ground, and, many times, the corners of the Altars.* [1] *Thou ſhalt finde meanes to powre theſe Liquors at the corners where he ſhall kneele, and ſhalt rub the corners of the Altar: and to the end, the colour may anſwere the Ornaments that are vpon it, and that the diuerſity make them not obſerue the ſpots, thou ſhalt take greene liquour for greene Ornaments, blacke for blacke, white, for white, and in like manner, red and blew for the like colours: The white may be laid vpon the ground, or vpon any gray colour. They are of this Compoſition, that as ſoone as they are powred forth, there will nothing appeare, and no man can perceiue it, but beware thou doſt not touch it with thy hand.*

[1] *Reuenge is blind, it reſpects neither the holineſſe of places, nor the reuerence of things. Princes ſhould learne by this example, that death watcheth them, and may ſurpriſe them euery where.*

This defence not to touch them, made *Renond* demand after what manner he might lay them on the Ornaments of the Altar, and not rub them with his finger. The Prince ſaid vnto him: *Thou ſhalt take a waxe candle, and fret the end of it, then faigning to make thy Offring, thou ſhalt according vnto cuſtome, kiſſe the corners of the Altar, and then thou ſhalt touch them with the end of thy Waxe Candle, rubbing the place, where thou ſhalt thinke the King will kiſſe the Altar.*

He promiſeth to do it.

Renond who did abhorre all this in his ſoule, made ſhew by his words that nothing ſeemed more iuſt, nor more eaſy to be done. The Prince of Orange did long to haue him gone, and it ſeemed to him, that his Reuenge, although ſhee were drawne by Cruelty, Boldneſſe, Impatiency, and Impudency, as by foure Tigers, [m] went not ſwift enough, ſaying alwaies, that ſeeing the King would not haue him for his ſeruant, he would neuer hold him for his Maiſter. *Renond* promiſed to do all this, and made no difficulty but how he might get out of the Country and not be ſtayed, for that as ſoone as he ſhould enter into the Realme, he was in ſafety, and feared not any thing.

[m] *The Chariot of Reuenge hath foure wheeles, Cruelty, Impatiency, Boldneſſe, and Impudency.* Valde enim velox currus iſte ad effundendum ſanguinem, qui nec innocentia ſiſtitur, nec patientia retardatur, nec timore frenatur, nec pudore inhibetur. *The Chariot to ſhed bloud is very ſwift, it is neither ſtayed by Innocency, reſtrained by Patience, Feare doth not brible it, nor ſhame holld it backe.*

The Prince of Orange gaue him mony, and cauſed him to bee conducted out of the Franch-County: He gaue him a Paſport to paſſe vnto Breſſe, and promiſed him two hundred Crownes: But, for that *Renond* ſaid, the recompence was not equall to the ſeruice he vndertooke, he ſware by the Prayer Booke, which he held in his hand, that if he did that which he commanded him, hee would giue him an Office, which had two hundred and forty pound yearly fee: That if he dyed, he would cauſe to be giuen to his wife and children, thirty pound Sterling of yearely rent, and a houſe, in the Towne of Salins, for their retreat: and in a word, that they would do him more good then they had promiſed him.

There remayned no more to do, but to make the Kings Epitaph, but as they were vpon this diſcourſe, the Signior of Erbeins ar-

riues, who brake them off, and the Prince cauſed *Renond* to retire, who went downe into a chamber, whereas the tonnell of the chimney did anſwere to that of the Prince, by the which he might eaſily vnderſtand what they ſaid: After that *Erbeins* had diſcourſed with the Prince of the affaires of warre, and that Dijon, Chalons, and Beaune were ready to yeeld vnto the Arch-duke: ⁿ He heard the Prince ſay vnto him: *You haue brought vs a man which is very fit for vs, for the boxes which you know*: Whereupon *Erbeins* ſaid vnto the Prince, you haue done ill to diſcouer this buſineſſe, to one that is a French-man. *If you* (ſaid he) *haue promiſed to make him a Knight, the King will make him an Earle: He hath Knighted a Scullion, and giuen him great meanes, for that he diſcouered the like enterpriſe*: *And what remedy then* (ſaid the Prince.) *You muſt caſt him into the Riuer* (anſwered *Erbeins*) *to the end he diſcouer not any thing*: That were ill done (ſaid the Baſtard of Orange) ſeeing that he was taken in Sauoy, in the habite of a Marchant, and not of a Souldier; that he was a poore man, who had neuer ſpoken vnto Souldiour but with his hat in his hand.

Danger wherin *Renond* was.

This firſt inſtrument being made vnprofitable, the Prince did not for all that deſiſt from his bad intent, his reuenge was ſo enflamed with rage and deſpite againſt the King, who had contemned him as a perſon that could neither do him good nor harme. ◦ The Prince demanded whom they ſhould then employ for the Boxes: I will anſwered *Erbeins*, giue you one of my ſeruants called *Catherin*, a very faithfull man, who can both go and ſpeake, and knowes many in Court, and hath ben the Winter paſt at Arras, Paris, & at Tours. They ſent for this *Catherin*, ᵖ who promiſed to do any thing they would. Then the Prince of Orange commanded the Baſtard of Orange to carry *Renond* to Salins; and to haue a care leaſt he eſcaped. *You ſhall do well* (ſaid *Catherin*) *for if he go into France, I will not go, for that he will diſcouer all our deſignes, and knowing me he will accuſe me*: He had reaſon to think thereon, for if he had beene diſcouered, they would not haue giuen him any time to repent. ᵖ The Baſtard of Orange ſaid, that he would put ſuch irons on his feete that hee ſhould not be well able to flye: The next day, *Renond* was led to Salins, and lodged in a baſe chamber at Chaſtelbellin, where hee had fetters put on him, waighing aboue an hundred weight.

Renond a priſoner in Irons, put to ranſom.

The Baſtard of Orange went to Beaune ᑫ to reduce it to the Arch-dukes obedience, which done he returned to Chaſtelbellin, and told *Renond* that he was his priſoner taken in the warres, and that he muſt put himſelfe to ranſome, *Renond* could do no other thing but weepe, ſaying, that the Prince of Orange had promiſed him otherwiſe. The Baſtard of Orange told him, that it was no place for teares, and that water was deere, that he ſhould reſolue either of a ranſome, or to be caſt downe head-long from the top of

ⁿ *The Townes of Dijon, Beaune, and Verdun reuolted againſt the King. The Lord of Chaumont, who was Gouernour, recouered them.* Phil. de Com. *ſaith that it was for want of iudgement in the enemy, and that God giues wiſedome and gouernment to that part which hee will ſupport.*

◦ *The King, ſaith* Phil. de Com. *did not thinke that the Prince of Orange had had courage, or meanes, to rebell the Country of Bourgundy, as he did a great part of it.*

ᵖ *There are crimes, whoſe example is ſo neceſſary, as they that are apprehended muſt bee preſently diſpatched. In other exceſſes it is good that repentance go before the puniſhment, and a good Prince*: Non pœna ſemper, ſed ſæpius pœnitentia contentus eſſe debet: *Not alwaies with puniſhment, but oftentimes muſt be content with repentance*: Tacit in vit. Agric.

ᑫ *The Proceſſe verball ſhows that the Country made great ioy for the reduction of Beaune, hauing theſe words.* And in making the ſaid feaſts and dancings, he heard them that were in the chamber, vnder the Towre where this deponent was, cry out with a loud voyce, Long liue Burgundy and of the reſt one: Thus they cryed three or foure times, and ſo did the reſt that were in Caſtelbellin.

the

the rocke; Seing no remedy, he promiſed to pay two hundred Crownes by Midſommer day, and if he did not acquit himſelfe within the time he ſhould pay the double.

Hee found himſelfe in this perplexity the firſt day of May, which was the feaſt of Saint *Iames*, and Saint *Phillip*, he made his Vow vnto our Lady of *Puy* in Velay, and to Saint *Iames* in Galicia, promiſing to go thither to pay his Vowes, if he eſcaped out of that priſon, and not to ſee wife nor children vntill he reuealed the Prince of Oranges practiſe vnto the King. His prayer being ended, God (who hath alwaies had a particular care of the King and Realme of France) gaue him meanes to breake his Irons, and to get out of priſon, to aduertiſe the King of theſe matters, ſo much importing the ſafety of his perſon, and of his eſtate: [r] The feare hee had to bee followed made him to take the way to Lauſanne, from whence he went with all ſpeed to Bourges, where hearing of the Lord of Bouchages being, and that he was one of the Kings principall Seruants, hee addreſt himſelfe vnto him, to tell him all that he had learned of the Prince of Orange. The Lord of Bouchages ſent for *Raoul Pichon*, Councellour to the King, to heare this Declaration, and cauſed a verball Proceſſe to be made, the which was inrold in the chamber of Accompts of Dauphiné, bearing date the eight and twentieth of May, one thouſand foure hundred ſeuenty and eight, Signed *Imbert* of Baterne, *R. Pichon.*

Renond deliuered miraculouſly

[r] *The Proceſſe Verball ſaith, that after that* Renond *had made his Vow, his Iron ſopened, and hee found meanes to eſcape, by two lances which he had tyed one vnto another, and by cords which hee found there.*

From this Diſcourſe wee ſee another ſpring. The Signior of Erbeins, to let the Prince of Orange vnderſtand, that hee had inconſiderately made choiſe of a French-man, to be the bearer of his boxes, and the executioner of his deſignes; for that, beſide the bonds of God, and nature, which bound him to his Prince; and not to hold any thing which hee ſhould promiſe againſt him: [s] The eſtate wherein hee was, when hee promiſed, diſpenſed him of his promiſe: he ſaid vnto him, that if *Renond* did it for the hope of recompence, hee ſhould haue more from the King, then from any other, and that hee had made a Scullion of his Kitchin, or one that did make ſauce, a Knight, for that hee had reuealed the like enterpriſe. The Chronicle maketh no mention of this kind of recompence: but it reports the ſeruice, which a Sauce-maker, called *Colynet*, did vnto the King.

The like attempt diſcouered and puniſhed.

[s] *Vniuſt promiſes muſt not bee kept, it is iuſtice to flye from thē, and iniuſtice to obſerue them: If they were extorted by force they bind not, for his will that promiſed was not free.*

Princes haue Inſtruments for the good and euill which they do, they finde men for all affaires, whoſe ſpirits are apt to vndertake any thing, & to diſpatch thē of mē by waies vnknown to generous minds, and vnworthy of Princes. [t] The Duke of Bourgundy had ſome, who practiſed a Marchant called *Ithier*, to haue the king poiſoned vpon promiſe of 50000. Crownes, to diſtribute among thē

[t] *To practiſe againſt the life of an enemy by any other meanes thē by Armes, is vnworthy of a Prince:* Adgandeſtre *Prince of the Chattes promiſed the Senate to put* Arminius *to death if they would ſend him poiſon, the Senate anſwered:* Non fraude neq; occultis, ſed palam & armatum populum Romanum hoſtes ſuos vlciſci, qua gloria æquabat ſe *Tiberius* priſcis imperatoribus, qui venenum in *Pyrrhum* regem vetuerant, prodiderantq; *That the Romanes were not reuenged of their enemies by fraude and ſecret practiſes, but by Armes, in which glory* Tiberius *was equall to the ancient Emperours, who did forbid poyſon to be giuen to King* Pyrrhus, *and did bewray it.*

that ſhould execute this damnable deſigne, but they found that the gate, by the which they would haue it paſſe was ſhut, and had neuer beene opened to any ſuch thoughts, whereas they found nothing but miſery, for we may ſay, to the glory of fidelity, that ſuch deteſtable conſpiracies did neuer enter into the Kitchin.

Ithier corrupted one called *Hardy*, and he dealt with a maker of Sauce in the Kings Kitchin, to whom he promiſed twenty thouſand Crownes. This Sauce-maker reſolued ſuddenly to cry quittance with this wretch, that came to tempt him, preferring the duty of his fidelity before all other conſiderations of profite, making ſhew to hearken to this bargaine, he told him, that he could not do any thing without *Colinet*, who was alſo an Officer, and that it was neceſſary to put the poyſon into his hands: *Hardy* deliuered it vnto them and inſtructed them how to vſe it. They preſently aduertiſed the King, who cauſed this poiſoner to be apprehended and examined in his preſence, to know the motiues and the effects of his deſigne; He confeſt the whole matter: The King went from Amboiſe (where he was at that time) to go to Paris, and cauſed *Hardy* to be conducted by *Iohn Bloſſet*, Captaine of an hundred Archers of the Dauphins Gard, who carried him in chaines in a little Cart, to deliuer him to the Prouoſt of Marchants of Paris, to do iuſtice of him: The came and receiued him in the Suburbes, and cauſed him to ſit in a chaire, made faſt in the Cart, to the end the people of Paris might ſee him, not ſo much to the ſhame of this miſerable wretch, as to the confuſion of the Duke of Bourgundy, for that it was publiquely ſpoken, that he had commanded this foule attempt.

The King aduertiſed of this poiſoning.

They made his Proceſſe, [u] and he was condemned to be quartered, his foure quarters to be carried to foure frontier Townes, with an Inſcription, containing the cauſe of his puniſhment, his houſes to be razed, and the place where he was borne to be ruined and neuer more to be built.

Hardy cõdemned to be quartered.

A holy, and iuſt iudgement: If the places for that they haue beene innocently guilty of any heynous villany, haue beene termed wicked; they that haue ſubborned and ſuffered theſe Murtherers, and poiſoners, of Kings, ſhould be held moſt curſed and execrable. [x]

The feare of the like puniſhment did not diuert an Engliſhman, called *Iehn Bon* from the like thoughts, who vndertooke to poiſon the Dauphine. He was condemned to looſe his head, by a ſentence giuen by the Prouoſt of Paris. Being at the place of execution, he deſired to haue his wife and children recommended vnto the King: The Kings pleaſure was, that the loſſe of his life ſhould be moderated with the loſſe of his eyes: He accepted of this commutation of puniſhment, which did not bind him, but to go accompanied, [y] and kept him from a paſſage where man finds no Companion, and is without hope euer to returne. My opinion is, that the King did it in remembrance of ſome ſeruices,

Iohn Bon an Engliſhman condẽned.

[u] *Execution of* Iohn Hardy, *on Thurſday the* 30 *of March* 1474. *The Chronicle ſaith, that his head which had beene ſet vp at the Greeue, was preſently ſtollen away.*

[x] *The place whereas* Iulia *cauſed her Carroch to paſſe vpon the body of* Seruius Tullius *her father, ſlaine by* Tarquine. *The gate by the which the* 300. *Fabians went forth to battell where they died. The place of Battell whereas* Claudius *father to* Druſus *was ſicke. The place where the Veſtales were interred aliue: were termed Execrable.*

[y] *There is not any affliction but doth ſtill finde ſome thing to comfort it.* Aſclepiades *being growne blind, ſaid that blindnes brought him this content to go alwaies accõpanied, cauſing himſelfe to bee guided by a yong boy.*

uices which this miſerable man had done him in the diſcouery of ſome of the Earle of Armagnackes practiſes, as hath beene formerly ſaid.

Taking & recouery of Beaune & Verdun

God diſperſed theſe wicked practiſes which the Prince of Orange had againſt the Kings life, but his deſignes vpon the Townes of Bourgondy ſucceeded: Hee made Beaune reuolt; and as wee haue ſaid, the baſtard of his houſe entred into it. Verdun did alſo declare it ſelfe againſt the King: the Townes of Mons-aujon, Chaſtillon vpon Seine, Semur, and Bar vpon Seine, followed this rout. *Chaumont*, Liuetenant generall of the Countrey, recouered them as ſpeedily as they had beene taken, and cauſed them to be ſeuerely puniſhed which had beene chiefe actors in this reuolt.

Rebels puniſhed.

[z] Their enemies wanted iudgement, and *Phil. de Commines* referres that to the difference of men, which ſhould be imputed to the ſecret iudgements of the eternall Prouidence, for the fauour or diſgrace of Princes and ſtates. The Memorials of the Franch-county, written by *Golu*, accuſe the couetouſneſſe of the Emperour *Fredericke*, and the weakneſſe of his Garriſons that were in Bourgondy. *Giury* compounded for Beaune at forty thouſand Crownes. The Bailiffe of Auxois yeelded Semur. *William* of Vaudré was taken priſoner at Seurre, and *Simon* of Quingey, and *Cottebrune* at Verdun.

Sigiſmond Archduke of Auſtria inconſtãt, giues his eſtates to his Nephew.

The Prince of Oranges attempts (who was retired to Baſill) had not laſted ſo long in that prouince, if the Arch-duke *Sigiſmond* had not beene an Actor, and quit the Kings Alliance. He was ſuddenly incenſed, and as ſoone pacified. [a] Theſe humors doe neuer incounter in a Prince; but they make him cõtemptible, or fearfull: He ſuffered himſelfe to be gouerned by his ſeruants, who abuſed him as well in making him feare, as in putting him in hope. By the counſell of ſome, he had followed the King againſt the Duke of Bourgondy: by aduice of others, and in the worſt eſtate, hee leaues the King for his Nephew the Arch-duke *Maximilian*, and ſends German Troopes into Bourgondy, vnder the command of *Simon* of *Quingey*, diſpoſſeſſeth himſelfe of all his eſtates, and reſerues onely a penſion. [b]

Lewis of Bourbon, Biſhop of Liege, ſlaine.

What was loſt in the battell of Guinegaſte, was recompenced with the winning of the Towne of Aire, and the troubles which happened at Liege. *Lewis* of Bourbon, Biſhop of Liege, brother to *Iohn* and *Peter* of Bourbon, was growne old in the hatred which the Liegeois bare him, the which tooke deepe roote in their memories, when as they remembred, that to reuenge his priuate iniuries, the Duke of Bourgondy had reduced them to that miſery and deſolation which they yet felt.

William de la Marche, called the Boare of Ardenne, who had

[z] *The puniſhment of a rebellion ſhould bee done ſpeedily & ſharply, as* Q. Fuluius *did vpon the Capuans, of whom he put 80 to death without acquainting his Colleague therewith, or expecting any commandement frõ the Senate.* Ita ad Capuam res compoſitæ cõſilio ab moni parte laudabili ſeuere & celeriter in maxime noxios animaduerſum. *Thus at Capua matters being ſettled by a commendable reſolution, the chiefe offenders were ſpeedily & ſeuerely puniſhed.* Tit. Liu. lib. 16.

[a] *Lightneſſe, Choler, and Facility do not wel become a prince: either he is feared more then hee ought, or eſteemed leſſe thẽ he deſires. Such was* Vitellius, Quem ſubitis offenſis, aut intempeſtiuis blanditijs mutabilem contemnebant, metuebantque. *Whom as inconſtant, they did contemne and feare, for his ſudden choler and vnſeaſonable flattery.* [b] Sigiſmond, *Archduke of Auſtria hauing no children by his firſt nor ſecond marriage, gaue his goods to the Archduke* Maximilian *his Nephew.* Phi. de Commines *ſaith, that he ſuffered himſelfe to be gouerned by his ſeruants, and there was neuer any great Iudgement nor honour in him.*

beene bred vp by the hand of this Prince, and who was a pentioner to the houſe of Bourgondy, vndertooke to kill him, and to make his ſonne Biſhop.

[c] *There cannot bee a worſe choyce of Soul diers, then of ſuch as are conuicted of crimes, and that are ſtil terrified with the horror of their villanies, and the feare of Iuſtice. The raſcally multitude in Townes are alwayes diſſolute, and they principally, quibus ob egeſtatem & flagitia, maxima peccandi neceſſitas, who for their pouerty or villanies, are forced to ſinne.*

To execute this deſigne, hee gathered together a Troope of the moſt deſperate wretches that were in Paris, (a Forreſt at that time where ſuch ſauadge beaſts did lurke,) [c] he gaue them red Caſſockes; and for a Badge, a Boares head vpon the ſleeue, with whom he went into the Country of Liege. Hee acquainted ſome of Liege with his Conſpiracie, who promiſed to ſerue him. They preſently tooke an Alarme to ſee theſe Boares in their Vines; they let the Biſhop vnderſtand, that he muſt not ſuffer them there, and that if he would go forth to chaſe them away, euery man would follow him.

Treaſon of the Liegeois.

This good prelate, whoſe courage could not deferre ſuch an occaſion to another ſeaſon, and did thinke that Palmes were not planted for cowards, reſolued as ſudenly as he was intreated, to go out againſt theſe theeues.

Beeing ready to charge, the Liegeois abandoned him, ſo as hee was compaſſed in by theſe Boares, and barbarouſly ſlaine by their Leader, who cauſed him to bee ſtripped ſtarke naked, and to bee carried to the place before the Cathedrall Church. Soone after *Maximilian* cauſed the head of *la March* to bee cut off.

[d] *Neighbour Eſtates haue alwayes ſome diſputes: The Romans and Carthaginians, continued fiue hundred yeares in peace; but when they began to extend their frontiers, and to draw neere one vnto an other, ſaſpition, iealouſie, and enuy of eathers greatnes thruſt them into warre.*

Although the King held a Peace difficult betwixt Prouinces ſo neere, ſo interreſted, and ſo accuſtomed to picke quarrels, as it is a hard matter for two Neighbours, which haue many deſputes, to bee long at peace; [d] yet the loſſe of the battle at Guinegaſte, made him reſolue to ſeeke it. A reſolution which could not growe, but from great wiſedome and policie, hauing duely conſidered, that it was neceſſary, honourable, and profitable for him ſo to doe.

Lewis ſeeketh a peace of *Maximil.*

A Prince that is already well ſtricken in Age, who ſees great diſcontentments amongſt great men, and heares great complaints amongſt the meaner, and hath his Children very young, ſhould no more thinke of Warre, if he could not draw vnto him the aduantage which he deſired; and conſidering that the Footemen had all the honour of the battle, hee made the body of an Army of ten thouſand Foot, two thouſand Pioners, ſix thouſand Suiſſes, and a thouſand fiue hundred horſe to imploy vpon all occaſions.

This eſtabliſhment muſt bee reckoned among the examples of his good Gouernement, or rather among the Inſtruments which hee could handle to reigne powerfully. If hee had made this Order ſooner, or if King *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the twelfth had continued it, France had not felt thoſe wants and weakeneſſe which haue beene a let that her deſignes haue not beene equall to her courage.

New diſcipline for Souldiers.

Eſtates depend not ſo much vpon a good forme of Gouerne-

ment,

ment,[c] as of Force: Military Diſcipline is the foundation of an Eſtate. The groundes of Warlike Diſcipline are Foote-men; and all Foote-men which are not drawne from the Princes owne Eſtates, cauſe more diſcommodity then profite. Rome which in her greatneſſe (that is to ſay, from *Numa* to the Emperour *Auguſtus*) [f] had fought fiue hundred and fifty Battels, and had wonne foure hundred thirty ſeuen with her owne Troopes, held that foot-men were the ſinewes of her forces, and hath not found a more certaine cauſe of her ruine, then to haue mingled ſtrangers in their legions.

Dangerous to imploy forraine ſouldiers

Strangers draw away the chiefe treaſure of the realme, their affection and fidelity is not ſo naturall, as they care more then the ſubiects to preſerue the eſtate: They diſ-band for want of pay, and ſometimes they bandy againſt them of the Countrey with more fury then againſt their enemies: they will preſcribe a law when they are ready to decide a good action; and like vnto Rauens, rather follow the prey, then accompany the Wolues which purſue and take it.[g] Experience teacheth many examples to confirme this Maxime. Thoſe eſtates which haue no other ſuport but by forraine forces, ſuffer great diſcommodities in time of peace, and receine ſmall profit and ſuccours in time of warre: they are alwaies declining to their ruine, the which is not deferred, but by the ſlackneſſe of the occaſion, or the ſmall courage of the aſſailant.

Obſeruations of the aduãtages of Foot-men ouer horſ-men.

Men of warre are not ordained but to preſerue or conquer, to defend or take townes, and to decide by a battell the rights and differences of Princes and Eſtates. In all theſe occaſions foot-men are more proper then horſe-men. A towne which is kept by horſ-men, receiueth ſuch diſcommodity for proviſion, as oftentime it is more preſt by neceſſity within, then by the enemies without: and alwaies horſe do more trouble a [h] Generall to feed, then to diſcipline his ſouldiers. At aſſaults of places horſ-men are of ſmall ſeruice, if they leaue not their horſe, & ſerue on foot. At battels, foot-men which haue meanes to entrench and couer themſelues, and haue good ſtore of pikes, are alwaies more then equall to horſemen. It is true that the Cauallary hath great aduantages, for a horſe-man hath better legges then his owne, hee chargeth more furiouſly, and hath more force, heat and breath then a foot-man. Foot-men are leuied more ſpeedily, are led and lodged with more facility, are paid and entertained more commodiouſly, fight more ſafely & couragiouſly, and rally themſelues againe more [i] eaſily: For the facility of the leuy, it is ſo great in France, ſince that the ciuill warres haue armed the people, as there is not any pariſh where you find not Souldiers which haue carried Armes, and others which are reſolued to run that fortune.

Diſcommodities of prouiſion for horſ-men.

[c] *Eſtates may wel be gouerned either by one alone, or by fewe heads, or by many, but their ſtrength or weaknes depends vpon priuat order; and eſpecially of Martiall diſcipline, whoſe effect is ſo great, as it preſerues euen Tyrants in the eſtate which they hold, whereof the houſe of the* Ottomans *is a preſident.*

[f] *Footmen haue giuen vnto the Romans the Empire of all the world. Frõ* Numa *to* Auguſtus, *they had but one yeare a ſuſpenſion of Armes, & haue alwayes carried the warre into the Enemies countrey, how farre off ſoeuer.*

[g] *The Fable ſaith, that the Rauens hauing accompanied the Wolues at the purſute of ſome beaſt to deuoure it, would haue their ſhare whẽ it was taken, ſaying, that they had aſſiſted thẽ, and alwaies follow'd them: you* were not for vs (*anſwered the Wolues*) it was the prey that drew you thither, & if it had ſucceeded ill, and that we had beene taken, you wold not haue ſpared our owne fleſh.

[h] Philip *father to* Alexander, *ſeeking to campe in a place of aduantage for the ſouldiers, but vnfit for the horſe, cryed out, that it was a great pitty of our life, which muſt be ſubiect to the commodity of horſe.*

[i] *We are not now in the time of the old warres, when as Gentlemen onely gaue themſelues to the exerciſe of Armes. At this day euery man hath liberty to ſeeke it without the Realme, and many are growne Souldiers, and neuer went out of their Village*

The

The Prouinces are ſo peopled, as if the King ſhould looſe as many battels as the mightieſt conquerer could giue him, yet could he not diſarme him of Foot-men. Adde hereunto, that horſe fit for the warre, are alwayes deere, and rare, and that we euer finde more men then horſes.[k]

France cannot be diſarmed of foot-men.

Touching the pay, we know that the difference is great betwixt the pay of a man at Armes, and that of a foot-man; and that it is eaſier to raiſe a thouſand foot, then a hundred horſe. For the facility of lodging, foot-men couer and entrench themſelues in field, and fortifie themſelues within a Towne: if they be lodged in a village, they lye cloſe to defend themſelues, and not ſcattering like vnto horſe-men. For the aduantage of fight, it is true that horſe-men haue ſooner done;[l] but alſo wee haue ſeene battels loſt by the diſorder and violence of the horſe, who can hardly keepe their ranks, nor recouer them beeing loſt; and oftentimes they fall vpon the foot, and breake them with more diſorder then the Elephants of the Antients,[m] to whoſe diſcretion they did commit the head of the Army. A Foote-man fights more ſurely, and more reſolutely then a horſe-man. In what perplexity doth a valiant man fight vpon a faint-hearted Iade? and what is a Coward, or a mad-man vpon a couragious horſe? How many haue we ſeene carried away by their horſes, into dangers not foreſeene, who can no more ſtay them in the flight, then in the heat of their fight?[n]

For the commodity of the leading, bee it to march, lodge, or fight, the foot-men paſſe in all places, whereas the Cauallary comes often into ſuch difficult paſſages, as the men at Armes ſhould rather deſire flying, then ordinary horſes. Speaking hereof with a braue French knight, very well knowne in theſe laſt warres, and who hath yet command amongſt the Kings men at Armes, he ſaid vnto me, *That the diſcommodity of forrage had beene ſo great, as the horſemen were ſometimes fifteene, or twenty leagues from the campe to ſupply their wants: That ſome went to warre with fiue or ſixe Horſe, who fought but vpon one, and yet the people were forced to feed theſe vnprofitable beaſts, with their keepers: That ten horſe-men had more Carts then a company on foote. And if his aduice might purchaſe credite, they ſhould therein imitate the Spaniards, who giue honors, recompences, and markes of vertue to the foote, and the contrary to horſe-men.*[o]

The Horſe-men were the loſſe of the battell at Courtray, and the footmen defeated the Earle of Flanders before Gand. The horſe-men ſeeking to haue all the honour of the battell at Poitiers, came to charge before that the foot companies had meanes to ioyne, this was the cauſe that the Engliſh, whoſe force conſiſted wholly

[k] *The Romans, to repulſe the Gaules, who had ſeized vpon ſome Townes of Lombardy, made a deſcription of their forces, and of the number of men fit for the warre: they found ſix hundred thouſand foot, and three-ſcore thouſand horſe.*

[m] *One of the greateſt forces of the Armies of the Eaſt, conſiſted of Elephãts:* They muſt of neceſſity (*ſaith M. de Montagne*) giue great credite to their beaſts and to their diſcourſe, abandoning vnto them the head of the Battle: whereas the leaſt ſtay they could make for the greatneſſe and heauineſſe of their bodies, & the leaſt amazemẽt that had made thẽ turne head vpon their owne men, was ſufficient to ouerthrow all.

[n] *They that ſpeake of warre with knowledge and experience, hold, that commonly when as the Cauallary aduanceth to giue the firſt charge, it is the cauſe of the loſſe of the victory, returning often vpon their foot, and ſtriking a great amazement into them, for that hauing conceiued a great opinion, and aſſured themſelues often to winne the Battell, they finde themſelues ſuddenly deceiued; and therefore the Rout of the Cauallary is alwayes full of amazement.*

[o] *It is more honourable in Spaine to bee among the foot companies then among the Horſe. The contrary is obſerued at Rome.* Valerius *the Conſull ſaid vnto his Troope:* Agite Iuvenes preſtate virtute peditem, vt honore & ordini preſtatis. *Goe to yong men, excell the foot-men in vertue, as you do in honor and order.* Liv.

Neeeſſit of Horſ men.

in

in Foote, wonne the Battell. At the Battell of Guinegaſte, the Arch-duke *Maximilians* Horſe-men abandoned the Foote, who ſtood firme, and kept the place of Battell. Wee haue formerly ſeene, that the men at Armes at the Battell of Mont-lehery, who ſeemed as if they would haue ſupported heauen with their Lances, fell vpon their owne Archers, and trode them vnder their feete, doing them more harme then their enemies.

It is true, that whatſoeuer was fortunate and glorious in this Encounter, came from the Arrierban, or Gentlemen of Horſe-backe of Dauphiné, who made the Fore-ward vnder the commaund of the Baron of Sauſonnage, who was ſlaine there: for of foure hundred Gentlemen which dyed in this Battell, there were foure and fifty of Dauphiné. Before the troubles, their names and Armes were to bee ſeene in a Chappell in the Conuent of Iacobins at Grenoble. Yet for all this diſcourſe we may not baniſh horſe-men out of Armies; if Rome [p] could haue equal'd them of France in Courage and Reſolution, ſhee had ſooner carried the proud Title of *Queene and Miſtreſſe of Nations*. But ſhee was forced to make a vertue of neceſſity: for meaning in the beginning to haue all the people fit to ſerue in Warre, and all hauing not meanes to bee Horſe-men, her chiefe force was ſetled in Foote-men. *Romulus* [q] hauing diuided the people into thirty Tribes, made but three hundred horſemen. And to proue this pouerty, we finde that when as *Lucius Tarquinius*, of a Patrician race was made Conſtable by *Lucius Quintius Cincinatus*, he had alwaies fought on foot, fot that hee had no meanes to mount himſelfe on Horſe-backe.

Neceſſity of Horſe-men.

Horſe-men are very neceſſary in diuers occaſions, which cannot be otherwiſe performed: If it be needfull to make a long iourney, to ſurpriſe the Enemy, ſeize vpon, approch, cut off, or hold paſſages, recouer the Cannon, inueſt Townes, keepe the Enemy in Alarme, to command the fieild, to make a ſpoile, to cut off victuals from the beſieged: all this Horſe-men doe, and more readily, and more effectually then Foot-men. Often-times they haue recouered that which the Foot haue loſt; they alone haue ſaued the Eſtate: [r] and wee know well, that the Parthians haue done as great Exploits with their Horſe, as the Romans with their Foote; but it is certaine, that the men at Armes haue alwayes beene beaten when as they encountred Foote-men, and therefore wee often ſee, that the Roman Horſemen left their Horſes to fight and defeate Foot-men, and tooke them againe to purſue them when they were in flight. [s] The like hath beene obſerued in the Engliſh and Bourgondian Armies.

[p] *To them that ſay, the Romans made their Conqueſt by Foote-men, wee may anſwere, that in like manner, the Parthians encreaſed their Empire by horſ-men: And that* M. Antony *hauing vanquiſhed them in eighteene battels, found his victories vnprofitable, by reaſon of the inequality of Horſ men.* Plut.

[q] Romulus *made but three Centries for hũdreds of Horſe-men.* Tullus Hoſtilius *added ten troopes, either of two & thirty Horſe.* Tarquinius *ordained, that the number ſhould be of three hundred:* Seruius *diſpoſed the people into fiue bands, which made 93 Centuries, whereof* 18 *were for horſe-men.*

[r] Sext. Tempanius *ſeeing the Volſques come to the charge againſt him, ſpake theſe words:* Niſi hæc armata cohors ſiſtat impetum hoſtium actum eſt d: Imperio. *If this armed troope did not ſtay the Enemies fury, the Emperour were vndone.*

[s] Titus Largius *at the Lake of Regilla, and the Conſull* Valerius *fighting againſt the Sabins, cauſed their Horſe-men to light: And when as* Largius *had defeated the Latins, hee cauſed them to mount againe to purſue them.* Equitibus admoti equi, vt proſequi hoſtem poſſunt.

But to returne to the Campe which wee haue left; It was not sufficient to haue made this Leuy of Men of Warre, to keepe the Field, and to serue vpon any occasion, if they had not added two necessary things to make it profitable, Entertainment and Safety: for if it had alwayes laine open to the iniuries of the Aire, and the enterprises of the first Assailant; or if it had beene forced to dis-band, to seeke for Victuals, it had beene like vnto the Pyramides of Egypt, of great shew and ostentation, and of no profite. The King prouided for the first, imposing a Taxe vpon his Subiects, which *Philip de Commines* calleth *Excessiue* and *Cruell*, [t] necessity iustifieth all kindes of impositions: for all that is necessary to the State, is Iustice; and all that is profitable, is necessary. Necessity goeth beyond the Law; [u] and when the Prince is prest, hee doth more consider that which hee doth, then that which hee should doe: his Iustice goes of another traine, then that of Princes; and those things which seeme to be against the lawes, are not done, but to make the lawes liue and continue.

Wherefore, who-so will draw seruice from any thing, must make it last: for that which is not for euer, cannot alwayes profite, and hee that will haue it last, must make the meanes whch entertaines it lasting: [x] The quyet of Provinces cannot be without Armes, and Armies; Armes are not to bee found, nor Armies entertained without Money; and the Money which is to bee imployed in publique necessities, is not drawne, but from priuate commodities. The Senate would haue *Tiberius* suppresse the twentieth penny imposed (by *Augustus*) vpon Legacies, and Successions: But this wise Prince would not yeeld vnto it, for that it was onely affected for the entertainement of his Souldiers.

Armies are not to bee entertained without tribute.

For the second, hee caused a great company of Tents, and Pauillions to bee made, to lodge his Souldiers dry, and Carts to close them in, and intrench them. All this would haue beene found weake against a mighty Enemy, and against a mighty attempt, if hee had not placed Artillery. I do not hold it a small matter the commendation which *Philip de Commines* giues him to haue been alwayes well furnished of Ordinance in his Armies, and better then euer King of France: for the great designes of Princes are not executed by handie stroakes. His Chronicle saith, that about the end of the yeare 1478. Hee caused twelue great Bombardes to bee made, with a great number of Iron bullets in the Forges of *Creil*, and many of stone, in the quarries of *Peronne*.

Lewis the eleuenth, strong in Artillery.

[t] *The entertainment of the souldiers of the campe, cost the king a hundred and fifty thousand pound sterling yearly.*

[u] *Necessity teacheth Princes to command the lawes, and dispenseth them from obseruing the Lawes, it doth excuse that which they doe,* Necessitas, magnum humanæ imbecillitatis patrocinium, omnem legem frangit. *Necessity a great support of humane weaknes, breaks all lawes.* Sen.

[x] *The Tributes by the which the meanes to make warre, are maintained, may not bee touched.* Augustus *ordained a perpetuall and certaine reuenue for the entertainement of Souldiers, out of the twentieth penny of Legacies and Successions. After his death, the Senate intreated* Tiberius *to extinguish it.* Dion *saith that hee would not doe it, and* Tacitus *giues this reason.* Quod militare ærarium eo subsidio niteretur, *that the treasure of the warre did not consist of that aid.* [x] *When as* Anthony *had resolued to force* Cremona, *he demanded of his Souldiers, if they had any Engines fit to force Towns; and when as they answered no, he grew amazed, they should thinke that walles could bee broken with their nailes, and the points of their swords.* Num secures, dolabras & cætera expugnandis vrbibus secum attulissent rogitabat, & cum abnuerent, gladijs inquit, ac pilis perfringere, ac subruere muros vllæ manus possunt? *Tacit.*

Since

Excellent inuentions.

Since that men grew so ingenious not to imitate Nature; as *Xeuxis* in his Vine, *Appelles* in his *Venus*, *Memnon* in his Statue, *Miron* in his Cow, *Architas* in his Doue, *Sapor* in his Heauen of Glasse, *Mont-royall* in the Eagle of Wood, and in his Flie of Iron, *Albert* the great in his brazen head, but to offend and destroy: that Mens wits haue giuen wings and fire to Iron, to hasten death more speedily; that a German Monke [y] went downe into Hell, to finde fire there for the ruine of Man, as *Prometheus* had mounted vp vnto Heauen to fetch that there, wherewith hee thought to giue them life; and that Europe hath knowne that which was not in vse, but to vnknowne Nations. [z] Artillery hath beene a marke of the power and greatnesse of Estates, which cannot bee held strong, nor assured, if they be vnfurnished, seeing that nothing can be gotten, nor preserued without it.

Artillery inuented.

Nothing strong without Cannons.

Artillery shewes those Forts to bee weake, which the Ancients held impregnable; there is not any but feares this thunder: and if they ouer-throw the Attemps, and consume the meanes and patience of the assailant, it is onely by the Cannon: It workes such terrible effects, and so farre from the vse of the Engines in old time, as it hath changed [a] all the old formes of Sieges and Battels. Gun-powder and wilde-fire are multiplied in so many sorts, and are growne to such perfection, as the warre which in former times was made onely with Iron, is now done with Artillery and Powder.

Formes of war changed.

They cause the Cannon to martch in the head of the Army, and that holdeth the ranke of Elephants: [a] and Chariots armed with Sythes, which did cut in sunder all they incounter. They giue them the honour to begin those great battels, whereupon depend the healthes of Estates; they open passages, and make new: all that come by one way, scatter themselues into a dozen, because they would not encounter them: nothing preserueth it selfe, but to receiue death, or fight. They are absolute Iudges of the doubs of victorie; and if a battalion of foote presents it selfe so strong, so well armed with Pikes, and so couered with Muskets, as they mock at all the attempts of a victorious Prince, and merite that glorious name of an *Armed wall*, [b] they must at the sight of the Cannon yeeld their Armes, or suffer the paine of their rashnesse, and see themselues sooner ouerthrowne, then Grasse or Corne is mowne downe and reaped. [c]

All yeeldeth vnto the Cannon.

[y] *The inuention of Gun-powder and Ordinance was found out by* Bartholmew le Noir, *a German Monk. The yeare is diuersly reported: some date it* 1330. *others* 1334, *and others* 1380.

[z] *The Portugals found Peeces of ordinance in the realme of Pegu, which the Chinois had broght thither* 2500. *yeares before: and the Chinois attribute this invention to an euill spirit, who taught it to their first King, called* Vitey, *to defend himselfe against the Tartars, aboue a thousand yeares before the birth of Christ.*

[a] *Artillery is the cause that warre is at this day more iuditiously managed then in former times, when as quarrels were ended by battels. Euery man seeketh to win time, and to force his enemy to necessity. They trust nothing to fortune, that may be committed to wisedome: they gouerne their designes with longer time, and more safety.* [a] *Elephants haue beene employed in the head of Armies.* Siquidem Tirio seruire sedebam Anniballi: *When I did sit to serue Anniball of Tire.* [b] Dion *calles the fourth Legion,* πολεμιωτατον τῖχος. *See what hath beene spoken thereon in the first Booke.* [c] *The terrible effects of Artillery is wittily represented by the Signior of* Bartas *in his Poëme of the Law.*

Euen as when many Cannons shot at once,
Affront an Army; th'earth with thunder grones:
Here flyes a broken arme, and breakes another,
There stands th'one halfe of a halu'd body; th'other
Falles downe a furlong thence: here flies a shield,
And deepe-wide windowes make they in the field.

It is Ordinance then, which maketh a Prince equall to thundering *Iupiter*, who maketh the Rockes to leape, and ouerthrowes the Gyants vnder the mountaines which they had raiſed againſt him: The Brazen-mouthes which vomit forth Iron, winged with fire, ſhew the greatneſſe, and augment the reputation of them that make them ſpeake. All the Trumpets of their glory ſound not ſo loud, and are not heard ſo farre as theſe Flutes. They be the moſt certaine Titles of the right of Armes, and are not ſubiect to contradiction; ſo the charge is Royall, and there is not any Prince, how great and powerfull ſoeuer, but in proceſſe of time will finde it inſupportable. They write, that King *Henry* the ſecond, in his voyage to Germany, neuer made Cannon-ſhot, but coſt him three hundred Crownes. [d]

All the Inſtruments and Engines of Warre, knowne vnto the Antiens, haue beene contemned to bring Artillery in vſe, which hath all the effects and force of Bowes, Arrowes, Rammes, Slings, Croſſe-bowes, Scorpions, and thoſe terrible Engines which did raiſe vp men into the Aire, carried away whole Gallies, heaped vp and carried with great violence, Rockes, Mill-ſtones, and Men, [e] whom they made to leap beyond the Walles, the Riuers, and the Mountaines of thoſe places which they would make ſubiect to ruine.

But as Inventions are not perfect in the beginning, the firſt Peeces of Ordinance were all of Iron, with bandes and hoopes of the ſame, ſo heauy and ill made, ſo difficult to gouerne, ſo ill mounted, and of ſo bad a bore, as they had more ſhew then execution, and did onely ſerue to amaze them that would bee amazed with the noyſe. [f] The Chronicle reports an example which ſhewes the little induſtry and addreſſe that was euen in the Maiſters of this Art: for all the Officers of the Ordinance being gathered together on Munday before Twelfth day, in the yeare 1448. in the field before Saint *Anthonies* Baſtille, to try a great Bombard which the King had cauſed to bee made at Tours; At the firſt ſhot it carried an Iron Bullet of fiue hundred pounds weight vnto the Gibbet at Pont Charenton: They thought it was not well boared, and therefore they would haue it cleanſed and charged againe. The Caſter playing the Gunner, ſcoured it ſo careleſly, as hee left fire in it, ſo as hauing charged it anew, and put in his Bullet; the Bombard hauing no fire ſet to the touch-hole, diſcharged of it ſelfe, blowing vp the Caſter ino the Aire into many peeces, which ſlew (neere and farre off) two and twenty men, and burnt and maimed many others. [g]

Inuentiõs at the firſt rude and imperfect.

Bombard made at Tours.

[d] Blaiſe *of Vigenere ſaith, That in the voiage of K.* Henry, *in the yeare* 1552. *at Danwilliers, & Iuoy, places of ſmall importance, which notwithſtanding endured thouſands of Cannon-ſhot, there was not any one ſhot but coſt the King, (accounting all the equipage & furniture belonging to the Artillery) two or three hundred Crownes; ſo as a dozen of thoſe balles came to a thouſand ſix hũdred crowns.*

[e] *The Croſſ-bow was an Engine which carried farre off, and with great violence. Somtimes they did put in men aliue, or dead.* Pelagius, *a young man of Spaine, ſeeing himſelfe forced to yeeld to the infamous & execrable luſt of* Almanſor, *ſtrooke him on the face, wherewith being incenſed, he cauſed him to be caſt by one of his Slings, beyond the Riuer of Betis, or Guadalquibir, in the yeare* 895. Iuſſit cum funda machinali trans Betim mitti ſcopuloſis rupibus illidendum.

[f] *All Mechanicke Inuentions are rude and groſſe in their Infancy, as appeares in Artillery and Printing. The Batteries of thoſe times were ridiculous, they did onely ſerue for an vnprofitable expence of powder. They ſhot a farre off, and at randon, and fiue or ſix vollies in a whole day.*

[g] *The Chronicle addes, that the peeces of the Caſters body were gathered together, and buried in the Church of S.* Merry, *and that they cried in the ſtreets; Pray vnto God for* I. Maugue, *caſter of the Bombard, who is newly dead between heauen & earth, in the ſeruice of the king our Lord.*

Our

Ordinance of Brasse.

Our age more industrious, and subtile, hauing caused Brasen Ordinance to bee cast, that is to say, a mixture of Tinne and Copper, softer and more flexible then Iron: Artilery beganne to be good in the warres of the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and of *Francis* the first, and better vnder the raigne of *Henry* the second: King *Henry* the fourth hath brought it to perfection. France could not carry the title of Inuincible, before her Arsenals were filled with that, whose want maketh the mightiest Empires weake: Shee may now bragge to haue the keyes of all the forts of Europe, and that there is not any one, but will stoope and humble it selfe at the sight of this Thunderbolt, when as at the first word of *Iupiter*, it shall be cast forth by the Eagle which carieth it, and which onely demands where is it?

Death of *Mahomet* 2.

If Christian Princes would haue vented out in any other place then in Europe, that warlike heate, which turmoyled them to their owne ruines, God had giuen them a goodly occasion to employ, both the Camping Troupes of *Lewis* the 11., and all the forces of other Christian Princes, to the ouerthrowing of that of the Turks, which was wonderfully shaken by the death of *Mahomet* [h]: Hee dyed at that time in Nicomedia: Pope *Sixtus* was so glad, as he appointed three festiuall daies, in Rome, to thanke God for that the Church was deliuered from such a scourge: dying hee cursed Rhodes thrice: He was a wiser and more polliticke Prince then any of the house of the *Ottomans*, as he who in all his conquests added pollicy to force. Hee was thicke, synowy, and strong of body, he had an Aquiline nose, and so crooked, as the end hung ouer his lip: Being yong, he beganne to take delight in the actes of *Alexander* the Great, promising himselfe to surpasse or equall him. [i] The first day he sate in the Throne of *Amurath* [k] his father (who raigned 32. yeares, a Prince much beloued of his owne, and iust vnto his enemies) he would be surnamed the Great.

Sixtus the 4. reioyceth at the death of *Mahomet*.

Mahomet surnames himselfe the Great.

In shew he held *Mahomets* Religion, but hauing beene bred vp as a Christian by his Mother, who was daughter to *Lazarus* Prince of Seruia, & instructed by her in the Prayers, & Confession of the Christian Faith, when he came to the Empire he found himselfe in so great a doubt & distraction what he should beleeue, as he resolued not to beleeue any thing, caring no more for the Gospell, then for the Alcoran, making a scoffe at *Mahomet*, whom he termed to be a Slaue & a Thiefe, holding his Prophecies for Fables, and his Lawes for Impostures. The father dying had recommended vnto him his yong sonne *Turcin*, being but eighteene Monthes old, and he had promised not to make himfeele the rigor of the house of the *Ottomans*: But as he had nofaith towards God, so he kept none with men, [l] he forgat this promise, for death had no sooner closed vp his fathers eyes, but he drew this poore Infant out of the Nurses armes, to beate out his braines against the wall, saying; that hee would not haue his father interred alone. *Moses*, one of his chiefe seruants, entreated him not to defile his hands in his owne bloud.

[h] Mahomet *the second, Emperour of the Turkes, dyed the the 3d. of May, 1481. in the 52. yeare of his age.*

[i] Mahomet *propounded no other patterne vnto himselfe then that of* Alexander, *not to imitate him in his vertues, but in his ambition.*

[k] Amurath *dyed before the Castle of Croy, in the yeare* 1450.

[l] *Wee must not expect any obseruation of faith, from a Prince that hath no Religion.*

This reason did not moue him, but onely to change the executioner, for he commanded him to kill him. *Moses* caused water to bee brought, and powred such aboundance into the mouth of this infant, as he did both smother him and drowne him. The mother seeing this Inhumanity, fild the house with fearefull cryes, and made terrible imprecations against *Mahomet*, who to comfort her said; *That she sought in vaine to reuiue her sonne with teares, that she should conforme her selfe vnto the Law,* [m] *which would not that a Prince comming to the Empire should suffer his brethren to liue, for that there could be but one Head in the Empire, nor but one Sunne in Heauen: but if shee desired any other thing, whatsoeuer it were, she should be sure to obtaine it.* This woman changing her griefe into reuenge, demanded the heart of *Moses*; *Mahomet* instantly commanded that he should be bound hand and foote, and with the same knife which she thrust into his body, she opened his side, pulled out his heart, cast it to the dogs, and was therewith pacified. [n]

Reuenge of a woman.

Amurath had another sonne of sixe months old, called *Calepin*, and foreseeing it would be impossible he should escape death, if he were knowne for his son, he recommended him to *Haly Bassa* intreating him to saue him. This Treacherous wretch to purchase the fauour of the new Prince, discouered this innocent creature vnto him. *Calepin* was veiwed and knowne by thirty Matrons, and presently strangled. *Haly Bassa*, did not liue long in the impunity of this treachery, for after the taking of Constantinople, *Mahomet* caused him to be strangled, accusing him of Infidelity, & of Intelligence with the Christians, and that he had diuerted his father *Amurath* from the siege of that Citty. Hee carried his designes higher then his Predecessours, he breathed nothing but the Monarchy of the whole world, and the desire of glory made him to loue those which keepe the glory of Princes from decay, and to fauour men of knowledge [o] against the intention of his Lawgiuer, who the better to keepe vnder the minds of men, and to make them subiect to the yoke of seruitude, did forbid them the knowledge of learning: Hee caused to be written in the Arabian tongue, the liues of great Captaines, and especially that of *Alexander*, whom he tooke for his Paterne; but he had not his generosity in battels, nor his moderation in victories: He vsed it more cruelly, when as at the taking of Constantinople, hee caused the head of the Emperour *Constantine* to be carried in mockery through out his whole Army, and troupes of men to be slaine like sheepe. The most apparant which were retired into Saint *Sophias* Temple [p] being brought before him as he was at meate, he gaue himselfe that cruell content, to see their heads flye off vnder the hang-mans sword. When as he tooke Trebizond he gaue his word to the Emperour *Dauid Comnene*, and to his two sons, he led them

Treachery of *Haly Bassa*.

Cruelties of *Mahomet* at the taking of Constantinople, & other places.

[m] *This custome is inhumane and vnnaturall. But we must not expect iust Lawes in a tyrannous Empire: They say it is better to murther some few, then to expose a million to death by the warre which should grow in the house of the* Ottomans, *if the great Senior should suffer the Princes of his bloud to liue: But where is the Law of the God which they adore that approues a Parricide? It is a tyrannous custome, but yet ancient. The successors of* Alexander, *saith* Plutarch, *did commonly kill the mothers, wiues, and children, with their brethren, it was an ordinary custome.*

[n] *The Author of the History of* Scandeberge, *relating this History in the 7th. booke, addes these words:* A profitable instruction, for those corrupted spirits, which prostitute their consciences to the furious passions of great men.

[o] Mahomet *much delighted in Histories and Historiographers fauoring* Iohn Maria *of Vicenza, for that hee wrote the Persian warres against* Vssan Cassan, *in the Turkish and Italian tongues.*

[p] *The Temple of S.* Sophia, *which had beene built by the Emperour* Iustinian, *was spoyled of the treasure, and pretious reliques, which* Constantine *the Emperour had preserued so deerely: It was made a Brothel-house, and a Stable for horses.*

in

in triumph to Conſtantinople, with the chiefe Noblemen, their wiues and children; but this was but to adde vnto the infamy of their death the quality of their miſery, and to make the ſpectacle more ſolemne, cauſing them to be publiquely executed. At the taking of Chalcide, [q] it was a capitall crime to pardon any man being aboue twenty yeares old: He cauſed ſome Noblemen of Albania to bee fleed by peece-meale, and cauſed this barbarous inhumanity to continue fifteene daies, to the end hee might haue time to taſte the ſweetneſſe which he tooke in this cruelty.

He beſieged the Caſtle of Iaiſſe in Boſſina, the King yeelded by compoſition, that he ſhould carry away all that was within it, but there was no faith kept with him, for he cauſed him to be bound vnto a Tree, and to be ſhot to death, reproaching his auarice vnto him, that he had rather ſaue himſelfe with his Treaſure, then with his Honour. [r]

He had emploied *Mahomet Baſſa* in his greateſt affaires, and loued him as one that had bene bred vp with him from his youth. This miſerable man had beene a Chriſtian, and in his greateſt honours did ſtill ſigh for Chriſtian liberty; for the greateſt haue no other title but of ſlaue to the great Signior, and although hee were aduanced aboue the higheſt in the State, yet his nature being proud and ambitious, he held himſelfe vnder all, ſo long as hee ſhould be a ſlaue, and that he ſhould ſee one or two aboue him. [s] Truſting therefore in his Maiſters loue and fauour, he made him a ſumptuous feaſt, and at the end thereof offered him fifty thouſand Crownes, beſeeching him to declare him free, and take from him that odious name of ſlaue, leauing him that of moſt faithfull, and moſt obliged ſeruant. *Mahomet* was ſo incenſed at this demand, as hauing inſtantly commanded this Baſſa to couch with his belly againſt the ground, hee ſet his foote diuers times vpon his necke, vntill that this miſerable wretch began to cry: *I thanke you my Lord, I thanke you, it is too great a happineſſe for me to liue vnder your feete.* To liue after this, was to declare himſelfe vnworthy to haue receiued life, and to haue leſſe courage then that Boy of Sparta, [t] who ſeeing himſelfe forced vnto a ſeruice which his condition ſhould not refuſe, cryed out [t] *I will not ſerue*: and in ſpeaking this, hee ranne his head againſt the Wall.

Pride troden vnder foote.

Generoſity of a yong boy of Sparta.

The ſiege of Belgrade was the Theater of his power, and miſery, for he neuer made greater attempt, nor had a mightier Army. Hee had cauſed his Cannon to bee carried in peeces by his Souldiours, and when hee was in Myſia hee made diuers Peeces to bee caſt of an vnmeaſurable greatneſſe, for hee tooke delight in thoſe fearefull Engines, hauing at the Siege

[q] Mahomet *beſieged Chalcide in Negrepont, in the yeare* 1470. *Hee tooke it in* 30. *daies & loſt* 40000. *men.*

[r] *There is nothing more ſhamefull and dishonourable to a Prince, then to yeeld without defence, or danger. They that bend without blowes are more worthy of blame and reproach, then they that do their endeauours to reſiſt couragiouſly,* Thucidides *in his admonitiō to the Athenians.*

[s] *An ambitious ſpirit cannot endure any thing higher then it ſelfe.* Marcus Craſſus *is the picture of men of this humour. This fooliſh ambition had ſō blinded him as he could not bee ſatisfied to precede ſō many million ſof men, but he held himſelfe in a maner, the laſt of all, & that all things failed him for that they eſteemed him onely inferiour to two.* Plut. *in the life of* Marcus Craſſus. [t] *A yong boy of Sparta being forced to ſerue, ſaid he would not do it. He ſpake the word and performed it, for when as they commanded him to bring a Chamberpot he ran his head againſt the walles: Whereupon* Seneca *ſaith.* Tam prope libertas eſt, ſeruit aliquis? *Doth any man ſerue, when as liberty is ſo neere?*

of

of Conſtantinople imployed a Bombard, to moue the which, he vſed the force of two thouſand men, and of ſeuenty yoke of oxen. Hitherto fortune had euer ſmiled on him, now ſhe makes him to receiue ſo ſencible an affront, as he is forced to hold them happy, which had bene alwaies miſerable, for being ignorant of the eſtate of proſperity, they did with more patience endure their miſfortunes: [u] He was ſhot with an arrow at this ſiege, by reaſon whereof he was carried ſecretly to Varna, to the end it ſhould not daunt the courage of the Turkes, and fortefie the Chriſtians: Being dreſt, he demanded what they did in the Campe: to whom it was anſwered: *That all was in diſorder, the Baſſa of Aſia ſlaine, the chiefe Captaines put to rout, forty thouſand men dead vpon the field, the Ordinance loſt, and that they loſt time to thinke to take the Towne, which the onely preſence of* Iohn Coruin *made impregnable.* Theſe words put *Mahomet* into ſuch a rage, and rage into ſuch deſpaire, as curſing both heauen and earth, and blaſpheming God, he called for poyſon to kill himſelfe, which being refuſed him, he ſet fire of his Campe, and retired.

Loſſe at the ſiege of Belgrade.

Mahomet ſeekes to poiſon himſelfe.

As the vnfortunate euent of the Seige of Belgrade, made him to deſire death, ſo that of Rhodes, and an extreme ſorrow to ſee himſelfe vanquiſhed, hauing done nothing but vanquiſh, made him to dye: [x] Diſpairing then to ſubdue the Rhodians, and hauing continued all his fury and violence of warre, againſt that ſtrong rampart of Chriſtendome, foure ſcore daies, he retired to Damiet in Nicomedia, [y] where he was ſurpriſed with ſo violent a Cholick, as he died. *Phil. de Comines* ſaith: *That euery yeare in the beginning of Summer, one of his legs did ſwell as big as his body, and did fall againe after ſome time, yet no man could giue a reaſon of this griefe:* He imputes it to his Gourmandize, and to the puniſhment of God. It may be it was that legge into the which *Bladius*, brother to the Prince of Valachia, ſtabd his knife, to ſaue his honour from that Goat, who would haue forced him to the infamous and vnnaturall luſt of a barren *Venus*: [z] His cruelties & inhumanities made ſome Souldiours of his Gard reſolue to kill him in his bed: The Conſpiracy being diſcouered by a Chriſtian, he cauſed the Conſpirators to be ſtrangled; and from that time he ſuffered not any one aboue twelue yeares old, to enter into his chamber. For theſe reaſons *Mahomet* is the ſecond of thoſe great Princes, whom *Phil. de Commines* preferres before all others, to haue raigned at one time: King *Lewis* the eleuenth, is the firſt, and *Mathias Huniades* the third.

Mahomet dyes for griefe.

Exceſſe of *Mahomet.*

The King did not extend his thoughts ſo farre, for ſeeing himſelfe approach neere vnto the Weſt of his daies, he carried them not into the Eaſt; His thoughts were conuerted vpon his neereſt neighbours, as vpon Loraine and Prouence, he held the Councels to plant the bounds of his Empire vnworthy the courage of a great Prince: He would haue France like vnto a great Tree, which with the ſpredding of his branches, and ſhadow, hindreth the

Deſignes of the King vpon Lorraine and Prouence.

[u] *Aduerſity is inſupportable to the which haue alwaies taſted of proſperity*: Denis *of Corinth, held them happy which from their infancy had ben vnfortunate.* Le iores relinquet quos nũquam fortuna reſpexit quam quos deſeruit: Sen. *Fortune leaues the more ioyfull whom ſhe hath neuer ſtiuored, then whõ ſhe hath forſaken.*

[x] Mahomet *cõtinued ſixe and forty daies before Belgrade, the ſiege bganne the 13. of Iune, and was rayſed the ſixt of Auguſt.* 1456.

[y] *It is hard for a Prince to bee vanquiſhed, hauing alwaies bin victor.* Boleſlas *the third, King of Polonia, hauing won 47. battles, and being forced at laſt againſt the Ruſſians to flye, dyed for griefe:* Crem. lib. 6.

[z] Amurath *his father would haue done the like to twelue yong Gentlemen of Polonia, whõ he reſerued for that abhomination, they reſolued to kill him, but being diſcouered, they ſlew one another to auoid a more miſerable life, or a more ignominious and cruell puniſhment.*

the growth of all that is about it. [a] The Estates of Nauarre, Flanders, Brittaine and Prouence, were not more in the power of their Princes then in his, and trembled vnder his authority, as the Pigion, or Partrige do vnder the flight of the Hauke: The designes which hee had vpon Lorraine and Prouence, were executed in adding wisedome to occasion, and force to reason.

Estate of Loraine.

To vnderstand this proceeding we must know that *Iohn* Duke of Lorraine, did first marry *Sophia*, daughter to *Eberhard* Earle of Wirtemberg, and had two sonnes, *Charles* and *Fredericke*: [b] *Charles* succeeding him in the Dutchy of Lorraine, married *Margaret* daughter to *Robert* of Bauaria Count Pallatine, by whom he had many children which dyed before him, leauing no heire but *Isabell*. *Fredericke* Earle of Guise, married *Margaret*, daughter to *Henry* Earle of Vaudemont, and had *Anthony* Earle of Vaudemont. *Charles* married his daughter *Isabel* to *René* Duke of Aniou, Calabria, and Bar, Earle of Prouence, King of Sicily, Naples, and Ierusalem: Of their marriage came *Iohn*, *Lewis*, *René*, *Charles*, *Elizabeth*, *Margaret*, *Yoland*, and *Anne*: After the death of Duke *Charles*, *René* would haue entred the Dutchy, as his wiues Inheritance: *Anthony* Earle of Vaudemont opposed himselfe by this reason, that the Males exclude the Females. [c] The controuersy was first ended by Armes, *René* lost the battell of Blanuille and was taken prisoner by *Anthony* Earle of Vaudemont, who gaue him to *Phillip* Duke of Bourgundy, for that hee had succoured him; afterwards by the marriage of *Yoland* daughter to *Renè* and *Isabel*, with *Ferry* sonne to *Anthony* of Vaudemont, the Dutchy of Lorraine remained in effect to *René* the Husband of *Isabell*, and in hope to *Ferry* husband to *Yoland*. *Iohn* succeeded in the Dutchy of Lorraine; Hee had married *Mary* [d] daughter to *Charles* Duke of Bourgundy, who dyed in her deliuery of *Nicholas*, Marques of Pont, her third sonne, who succeeded in the Dutchy of Lorraine, after the death of his father and brethren: Hee left the affection which his Predecessours had borne to France, and fell to the Duke of Bourgundies party, vpon hope that he would giue him his daughter in Marriage. Death surprised him in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred seuenty three in the thoughts of his Marriage, and to renew a second enterprise vpon the Towne of Mets, [e] the first hauing beene vnlucky and vnfortunate.

René of Aniou D. of Lorraine.

Thus there remained not any Male of the Branch of the Dukes of Lorraine, there was not any but that of the yonger brethren of Vaudemont and Guise. The Law preserued the right of the succession for the daughters of *René* Duke of Aniou, and of *Isabel* of Lorraine: *Margaret* Queene of England being a

Branch of Vaudemont.

[a] Augustus *was author of this Counsell to* Tiberius, Coercèdi intra terminos imperij. *To restraine the Empire within certaine bounds: A hard lesson for a Prince that hath courage:* Vna & ea vetus causa bellandi est profunda cupido Imperij & diuitiarum. *A great desire of Empire and riches hath beene the old and onely cause of war.* Sal.

[b] *The children of* Charles *Duke of Lorraine were,* Ralph, Lewis, Charles, Robert, Frederick Mary, *married to* Enguerand, *Earle of Coucy,* Margaret *to the Earle of Baden, and* Isabell *to* René *of Aniou.*

[c] *At the Councell of Constance* Anthony *Earle of Vaudemont demanded of the Emperor* Sigismond, *the inuestiture of the Dutchy of Lorraine against* René *of Aniou, for that it was a fee of the Empire, whereof women were not capable.*

[d] Iohn *and* Mary *had foure children,* Isabel *who was married to* Iames *King of Scotland* Rene, Iohn, & Nicholas.

[e] Nicholas *Duke of Lorraine would haue seized vpon Mets by this Stratagem. Hee caused certaine pipes to be put into Wagons, as if they had beene full of wine, wherein there were armed Souldiers. They entred, but seeking to seaze vpon the gate, the Portcullis was let downe, and they all taken and slaine in the Towne which they would haue surprized.*

prisoner pretended not any thing: *Yoland* widdow to *Ferry* Earle of Vaudemont succeeded: Shee was mother to many children, and the right of Priority gaue the title of Lorraine to *René*, but *Yoland* reserued the authority and command vnto her selfe, the which held ten yeares.

René assured himselfe to be Earle of Prouence, as he was Duke of Lorraine, that his Grandfather, by his mother side, disposing of his estate would remember him; but the King had perswaded him to make *Charles* of Maine, his Nephew, his Heire, [f] as hee did in all his Estates, except in the Dutchy of Bar, the which hee gaue to *René*, Duke of Lorraine, with the lands of Lambesq; and Orgon. Hee gaue to *Iohn* his base sonne, the Townes of S. *Reny*, S. *Canat*, and the Marquesat of Pont. They would both haue had Prouence, but the good old man, to let them know that neither of them should haue it, being one day at Table, hee cast a shoulder of mutton to two Spannels which fought for it, and at the same instant hee let slippe a great Dogge, which scattered them and tooke it away. *It shall bee euen so, said* René, *of your affaires, you contend for that, which one that is more mighty shall carry away.* This Embleme, is yet to bee seene imbost and ingrauen on a chaire, in his Oratory in Saint *Sauiours* Church at Aix.

[f] René *Duke of Anion King of Sicile and Earle of Prouence, made his Will at Marsellis the 22. of Iuly.* 1474.

This Discourse, grounded vpon the very Originals, do contradict the opinion of them that haue written, [g] that *René* gaue the Earledome of Prouence to *Lewis* the eleuenth: That the losse of the battell at Granson, hauing altered the minds of many Princes towards the Duke of Bourgundy, King *René* changed that which hee had done to institute him his Heire, and that being come to Lyon, he flatly renounced his friendship, and did consent that Prouence should bee vnited to the Crowne, vpon condition that the King should set at liberty his daughter, being Widdow to *Henry* the sixth, King of England, and prisoner to *Edward*, and that for her ransome hee should pay fifty thousand Crownes, that in regard of this summe shee should renounce the pretensions which she might haue vnto Prouence: That to content those which the children of his daughter *Yoland*, Dutchesse of Lorraine might also haue, hee left them the Lands of Lambesq; and Orgon: That to make the King know that the declaration of his Will, came from his heart, with an extraordinary content hee wrot this Donation in letters of Gold, with his owne hand, and did enrich it with exceeding faire Lymning [h].

[g] *An errour of some Writers which haue beleeued that which the Chronicle hath spoken of this donation, making expresse mention that* René *being at Lyon, concluded with the King that after his death, the County of Prouence should returne directly vnto the King, and hee vnited vnto the Crowne.*

René did not giue Prouence to the King.

[h] *Wee must obserue that among the titles which* René *tooke in Testament, hee addes that of Earle of Prouence, Barcelona Forcalqueci, & Pædmont.*

The Testament of this Prince speakes not any one word of King *Lewis*, neither is it found that he made any other, notwithstanding that hee came vnto him the yeare following being at Lyon. Hee named for Executors of his Will: *Queene* Ioane *of Lauall his wife*, Charles *Earle of Mayne his first and cheifest Heire*, René *Duke of Lorraine his second Heire*; William *of Harcourt, Earle*

Executors of *Renes* Testamẽt.

Earle of Tancarville, Gui *of Laual Knight, Signior of Loue, and Seneſchall of Anjou,* Iohn *of Vignolle, Deane of Angers, and Preſident of the Aſſiſes and Accounts of Anjou,* Iohn Pinot *Doctor of Diuinty, his Confeſſor*; Peter Le Roy, *called* Bemanon, *Vice-Chancellour of Angiers*; Iohn Buell, *Doctor of the Lawes, and Maiſter of the Accounts:* [i] Hee would alſo that if hee dyed in Prouence, the Archbiſhop of Aix, and the great Seneſchall of Prouence, ſhould bee among the Executors of this Teſtament.

[i] *Beſide the contentment which the obſeruation of theſe names may giue vnto thoſe families which haue any intereſt therein, it ſerues to the curioſity of diuers qualities vnited in the ſame perſons, the which at this time ſeeme incompatible.*

The King being aduertiſed that *René* Duke of Lorraine made practiſes in Prouence, and fearing that by his meanes King *René* ſhould change his mind, commanded that they ſhould ſeaze on him, [k] and laid ſo many ambuſhes for him as it had beene impoſſible for him to eſcape, if hee had not ſpeedily recouered *Marſellis*, where hee imbarkt; Hee remained three monthes at Sea, paſt into Sicile, came to Venice, and croſſing through the Griſons Country, hee arriued in Lorraine, neuer complaining of the dangers which had runne, nor the time which hee had loſt to make haſt and flye from an incenſed Prince, whoſe clemency is nothing but a wearied ſeuerity and rigour.

[k] *Kings haue long hands, and many ſnares to entrap their enemies: It is hard to auoid all their ambuſhes.* τας ἁπασας παγιδας μη ῥαδιον μιαφευγειν.

René had that miſſortune which is inſupportable to great courages, to ſuruiue the greatneſſe of his houſe: Hee ſaw the Crownes, which had honoured the heads of Kings his Predeceſſours broken. *Lewis* Duke of Anjou his Grand-father, ſecond ſonne to King *Iohn*, had gotten the ſecond Title of Right vnto the Crowne of Naples, but his bad Gouernement, after the battell which hee had wonne againſt *Ladiſlas*, in the yeare one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and three, [l] whereof hee had reaped not the profite which hee ſhould haue done, forced him to quitte *Italy*, where hee had entred with an Army of fifty thouſand men, and to retire into France, grieuing very much at the vnfortunate, and ill ſucceſſe of his enterpriſes.

Battell of Rocqueſeiche.

[l] *At the battell of Rocqueſeich, the troupes of* Ladiſlas *were defeated by them of* Lewis, *but the victory was not purſued, whē as* Ladiſlas *ſpake of this encounter he ſaid, that the firſt day after the battell, his enemies had beene Maiſters both of his perſon and the whole Realme, if they done their endeuours to vanquiſh, the ſecond day they might haue beene Lords of the Realme and not of his perſon, if they had followed the victory: but the third day, they could neither haue had his perſon nor the Realme.*

His ſonne *Lewis* the third, Duke of Aniou, was alſo declared King of Naples by the Pope, and inſtituted Heire by *Iohn* the ſecond, who had ſucceeded *Ladiſlas* her brother. This Princeſſe, ſo famous in the hiſtory for her vnchaſtneſſe, was firſt married to the duke of Guelders, and afterwards to *Iames* of Bourbon Earle of March, whom ſhe expelled both from her bed and Realme, and this poore Prince made choice of the Conuent of Franciſcane Friers, at Beſançon for his laſt retreat, where hee cauſed him ſelfe to bee carried vpon a Siue, in deſpight of the greatneſſe and vanities of the world. Shee dyed at Coſſence without Iſſue, in the yeare one thouſand foure hun-

Ioane Queerie of Naples died at Coſſence.

dred thirty and foure, and remaining ſole of the houſe of *Duras*, ſhee left her heire by Teſtament *René* Duke of Bar, brother to *Lewis*.

Alphonſo King of Arragon who had beene adopted by *Ioane*, and afterwards diſhinherited by her, beſieged Gaetta: *René* beeing freed from priſon, [m] whereas the Duke of Bourgundy had held him, armed to go to Naples, whither hee had ſent *Iſabell* and his children: Hee was receiued at Naples like a victorious Prince. The Pope ſent him the Inueſtiture of the Realme, vpon condition that hee ſhould pay him a Tribute. This was an occaſion of great and extraordinary ioy at Naples, being followed with ſo great honours, as there was reaſon to hold them for ſignes of the peoples inconſtancy. [n] Hee went through the Streetes on Horſe-backe in a Royall Habite, a Crowne vpon his head, and a Scepter in his hand, he made ſeuen and twenty Knights, chooſing them from among the chiefeſt, and moſt valiant, of the Noblemen, and of his moſt faithfull ſerſeruants.

Alphonſo of Arragon adopted ſonne to *Ioane* of Naples.

Hee raigned foure yeares with ſome happineſſe; but hee had *Alphonſo* of Arragon alwaies oppoſite vnto him, who beſieged Naples with foure thouſand horſe, and a great number of foote. He entred by an old Conduite of water, which a Maſon had diſcouerd vnto him, being the ſame by the which *Beliſarius* that great Captaine had entred it nine hundred and fifty yeares before, and had expelled the Gothes. This Citty in one night became wholly of the Arragon faction. *René* left it, and returned into France with much griefe for his loſſe, but with more reſolution to liue in peace, deteſting warre and ambition which entertained it.

Seige of Naples.

Alphonſo dyed, being much troubled in minde to haue broke his word with *Lewis* of Aniou. [o] *Ferdinando* his ſonne was crowned by Pope *Pius* the ſecond. *Iohn* Duke of Calabria ſonne to *René*, ſought to recouer the Realme which his father had loſt. The Geneuois did furniſh him with three Shippes of burthen and tenne Gallies, and lent him three ſcore thouſand Crownes: He went out of the Port of Marſellis with twelue Gallies, and a promiſe from King *Charles* the ſeuenth of greater ſuccour at neede. With this Fleete hee arriued at Gaette, for the greateſt of the Realme came poſting to kiſſe his hand, and to declare themſelues for him. Hee wonne the Battell of Sarmy and Saint *Fabian*, and was wonderfully well ſerued by Count *Iames* Picenin, ſo named for his ſmall ſtature, who in a little body had an inuincible courage, and the forces of a Giant, [p] He was Generall of his Army, and held for one the of moſt valiant Captaines of his time.

Ferdinando baſe ſonne to *Alphonſo*.

Battell of Sarmy, wonne by *Iohn* Duke of Calabria.

[m] René *after the Battell of Bleniuille in the yeare* 1431. *againſt the Earle of Vaudemont, and the Marſhal of Bourgundy, was detayned priſoner.*

[n] *The peoples great ioy, & the honours which they doe vnto their new Princes, are alwaies followed with ſome act of their inconſtancy. This exceſſe of honor is a bad ſigne of their loue.*

τὸ φαιλότατον εὐνοίας τεκμήριον ἐπὶ σφόδρα τιμῶσι. Plut. in Demet.

[o] Alphonſo *had promiſed by expreſſe capitulations, not to trouble* Lewis *his cozen, in the Realme of Naples: But a Crowne is too ſweete a morſell not to breake with a friend, and to ſeeme too full of conſcience: Hee perſwaded Queene* Ioane *to adopt him, and ſhee for aſſurance of this Adoption, deliuered into his hands the two Caſtles of Naples.*

[p] *Wee muſt not ſo much regard the greatneſſe and ſtature of the body, as the force and vigor of the minde:* Homer *ſaith that* Tideus, *father to* Dyomedes, *was little, but warlike and valiant.*

The

The power of the Arragonois had beene quite ruined, if the [q] Pope (who fearing leaſt the proſperity of the French affaires would preiudice the liberty of Italy) had not made a league with the other Princes, to ſuccour the Arragonois, beeing beſieged in Barry, a Towne ill fortified, and worſe furniſhed againſt the neceſsities of a Siege. But all their league had preuailed little, if it had not beene fortified by *Scanderbeg*, that other *Mars* of Albania, whom *Ferdinand* called to his ſuccours, and whom Pope *Pius* the 2[d] coniured to aſsiſt him: Hee came, in regard of the ſtrict amity hee had had with *Alphonſo*, and was exhorted to this voyage by *Paul Angé*, Archbiſhop of Duras. *Scanderbeg* ioyned at Duras with twelue Italian Gallies; and from thence came to Raguſa, [r] attending his Troopes, and preparing victuals to ſend into Apulia.

Battell of Vrſare wonne by *Scanderbeg*

Hee forced *Iohn*, Duke of Calabria, to raiſe the ſiege of Barry, and wonne the battell of Vrſare. The Duke eſcaped the danger by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe; he recouered Troy, where he was receiued, and drawne ouer the wall with a cord: from thence he cauſed himſelfe to bee conducted to Genoua, where hee found a Gally, which carried him into France, deſpairing euer to doe any more good at Naples, nor in Sicile; from whence he carried nothing but the bare name of *Duke of Calabria*. He was followed by ſome Captaines, who (for that they had run the ſame fortune) durſt not remaine vnder the command of the Arragonois; [s] ſo as *René* grewe old in the complaints of this vſurpation, fauoured by the Popes: All his hopes were dead for the recouery of his fore-fathers Inheritance; [t] and to fill vp the meaſure of his ſorrow, hee ſaw the firſt Branch of this Powerfull and Royall houſe of Aniou wither in his ſonne and grand-childe.

René ſurviuing, his ſonne and grand-childe dyed in the yeare 1480. A Prince who had great and eminent qualities, worthy of a better fortune: hee was a great Iuſticer, and an enemy to long diſpatches. He ſaid ſometimes, when as they preſented him any thing to ſigne, being a hunting, or at the warre, that the Pen was a kinde of Armes, which a Prince ſhould vſe at all ſeaſons. [u]

Commendation of *René* of Aniou.

The reigne of ſo good a Prince was much lamented: for he intreated his ſubiects like a Paſtor and Father. They ſay, that when as his Treaſurers brought vnto him the Royall taxe, which was ſixteene Florins for euery fire; wherof Prouence might haue about three thouſand fiue hundred, hee enformed himſelfe of the aboundance, or bareneſſe of the ſeaſon; and when as they told him, that a * Meſtrall winde had reigned long, he remitted the moity, and ſometimes the whole taxe. Hee contented himſelfe with his reuenues, and did not charge his people with new tributes. Hee [x] ſpent

* The North-eaſt wind.

[q] Pius *the ſecond declares himſelf for* Ferdinand, *King of Naples, & gaue him the Crowne vpon condition that he ſhould reſtore vnto the Church the lands of* Benevent *and* Teracina, *held by* Alphonſo *of Arragon his father. At the councell which hee called at Mantoua in the yeare* 1459. *hee exhorted Chriſtian Princes to ſuccour* Ferdinand *againſt* Iohn, *Duke of Calabria.*

[r] *Raguſa in old time was called Epidaurum vpõ the Adriaticke ſea. It hath a Caſtle, which in thoſe times was held impregnable, the gouernment is Ariſtocraticall.*

[s] *Count* Piccinin *hauing eſcaped this danger, remained for a time hidden in Italy,* Francis Sforce *Duke of Millan, hauing drawne him vnto him by a falſe promiſe to make him his ſonne in law, deliuered him to* K. Ferdinand, *who put him to death*

[t] *The inueſtiture of the Realme of Naples, hauing beene once granted by the Popes to the houſe of Aniou, could not bee giuen away againſt their liking to that of Arragon. We heare often in their pleadings,* Id quod noſtrum eſt ſine cauſa noſtra à nobis auferri non poteſt.

[u] K. René, *although he were in Armes, did not forbeare to doe iuſtice to them that demanded it, ſaying,* That the pen of Princes ſhould neuer be idle, that long expeditions made them to looſe the loue of their ſubiects. *They write that he drank not any wine, and when as the Noble-men of Naples demãded the reaſon, he anſwered, that it had made* Tit. Liuius *to ly, who had ſaid, that the good wines cauſed the French to paſſe the Alpes.*

[x] Michael de Montagne *in the* 2[d] *booke of his Eſſaies C.* 17. *of preſumption, ſaith, that being at* Bar-le-Duc, *he ſaw preſented vnto* K. Francis *the* 2[d], *a portrait, which* René, K. *of Sicile had made of himſelfe.*

his time in painting, the which were ſo excellent, as they are yet to be ſeene in the Citty of Aix: he was drawing of a partridge when as they brought him newes of the loſſe of the Realme of Naples, yet he would not draw his hand from the worke, ſuch pleaſure hee tooke therein.

He liued long. A Preſident of Prouence making an Oration before King *Charles* the ninth, in the yeare 1573. ſaid, that hee had beene ſeene by ſome that were then liuing. Hee inſtituted an Order, which hee called of the Creſſant. The Knights carried a Creſſant, or halfe Moone vpon their right arme, with this Motto, *l'Os en Croiſſant*; encouraging them thereby to ſeeke and deſire the encreaſe of their valour and reputation. Hee dyed at Aix, his wife cauſed his body to bee tranſported into France, and by a witty pollicie deceiued the Prouençals, who would haue had it. His death made no other change in Prouence, but of the perſon: *Charles* his Nephew, ſonne to the Earle of Mayne, was acknowledged Earle of Prouence: but his time was very ſhort: for hee dyed before he could finiſh the ſecond yeare of his reigne.

Charles, Nephew to *René*, ſucceeds him.

Some few dayes before his death, on the tenth of December, 1481. he made the King his heire, and after his deceaſe, *Charles* his ſonne, and the other Kings his Succeſſors, [y] beſeeching him with all his heart, to ſuffer his ſubiects of Prouence to enioy the graces, liberties and priuiledges which they held of King *René*, recommending vnto him his Couſen *Francis*, Lord of Luxembourg, to keepe him in his Court, and to maintaine him in the lands of Martigues, which he gaue him, he did not recommend him vnto any one of his ſeruants in particular, but one Archer of his guard, called the great *Pickard*.

Prouence giuen to K. *Lewis*.

There was little difference betwixt his Teſtament and his death, and leſſe betwixt his death, and the taking of poſſeſſion: for on the nineteenth of the ſame moneth of December, one thouſand foure hundred eighty one, the King ſent a Commiſſion to *Palamedes Forbin*, a Knight, Lord of Sollier, Chamberlaine to the Earle of Prouence, to take poſſeſſion, and to command in the Countrey in quality Lieuetenant generall, with abſolute power to diſpoſe of Offices, to place and diſplace Officers, to remit and aboliſh crimes, yea high Treaſon, to confirme or reuoke ancient Priuiledges, and to grant new, to aſſemble the Eſtates, to impoſe Tributes, and to leuy Souldiers for to force obedience: [z] The quality of this Commiſſion, was a great Teſtimony of the ſeruice which he had done the King, hauing ſolely diſpoſed his Maiſter to make this goodly preſent vnto France. But as all changes cauſe amazement, there was ſome trouble to execute this Donation, ſome holding the party of Lorraine, and others of France.

K. *Lewis* takes poſſeſſion of Prouence.

René, Duke of Lorraine, finding his friends feeble, and his power weake againſt the King, was not willing to grow obſtinate in Prouence:

René, duke of Lorraine diſcontented

[y] *The inſtitution of the heire is ſet down in theſe tearmes in his Teſtament*, Et quia hæredis inſtitutio eſt caput & fundamentũ cuiuſlibet teſtamenti dictus Sereniſsimus Domin̄us noſter rex in omnibus regnis commitatibus Vicecomitatibus, &c. fecit, inſtituit & ordinauit, ac ore ſuo proprio nominauit ſibi hæredem ſuũ vniuerſalem & inſolidũ Chriſtianiſsimum excellentiſſimum principem ac dominum Ludouicum Dei gratia Francorum Regem, eiuſdem conſobrinum & Dominum chariſſimum atque reuerendiſſimum & poſt eius obitum illuſtriſſimum & clariſſimum D. Delphinum &c.

[z] *This commiſſion was dated at Thouars, the 29. of December, 1481. in the preſence of the Earle of Marle, Marſhall of of France, and of Eſtellar, Baillife of Rouen.*

Prouence: [a] He paſſed the Alpes with an hundred men at Armes, and a regiment of a thouſand foote. The King ſent a garriſon of Scottiſh men vnto Bar, vnder the command of the Lord of Aubigny, hee cauſed the Walles to bee repaired, and the Armes of France to be ſet vpon the gate, ſuch as are yet to be ſeene.

Hee remained in Italy till after the Kings death, which day hee held to be the riſing of his hopes, the which were onely ſupported by the aſſurance which the Duke of Bourbon [b] gaue him, that this rigorous ſeaſon would be followed with a greater calme. The Venetians entreated him to accept the charge of Generall of their land Army againſt the Duke of Ferrara. It was a warre which ſhaking the peace of Italy, brought the peace of Chriſtendome into queſtion, and gaue a great aduantage vnto the Turke, who beheld theſe Tragicall furies neere at hand. And this was the occaſion.

Warre againſt Ferrara.

After the death of *Borſio* of Eſté, *Hercules* of Eſté his brother would ſucceed in the principality: *Lionel* of Eſté, their brother, had left *Nicholas* his ſonne, who had the ſame pretenſion. Italy was in a maner diuided, the one for the Vncle, the other for the Nephew. The Venetians did ſuccour *Hercules* ſo powerfully, & ſo fitly, as the Scepter of his fathers remained to him. He married *Elenor*, daughter to *Ferdinand* of Arragon, and being fortified with this new alliance, he ſuffered the heate of friendſhip, which his fathers entertained with the Venetians, to grow cold; as commonly Princes doe not long follow their predeceſſors ſteppes, and if they commend their Orders, yet they ſubiect not themſelues vnto them. [c] He reſtored the Salt-pits of Commachio, contrary to the ancient Conuentions: hee tooke from the Venetian Merchants the exemptions and freedomes of Impoſts which they had enioyed: he cauſed a Fort to be built neere vnto *Cap d'Argent*, to bound his Eſtates, and diſſembled the wrong which the Magiſtrate of Venice, reſiding in his Citty by accord had receiued, hauing ſuffered him to be excommunicated by the Archbiſhop of Ferrara.

The Venetians, although tired with warre by reaſon of the great ruines which they had receiued by the *Ottomans*, yet they declared it againſt *Hercules* of Eſté, they grounded it vpon the neceſsity of their defence, which iuſtifieth all kindes of proceedings, and makes all that to be found good, that is profitable. All times are in ſeaſon. [d] They raiſe two Armies, one by land, and another by ſea, the one to run along the Coſts of Apulia and Calabria, and to hinder the ſuccours of *Ferdinand*, the other to remaine in the riuer of Pau. The Pope was in the beginning for them, and hindered *Alphonſo* of Naples from paſsing with foure thouſand men to ſuccour his brother-in-law.

The venetians proclaim war againſt the Duke of Ferrara,

[a] *Hee that encounters one that is mare mighty, doth but vndoe himſelfe. More mighty is to be vnderſtood in dominions, ſubiects, force and treſſure. A wiſe Italian ſaith to this purpoſe*: Si tu truoui vna machina creſciuta per la felicita & diſciplina d'ottocento anni, diſcoſtati da eſſa, che è coſa impoſſibile, quando pur ella cadeſſe, che tu non rouini ſotto. *If thou findeſt a worke grown by the felicity and diſcipline of 800 yeares, auoyd it, being impoſſible if it falles, but thou ſhalt bee ruined vnder it.*

[b] *This hope was not vaine: for in the firſt yeare of the reigne of of* K. Charles, *he was reſtored to the Dutchy of Bar, and had a company of an hundred Lances giuen him.*

[c] Borſio *had very carefully entertained friendſhip with the Signiory of Venice. When there fell out any controuerſie betwixt them for their limites, or that their Officers did attempt vpon one anothers Iuriſdiction.* Borſio *came to Venice with a ſmall troope, like a priuate perſon, to giue reaſons vnto the the Senate.*

[d] *When there is queſtion of a defence, there is no regard to be had to Iuſtice or Religion. A certaine and ineuitable danger iuſtifies Armies. The Romans held ſome dayes vnfortunate for enterpriſes, but when as neceſſity forced them, they feared not any thing.* Dies certos & euitabiles obſeruabant cum inferenda in hoſtes arma non propulſanda forent. *They did obſerue certaine auoidable dayes when to aſſaile an enemy, but not to repell him.*

The

The Senate sent *Robert* of Arimini to succour the Pope, who wonne a battell against *Alphonso* of Arragon; but this victory cost him his life, which he ended soone after. [c]

Pope Sixtus ioynes with the Venetians

Ferrara was besieged, and so prest with the valour and good fortune of the Assailants, as it could no longer hold out. The Pope (who had incited the Venetians to this warre) exhorted them to peace; and seeing that they would not harken vnto it, he declared himself for the Ferrarois: he drew the spiritual sword against them, & strook them, interdicting their Common weale. *Baptista Zeno*, & *John Michele*, 2 Venetian Cardinals, did coragiously resist this resolution; yet the Pope notwithstanding their contradiction, proceeded on: It is true, that as in the heate of Armes, they doe not alwayes thinke of religion, his censures were contemned by the Venetians, who did not respect them as good physicke, but as an Emperikes plaister, the which Popes were wont to vse for all kinds of sores. They found it strange, that hee would force them vnto a peace, the which notwithstanding had not beene obserued when they were busied in warre against the Turke. The Princes of Italy made a league against them, and an Assembly of the Confederats, which was held at *Cassal-maior*, in the territory of *Cremona*: *Fredericke* Gonzague, Prince of Mantua, was chosen Generall of the Army, the honour of the enterprise, and of the chiefe authority being reserued to the Arragonois: There was not any Prince, Citty, nor Common-weale in Italy, except Genoua, but was engaged in this enterprise, to ruine the greatnesse of Venice. [f] *Kené* of Lorraine (whom the death and ruine of *Charles* of Bourgondy had aduanced to the reputation of one of the greatest Captaines of this age) serued most gloriously in this Expedition.

He declares himself against them.

Both parties were soone weary of this warre: they spake of treating of a peace at Cesara, but this Proposition tooke no effect. It was continued at Tourbolles betwixt *Robert Sanseuerin*, and *Lewis Sforce*, who finished it, and it was concluded, *That the Venetians should returne into all the places which they had lost, during this warre in Lombardie, and should retire all the garrisons which they had on either side of the riuer of Pau: They should ruine all the Forts which they had made on the bankes thereof, and should restore to* Hercules *of Este all that they had taken from him, except the Pellesin of Rouigo, which they should retaine vnto themselues, & should enioy the same rights, both old and new, which they were wont to haue in Ferrara, and thereabouts.* Such was the end of the sociall warre, which cost the Venetians in lesse then 2 yeares, three millions, and 600000 duckets. This peace was receiued with much content after these turbulent and ruinous seasons. They made bon-fires and combates with great pompe at *Venice*. [g]

Peace concluded.

[c] *They write, that in one day died two of the greatest Captaines of Italy.* Fredericke *of Vrbin at Ferrara, and* Robert *of Arimini at Rome.* *Pope* Sixtus *caused these words to bee set vpon his tombe,* veni, vidi, vici, & pontifici retuli, mors fecundis rebus inuidet. *I came, I saw, and ouercame, and told the Pope, that death enuies prosperity.*

[f] *The greatnesse of Venice was then suspected to all the Potentates of Italy, & if it had beene augmented with the estate of Ferrara, the way had beene open to greater designes.*

[g] *When as* Guichardin *speakes of this peace, he saith, that it was honourable for the Common-weale of Venice, & shamefull for all the rest of Italy, the which with a generall applause, and at such time as it did flourish in riches, armes, & force, had banded to ruine the Venetians; but God would not that the effects of his seuerity and mercy, of his wrath and peace,* Fussero in potesta d'vn huomo ambicioßissimo & superbissimo sotto posto al vino & à molte altre inhoneste volunta che la essercitasse ad arbitrio delle sue cupidita, non secondo la consideratione della iustitia o del bono publico della Christianita, *should be in the power of an ambitious and proud man, subiect to wine, and many other dishonest lusts, and should vse it after his owne will, and not according to iustice, and the good of Christendome.*

Pope

Griefe of P. *Sixtus* for the Peace.

Pope *Sixtus* hearing of this Accord, died for griefe: He had incenſed all the Potentates of Italy at the Aſſembly of *Cremona*, againſt the Venetians: his courage and reſolution went beyond all the deſignes, threats, and attempts of his Enemies: And when as to terrifie him, they declared, that they would cauſe him to bee cited to appeare before a Councell, hee made it knowne, that hee endured theſe threats, as the Phyſitian doth the iniuries of a madde man, anſwering; [h] *That he would alwaies take the holding of a Councell for a great happineſſe, when as there ſhould be hope, by the diſcouery of their wickednesse, to force them to yeeld vnto the Church the goods which they had taken from it.* *Platina* addes, that this anſwere was a proofe of the vigor of this Popes ſpirit, and of the greatneſſe of his courage, which amazed them that thought to amaze him.

Reſolution of *Pope Sixtus.*

The Church notwithſtanding had great need of this Phlebotomy, or letting bloud, as the moſt wholeſome remedy for the diſorders which time doth breed in the moſt holy and beſt ordered things. It hath ſerued happily in the firſt yeares of her birth, vnder the conduct and direction of the Apoſtles, [i] and hath beene euer ſince vſed. The King was not very carefull to procure this remedy; being incenſed for that which Pope *Sixtus* had done againſt the Florentines, he forbad the tranſport of gold and ſiluer to Rome, and commanded the Biſhops and Prelates of his realme, to aſſemble at Orleans, whither he ſent the Earle of Beaujeu to preſide. But he ſhewed not the like zeale and courage which his father had done in the Aſſembly of the French Church at Bourges. Where there is queſtion of Gods ſeruice, they muſt proceed after another maner, then when it concernes but the Intereſt of men. Publicke buildings muſt be made after another manner, and of another matter then priuate. *Moſes* ſuſtained the peoples cauſe before God with teares, he defended that of God againſt the people with Armes. The King came to Orleans to paſſe to Clery, remaining there but halfe a day to breake off the Aſſembly; hee was ſatisfied to haue drawne from the Pope that which he deſired in fauour of the Florentines, and promiſed to continue it at Lyons.

Lewis 11. neglects the calling of a councell.

This did but make the ſights of good men more vehement, who burnt with the zeale of Gods houſe, and who ſaw that the wound was incurable, and that the canker had ſeized vpon the vitall parts, that the Church was at peace with Heretickes and Infidels, and in perpetuall trouble with her owne Children. *I haue nouriſhed* (ſaid ſhe by the report of S. *Bernard*) *Children, I haue exalted them, and they haue contemned me.* [k] *They haue diſhonoured me by the filthineſſe of their liues, and the foulneſſe of their commerſe, and by workes which are done in darkneſſe.*

Eſtate of the *Church* lamentable.

[h] Sixtus ingenti animo ſummaque conſtantia reſpondiſſe fertur. Se concilium quidem libenter admiſſurum vbi ſperaret se omnium horum Principum criminibus patefactis res plurimas Eccleſia ablatas ab ijs repetiturum. Vnde qui illum metu expugnare ſperabant ab eodem preterriti alia perfugia quæſiere.

[i] *In the Apoſtles time, and in the firſt Infancy of the Church, when as all was pure, according to her inſtitution, there were 4 Councels, or Apoſtolicall Aſſemblies. The firſt the 34th yeare after the comming of our Sauiour, whereas* Matthias *was named to the Apoſtleſhip, and the Aſſembly might be of 120 faithfull. The ſecond in the ſame yeare for the election of Deacons, of which number* St. Stephen *was. The 3d in the 48th yeare, according to* Onuphrius, *and 51th according to* Baronius, *for circumciſion, and the hereſie of* Cerinthus. *The 4th for the the tolleration of circumciſion for a time, that they might bury the Synagogue with honor in the 58th yeare. Of theſe foure Councels the Acts of the Apoſtles ſpeakes. cap. 1. 15. & 21.*

[k] Vox plangentis in tempore iſto. Filios enutriui & exaltaui, ipſi autem ſpreuerunt me, ſpreuerunt & maculauerunt me à turpi vita, à turpi quæſtu, à turpi commercio: à negotio denique perambulante tenebris.

The Chronicle of Baſill reports a ſtrange Hiſtory of the paſsion, (or rather furie) wherewith a Iacobin Frier was tranſported, whom it names *Andrew*, Archbiſhop of Krane, a man of learning and courage; who thruſt on by preſumption, [l] (a vice diuerting mens mindes from their duties, to wander out of the common way) paſt the mountaines, came to Baſill, and preached in the Cathedrall Church againſt Rome, as againſt a new Babylon, coniuring the Emperour, and K. *Lewis* the eleuenth, to procure the Aſſembly of a Councell againſt her ſcandals. Pope *Sixtus* the fourth was no ſooner aduertiſed hereof, but he commanded the Magiſtrate of Baſill to deliuer him into the hands of his Iuſtice. The Senate anſwered, that they had already giuen aduertiſement thereof to the Emperour *Fredericke*, and attended his pleaſure; beſeeching the Popes Nuntio to haue patience, and to aſſure himſelfe that there ſhould not be any thing done in preiudice of the holy Sea.

Andrew, Archbiſhop of Krane, preacheth againſt the Pope.

The Archbiſhop on the 13 of Iuly, the ſame yeare 1482. cauſed a declaration to be publiſhed; by the which, lamenting the ruines of the Church, he coniured and entreated all Miniſters & Paſtors to ſuccour it; and by vertue of the Decree of *Conſtance*, to aſſemble at Baſill [m] to aduiſe of the remedies: and for that the Pope had declared him excommunicate, he appealed againſt his ſentence; and hauing no better reaſon to obiect againſt this excommunication, then the want of power, he maintained that *Sixtus* the fourth had not entred into S. *Peters* Chaire by the doore, but like a thiefe; that he made trafficke of holy things, and that he tooke delight, not to feed, but to fley Chriſts Flocke.

[x] excommunicated by the Pope.

The Princes and Common-weales of Italy were not in good termes with him, all threatned him with a Counecll: And although that *Pius* the ſecond, his Predeceſſor, [n] had called ſuch forme of proceeding againſt the Pope, *Execrable*; yet it ſeemed they could finde no better meanes to reſtraine the exceſſe: Euery man cryed after the reformation of abuſes; but that which might be commendable in publicke complaints, did not iuſtifie the boldneſſe of a priuate man, who preſumed to cenſure the Pope: and the number of fooles doth not excuſe the folly. [o] *Sixtus* declared him an Heretick, and a troubler of the Churches quiet, from whoſe body he was cut, like a rotten member, vnworthy to exerciſe the miniſtery, to hold any dignity, or to be partaker of the holy Sacraments, condemning him to remaine priſoner in a Monaſtery, with bread and water, vntill he had made full expiation of his crimes. In like manner, the Emperour found the proceeding of this Biſhop very bold, & gaue him to vnderſtand, that ſeeing he was but a priuate perſon, he deſired to know by what authority he pretended to call a Councell. He anſwered, *That the publike neceſſity of the Church approued his zeale, and coniured the Emperour to maintaine it, after the example of the Emperour* Sigiſmond [p] *and his predeceſſors, who had not ſpared any thing for her quiet and peace, and to root out abuſes: wherfore he beſought him not to ſhew himſelfe difficult to grant out Patents and neceſſary paſports for*

[l] *Preſumption carries wens minds out of the common way, it follow es vnknowen courſes, & embraceth nouelties. A ſpirit preſuming little of it ſelfe, remaines in the bounds of innocency and ſimplicity.*

[m] *The Councell of Conſtance in the 39 Seſſion decreed that euery ten yeares they ſhould aſſemble a general Councell.*

[n] *Pope* Pius *the ſecond did excommunicate thoſe that did appeale from the Pope to a Councell.* Iulio *the* 2d *renued the ſame excommunicatiõ.* Silveſt. verbo excommunicat. T. Num. 39.

[o] *A common errour giues ſome excuſe, but the number of them that faile, makes not the fault leſſe. It is alwaies ill done to play the foole with them that are not wiſe.*

[p] *The Emperor* Sigiſmond *laboured Chriſtian-like to ſmother the new opion of the Huſſites of Bohemia, he procured the conuocation of the Councell of Coſtance, & was there in perſon.*

for the conuocation of a Councell: otherwiſe hee ſhould anſwere before God for the ill which his negligence would make incurable.

The 4th day of December *Peter* of Kettenheim, Pryor of Velpach, the Pryor of Erford, and the Pryor of Mortau, preſent themſelues anew vnto the Senate of Baſill, and declared that they had charge to proceed againſt them by all the rigors of the Churches iuſtice, if if they did not deliuer this reuolted perſon into their hands, to be exemplarily puniſhed. He was honoured by ſome, like a S^t. *Paul*, that great Citizen of heauen, the pillar of Churches, an earthly Angell, and a heauenly Man: he was contemned of others as a ſeditious man, an Abitonite, and a Rebell. Some thought it hard, that, becauſe he had ſaid (not ſecretly, like vnto ſpies, and ſlaunderers, but publickly, and in the Cathedrall Church of ſuch a Towne) that fire was at the doore, that the mine was ready to play, to ouerthrow the whole building, and that Sathan had planted his ladders whilſt that the Centinels ſlept, they wold entreat a Biſhop ſo rigorouſly; and that, howſoeuer, they ſhould conſider the thing that was good and wholſome,[q] and not the perſon that might be paſſionate. They alſo remembred, that many great perſonages about that time had ſaid, that in theſe diſorders they might follow extraordinary motiõs, either of powerful authority, or of charitable admonition.[r] Others ſaid, that the deſire was good, but being guided by pride & preſumption, it made him odious that propounded it, that hee which was ſtrooken with death, for that of his owne motion he had put forth his hand vnto the arke, fearing leſt it ſhould fall, did ſerue as a terrible example, ſhewing how dangerous it is to deale vnreuerently in holy things.

Words of *Gerſon.*

The Senate anſwered, that they could not ſatisfie the Popes deſire, before they vnderſtood the Emperous pleaſure. Vpon this anſwere the Towne was interdicted. The Emperour ſent a Franciſcan Frier to Baſill, who had audience in a great aſſembly, where there aſſiſted the Embaſſadours of the Princes of the league of Italy,[s] where hee deliuered his charge, and ſpake of this Archbiſhop, as of a *Goliath*, who had raiſed himſelf againſt the Lords hoſt. Hee ſaid alſo, that being at Rome for the affaires of the Archduke *Maximilian*, when as the Pope had beene aduertiſed of theſe troubles and motions for the calling of a Councel, the Pope had commanded him to go to the Archduke *Sigiſmond*, and then vnto the Emperour, to know of them whether they did approue and fauour this revolt: and in like manner, to complaine that the Towne of Baſill, which had beene alwayes very obedient to the Holy Sea, had ſuffered it ſelfe to bee carryed away very inconſiderately with ſuch Impoſtures and Impreſſions:[t] That the

Baſill excommunicated by the Pope.

Pope cõplaines of the towne of Baſill.

q *They ſay, wee muſt conſider the Councell apart, and him that giues it apart. The* Ephores *cauſed the aduice which had been giuen by a bad man, to bee pronounced by one which was good* In his quæ à malis bene fiunt, hic tenendus eſt modus, vt appareat authorem diſplicuiſſe non factum. *Plin. Paneg. Traiani.*

r *In the time of* K. Charles *the ſeuenth, euery man ſpake of reformation.* Gerſon *preſumed to ſay, that the purſuite might bee made,* Per quoſcunque fideles præſertim maiores authoritatiua poteſtate, ſiue charitatiua admonitione. *Gerſ. in Propoſ. vtil. ad extirp. ſchiſ.*

s *In this aſſembly aſſiſted* Ioſias *of Seligni, Biſhop of Syon & Grenoble,* Anthony *of la Roche, Pryor of Mortau, Claude of Tholougeon, and* William *of Rochefort.* t *The deſires, and the effects of Deſires which tend to reunite the members of one Family vnder one head, are iuſt and commendable, and God doth aſſiſt them. There is none but Sathan which hath fauoured and aduanced ſchiſme and diuiſion. We are all of one ſtuffe, we make but one part of the garment, we haue need but of one ſeame* Sartura tantum opus eſt. *But it is not fit to heare all them that ſpeake.*

Emperour hauing found, that whatsoeuer he did for the calling of a Councell, proceeded from extreame hatred; and that his reason was wholy conuerted into passion against the Pope, and impudent arrogancy, presuming in the quality of a priuate person, to attempt the reformation of the Church, and to call a Councell, the which belonged onely to the Pope. The Emperours intent was, [u] that they should seize vpon the person of this Archbishop, and that they should put him into safe keeping, and in such a place, whereas he might be represented vnto the Pope.

[u] *It was not for that the Emperour did not earnestly desire the holding of a Councell, hauing written to king Charles the 7th to come or send to Mentz, to the end they might remedy the necessities of the Church in the yeare 1423. but hee did not allow of this particular Instance.*

At the same instant he produced the Emperours letters patents, by the which, commandement was giuen to all Prouinces, Potentates, Townes, and Commonalties to apprehend this Archbishop. Then directing his speech vnto him, he exhorted him to acknowledge his error, and to humble himselfe to the holy Sea, that hee might recouer the Popes fauour, who seeing his repentance, might haue pitty on him, offring to that end all the good offices that hee could desire from him.

The Emrour commands the Archbishop to be appehended.

The Archbishop answered in this sort: *I haue neuer failed in obeence and respect to the Emperour, and nothing hath moued me to speak against the Pope, but the zeale of Gods honor. I can make a distinction betwixt the person and the dignity; the Chaire, and him that sits in it. I haue, with much griefe, seene the scandals and abhominations which abound in Rome; and that the Pope is more pleased to fleece, then feed the sheepe, whom Iesus Christ with the price of his bloud, hath drawn out of the wolues throat.* [x] *I haue thought that there was no meanes to remedy it, but by the holding of a generall Councell; and seeing that contrary to the intention of the Decree of the Councell of* Constance, *they had let passe aboue thirty yeares without holding of a Councell; and that the Decrees of that of* Basil *were not obserued, nor executed, hauing often conferred with the Cardinals at Rome, and found that the mischiefe was neglected, I addrest my selfe to the Senate of Basill, as the most conuenient place to make my good intentions knowne: and if I haue therein erred, I submit my self to the iudgment of the Emperour, the French King & the Councel, and take the Vniuersity of Paris for my aduocate, protesting that I had neuer any intent to offend the Pope, neither can be called a Slanderer, hauing truth for a warrant of that which I speake; beseeching that I may haue three daies respite giuen me to answere more pertinenly to that which is obiected against me.*

The Archbishop resisteth in his proposition.

Hereunto the Frier replyed, *that if there were any disorder in the Church, there were doctors to teach and correct, whose doctrine they shold rather follow, then their maners and actions,* [y] *and that it did not belong to him to vndertake the correction.*

And for that in this Discourse hee shewed his wilfulnesse, hee did summon the Senate of Basill to forbeare to protect him, and to apprehend him prisoner. The Nuncios and Commissioners, deputed by the Pope, made the like instance, saying; that they could not refuse him vnto the Pope, who was his lawfull Iudge.

[x] *A Pastor should feede Christs Flocke, but,* Illud quod hic dicitur *pascee*, alij mutant in *tonde*, quia multum studet circa subditos exactionem temporalium exercere, & de pastu non curat. *That which is here said feed, some doe vnfitly change to fleece, for that they study to exact the temporalities from their subiects, & care not for feeding.* Chrysost.

[y] *The doctrine may be good, & the life bad: If the Pastor liues wel, it is his profit; if hee teach well, it is thine, take that which is thine, & meddle not with another mans. A bad and barren ground, may beare gold.*

The

The Senate of Baſil referred the diciſion of this buſineſſe to the next Councell. The Popes Nuncio and other Deputies were there, and the Arch-biſhop appeared, where the contention was long, and vrged with great vehemency and affection, of either part, [z] The Embaſſadours of the Princes of Italy which were in leaguе againſt the Pope, would willingly haue had a Councell to humble the great heart of *Sixtus*, ſaying; that they ſhould hold themſelues to the Councell of *Conſtance*, which had plainely decreed that the Pope ſhould obey the Councell, had preſcribed him the time for the calling of a Councell, and had bound him not to diſpoſſeſſe *Angelo Corrario*, who had carried the name of *Gregory* the twelfth, from the dignity of Cardinall or Legat: That the ſame doctrine of the Councell of Conſtance had beene followed and practiſed in that of Baſile: [a] that if they tooke away that conſtancy which was neceſſary for the obſeruation of their decrees, they thruſt the Church into diſtemperatures and languiſhings, like vnto thoſe bodies which haue their ſinewes ſtrained, and their members and bones diſplaced.

Diſpute of authority of the Pope and Councell.

The Popes Miniſters ſaid, on the other ſide, that the Church was a perfect Monarchy; that ſhe had not her beginning from *Dauid*, *Alexander*, *Auguſtus*, nor *Fredericke*, neither did ſhe acknowledge any other eſtabliſhment: that the Church did not depend of any other Iudge but of God; That euen the Councell aſſembled at Sinueſſe would not forcibly condemne that poore Idolatrous Pope, who ſince was held for a great Saint. and who by a wonderfull weakneſſe, and baſe feare of death, had obeyed the impiety of *Dioclesian*, and ſacrificed to his Gods, for proſtrating himſelfe vpon the ground, confeſſing his fault, one of the Fathers of the Councell [b] tooke the word, ſaying; he had iuſtly condemned himſelfe by his owne mouth, hee hath ſubmitted himſelfe to excommunication. Neuer any one did iudge the Pope, for the firſt Seate is not to be iudged by any; That the Councell of Conſtance binding Popes to the execution of his decrees, had reſpect onely to Anti-popes, and not to them whoſe election was holy and lawfull: When as ſome ſaid that the firſt Seate was not to bee iudged by any one, the others replyed, that it was vnderſtood of priuate Aſſemblies, and not of a generall Aſſembly of the whole Church.

The day was ſpent in theſe long Diſputes, and night approaching, *Cinthius* of Vrſin, Commander of Saint *Iohn* of Ieruſalem, entred the Senate, layd hold vpon the Arch-biſhop and led him away priſoner to the Tower of Spalen. The Senate was much offended, and commanded the Popes Nuntio to depart the Towne, ſeeing that his charge was ended. He retired himſelfe, and cauſed new Declarations and Excommunications againſt them of Baſill to bee publiſhed at Rahnfield, Conſtant, and other places, forbidding all ſortes of perſons to conuerſe with them:

[z] *In the Aſſembly of the Senate of Baſile, on Saturday, the 21 of December 1483. the Arch-biſhop of Kyane was areſted priſoner, when as they conſulted whether they ſhou'd do it.*

[a] *The Councell of Conſtance in the fourth Seſſiō made a Decree, declaring that it repreſented the Vniuerſall Church, and had power immediately from God, the which euery man was bound to obey, yea the Pope himſelfe.*

[b] *In this Hiſtory of* Marcelline *wee finde often that the Biſhops ſaid:* Iudica cauſam tuamnoſtro iudicio non condemnaberis: *& that after his confeſſion one of them ſayes:* Iuſte ore ſuo condemnatus eſt & ore ſuo Anathema ſuſcepit Maranatha, Quoniam ore ſuo condemnatus eſt, nemo enim vnquam iudicauit Pontificem, nec præſul Sacerdotem ſuum, quoniam prima ſedes non iudicabitur a quoquam.

The priſoner in the meane time languiſhing in expectation of what ſhould become of him, tooke the ſhorteſt courſe for his liberty, and iudging that if he liued in paine, his baſeneſſe was the cauſe of it, and that death might giue him a free paſſage, he changed his patience into diſpaire: ſo as on the Thurſday after Saint *Martins* day, in yeare one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and foure, hee was found ſtrangled with the cord of his bed: This execrable kind of death was kept ſecret vntill that they vnderſtood the Popes minde; after which the executioner of Iuſtice entred into the priſon, put the body into a pipe, and caſt it into the Riuer of Rhine. [c] The Popes Deputies returned to Baſill, and the Excommunication hauing beene obſerued three daies, was taken away, and the Towne deliuered from the Popes cenſures.

[c] *To kill himſelfe hath beene held an act of courage: Plato forbids it in his Lawes: The Thebians deteſted it, and the Athenians did cut off his hand, that had ſlaine himſelfe, & did caſt it on the common dunghill.*

Yet for all this they did not ceaſe to wiſh that the Pope would earneſtly embrace the reformation of the diſorders of the Church.

Deſires of this kind are iuſt, but wee may not preſſe them with heate of paſſion and indiſcretion of zeale.

An example ſhewing that it is not reaſonable, in ſuch ſufferings and perplexities of the Church, that the pride of any priuate perſon ſhould preſume to reforme it: Wee muſt leaue thoſe thoughts to Princes and Magiſtrates. The ſimple multitude muſt attend with patience at the foote of the Mountaine, vntil that *Moſes* deſcend to let them vnderſtand the will of God: The Ship wherein that holy Family is included, which hath neither ſight nor day, but towards heauen, ſhall in the end appeare moſt glorious ouer the waues of the deluge, and ſhall come vnto the Mountaine of a happy tranquillity.

(*_*)

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The end of the ninth Booke.

THE

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THE

THE HISTORY
Of LEWIS *the eleuenth.*

THE TENTH BOOKE.

IN the beginning of the yeare 1480. *Lewis* beganne to dye, and to feare death, the which comes neuer ſo fitly, but it brings with it terrour and amazement.[a] His forces grew weake, but his courage was fortefied & ſtrong, vpon an apprehenſiõ which he had that they would make deſignes vpon his graue, and that they would not ſtay vntill hee came to the end of his Carriere. Hee deſired to end it with the Authority, Maieſty, and Reputation that he had begonne, and would not that they ſhould know him dying, nor that they ſhould hold him mortall: Hee workes ſo, as in the Weſt of his life, the ſhadow of his reputation and reſpect is as great as at the Noone-day of his raigne: Yet he finds that his iudgement hath not the force and vigour which it formerly had; that the remainder of his life is become ſower, that age comes not alone,[b] hauing brought him diuers diſcommodities, an incorrigible melancholy, agitations of the minde, a ſlow Feuer, and the paines of the Emerauds: He hath more prouiſion then he hath way to go, he gathers and laies vp when hee ſhould abandon and let go.[c] His deſignes are great and ſpacious, and his deſires grow yong, hee cannot free himſelfe from new hopes, his ſoule is as it were hung betwixt the feare of death and the hope of life, his vnderſtanding is a Milſtone which the continuall courſe of affaires doth turne day and night: And although his life paſſeth away in languiſhing and griefe; yet had he rather endure the paine, then not to be, deſiring rather to be freed from it, then from life, the which how painefull ſoeuer it be, hath ſome houre of eaſe:[d] For if

1480.

Age is alwaies accompanied.

[a] *Life muſt bee conſidered by the end: If it bee good and glorious all the reſt is proportionable.* Quomodo fabula, ſic & vita, non quandiu, ſed quam bene acta ſit, refert. Nil ad rem pertinet, quo loco deſinas, quocunq; voles, deſine tantum bonam clauſulam imponas. *Life is like vnto a fable: It imports not how long, but how well it be acted: It ſkils not where thou leaueſt, leaue where thou wilt, ſo thy concluſion be good.* Sen.

[b] *When as wine and life grow low, they become ſowre.* Antiphanes.

[c] *Age becomes couetous when it hath not any need of goods, it feares the earth ſhould faile it: One demanded of* Symonides *why he was ſo ſparing in the extremity of his age; for that ſaid he:* I had rather leaue my goods after my death to my enemies, then in my life time to haue neede of my friends.

[d] *There is no life ſo languiſhing and full of paine, but it is ſupported by ſome hope freed from the feares of death: When as* Antiſthenes *the Philoſopher was in extreame paine, hee cryed out,* Who ſhall deliuer me frõ theſe miſeries? Diogenes *preſenting a knife vnto him ſaid;* This, if thou wilt, and that ſoone. I do not ſay of my life *(replyed the Philoſopher,)* but of my paines.

paines

paines be violent they are ſhort, and if they be ſhort, they giue no leaſure to complaine: Going to heare Maſſe at a little Pariſh neere to the Forges of Saint *Chinon*, hee found himſelfe very ill, and fell into a great weakeneſſe, and faintings, looſing his ſpeech and all knowledge. Hee was ſpeedily ſuccoured by the Signior of Bouchages, who was his Phiſition, and afterwards Arch-biſhop of Vienna, hauing taken a gliſter he recouered his ſpirits, went to horſe, returned to the Forges and there dyned.

The King ſuddenly and dangerouſly ſicke.

But hee had ſo great a difficulty in his ſpeech, as hee could not be vnderſtood but by ſignes. *Phillip de Commines*, who ſerued him as Grome of his Chamber in this ſickeneſſe, was alſo his Truchman [e] when as he confeſt himſelfe to the Officiall of Tours: And for that being ſurpriſed with this ſickeneſſe they carried him from the Table vnto the fire, and would not ſuffer him to come neere vnto the windowes; hee remembred all this, and being come vnto himſelfe, he demanded who they were that had ſtaid him by force, and kept him from taking of the aire, being named vnto him, he chaſed them away and would no more ſee them, for hee did neuer like that King *Charles* his father ſhould be forced to eate, for that the Subiect ſhould not in any thing force his Prince. [f]

An Apoplexy vnperfect.

He thought that as ſoone as a Prince ſuffered himſelfe to bee gouerned by his ſeruants, he was, as it were, in tutelage and ſeruitude, and he would not that this great authority, the which he had ſo abſolutely maintained all his life, ſhould bee in any thing reſtrained, ſo as immagination being weakned and troubled by age; Melancholy and diſtruſt could not endure that he ſhould bee contradicted or diſſwaded from any thing, hauing theſe words often in his mouth: *Do you thinke that I know not what I do?* Nothing did ſo much afflict him, as the feare that his infirmity ſhould be knowne: [g] For hee thought that as ſoone as his weakeneſſe and infirmity ſhould be diſcouered they would hold him as dead, and vnprofitable to the world, that he ſhould be contemned of his Subiects, who would paſſe ſudenly from contempt to ſedition.

Lewis maintaines his authority to the laſt gaſpe.

He feares contempt the forerunner of ſedition.

Hee feared that in the end they would make him beleeue that his ſences were diſtracted, and that they would controule him in the expedition of affaires: wherefore, as ſoone as he felt his faintings paſt, and that his ſpirits beganne to returne, hee would dye in action and ſtanding: [h] he cauſed all the diſpatches, made by his Secretaries, to be brought vnto him, ſeeming to vnderſtand more then he had vigor, or light of vnderſtanding: Hee made ſhew to reade the letters, and although he ſometimes turned them vpſide downe, and had little knowledge, yet no man durſt aduiſe him.

Hee cals for diſpatches and expeditions.

[e] *He vnderſtood little of what was ſaid vnto him, but he felt no paine*: Hee made mee a ſigne to lye in his chamber, he did not pronounce many words; I did ſerue him fifteene daies at his meate and about his perſon, as Groome of his Chamber; the which I held for a great honour, and was well reſpected. *Phil. de Com.*

[f] *Wee doe not willingly ſee thē that haue beene the ſecret witneſſes of our faults, or imperfections. The Ape beholding it ſelfe and ſeeing his foulneſſe, his wrinkles and deformed ſhape, breaks the glaſſe.*

[g] *There is nothing that a Prince, which beginnes to grow old ſhould ſo much preuent, as to make it knowne that hee growes heauy, & that the vigour of his ſpirits is weakened: For ambition of rule is ſo itching a thing, as euery man will giue order to theſe defects.*

[h] Veſpaſian *being tormented with a bloudy flixe, whereof he dyed, did not forbeare to riſe and ſtirre, his Phyſitions told him that it did encreaſe his griefe, perſwading him to lye quiet, but he anſwered them*; The Emperour muſt dye ſtanding.

The misfortune of this accident was happy for Cardinal *Balue*, [i] whom hee remembred among the ſcruples of his conſciences: Hee had taken as much pleaſure to ruine him, as he had receiued content to raiſe and aduance him: He was firſt impriſoned at Montbaſſon, hee did confiſcate his goods, and gaue his moueables to the Commiſſioners which made his Proceſſe: His plate was ſold, and the money deliuered to the Treaſurer of the warres, *Tanneguy* of Chaſtell, Gouernour of Rouſillon had his Tapeſtry-hangings: *Peter* of Orioles, Generall of the Finances his Library, the Lord of Cruſſoll a peece of Tapeſtry of twenty elles, with the ground of Gold, certaine ſkinnes of Sables, and a peece of skarlet of Florence: If wee ſhould onely conſider the malice of this mans nature, who was a deceiuer, treacherous, and ambitious, and ſo knowne by the Italians, amongſt whom hee had liued, and there dyed, [k] the cauſe of his impriſonment cannot be but iuſt; His ſpirit which had lodged him there twelue yeare, for that hee had employed all his pollicies and inuentions to nouriſh ciuill diſcord, and which like vnto the ſerpent drew in the whole body where he might paſſe the head, furniſht him with a notable ſtratageme to ſet him at liberty.

Cardinall *Balue* ſet at liberty.

He piſt and dranke his Vrine ſo ſecretly as they thought this retention would kill him. The King cauſed him to bee viſited, his Phyſitions told him that his life was deſperate, whereupon the King (who was weakned with his infirmity) entred into ſome ſcruple, that hee had done wrongfully to haue kept a Cardinall twelue whole yeares in a Cage of Iron, that the Church was ſcandalized, and his liberty wronged. The Cardinall of Saint *Peter ad vincula* (who afterwards was called *Iulio* the ſecond, and was come into France to mediate a peace) tooke the King in this good thought, [l] made him to apprehend the offence of the Church, in the long captiuity of ſuch a Miniſter, and entreated for his liberty, the which was preſently granted: *Balue* went to Rome, and was all the remainder of his life an enemy to France, and for this cauſe was much fauoured by *Ferdinand* King of Naples: he dyed Biſhop of Preneſte, and was interred at Saint *Praxede*.

His pollicy to get out of priſon.

This Prelate had all his life time warlike thoughts and inclinations, and a chollericke and ſtirring ſpirit: The Cronicle ſaith that in the warre of the Common-weale, hee went day and night on horſe-backe to viſite the Guards: Hee got a Commiſſion from the King to go and muſter the Souldiers at Paris. The Earle of Dammartin ſeeing the confuſion and diſorder which this Prelates ambition cauſed in publicke charges, beſought the King to ſuffer him to go and hold a chapter in the Cathedrall Church at Eureux.

If contrary aſpects and ſhadowes raiſe and grace things oppoſite: the great and excellent vertues of *William* of Eſtouteuille Cardinall of Rouan, will ſhew themſelues heere gloriouſly: Hee

Generoſity of Cardinall *Eſtouteuille*.

[i] *Cardinall* Balue *was impriſoned in Auguſt, in the yeare* 1469.

[k] Ierome Garimbert *ſpeakes of this Cardinall after this manner:* Egli fu di natione Franceſce da Verdunepouero, plebeio, triſte, cupido ſempre di noue rapacitę & ribalderie. *Hee was a Frenchman borne, of Verdune, a poore Plebeian, wicked, and alwaies couetous of gaine and filthineſſe.*

[l] *The queſtion is great vpon the exemption of Church-men out of the power of Princes: Some hold it is ordained by the Law of God, and others by grace and conceſſion.*

Hee was the ornament of the Cardinals of his age, and neither feare of danger nor apprehenſion of ill did[m] hinder him from doing good. Rome caſt her eyes vpon him, as Athens did ſometimes on *Ariſtides*; He was wonderfull iealous of the dignity of his Robe, and conſidering that the world was but a Theater, on the which euery man was bound to play the part, which his vertue, or fortune, had giuen him, hee would alwaies performe his with conſtancy and honour: King *Charles* the ſeuenth, commanded him to go to Rome, with the Embaſſadours which hee ſent to Pope *Calixtus* the third, to yeeld him obedience, but hee excuſed himſelfe, not for feare to expoſe his ſufficiency,[n] to the encounter of a greater, but not to offend the honour of his Cardinals place, which did not allow him to accept of any Legation, but from the Popes authority.

[m] *To do good where there is no danger is a vulgar thing, but to do good where there is perill is the proper office of a good man: to do euill is too eaſy and too baſe.*

[n] *Ignorance & weakneſſe feare any encounter, for that they thinke being cõpared one with another, their imperfections will preſently appeare.*

With the ſame courage that he maintained the honour of his Hat, hee defended that of the Church, and of France. The Barriſell, or Prouoſt of Rome finding a man in committing a flagrant delict or heynous crime, and hauing no hangman to execute him, preſently forced a poore Prieſt, whom hee found begging in the ſtreete, to doe this office: Hee laboured in vaine to tell him that he was a Prieſt, and a Frenchman, and that he had neuer done an act vnworthy the one or the other: The Prouoſt, who had abandoned the Helme of reaſon to the ſtorme of choller, [o] the which had fild his ſpirit with fumes, felt himſelfe ſo tranſported with paſſion to puniſh the crime, as hee would not hearken vnto the innocent, but threatned to make him play the part of the offendor, if he would not do that of the Hang-man.

Cruelty of the Prouoſt of Rome.

[o] *A iudgement tranſported with choller, is like vnto a Shippe without Pilate and without helme, or a lodging, out of the which the maiſter is expelled by the fire and ſmoake which is in it: The end of all that is done in choller is the beginning of repentance.*

The feare of death, which had forced greater men to doe worſe, made him reſolue to this infamous excution, after which he retired himſelfe, holding downe his head for ſhame, into the houſe of Cardinall *Eſtouteville*, where hee complained of this wrong, and demanded iuſtice. The Cardinall conſidering that by the iniury of this poore man, the dignity of the Church, and the honour of the Nation was interreſſed, ſent for the Prouoſt, and hauing let him know his fault, commanded his Muletier to hang him at the barre in his Hall, with one of his Mules halters: At the ſight of this Prouoſt, hanging at the window, the Popes Officers made great complaints, and the Cardinall *Eſtouteuille* was ready to retire into France, but Pope *Nicholas* being aduertiſed thereof blamed the cruelty and iniuſtice of the ſaid Prouoſt, who had ſo affected the puniſhment of another, [p] as hee had not conſidered into what danger hee engaged himſelfe: Hee commended the Cardinals

[p] *It is the ordinary courſe of iniuſtice to plunge it ſelfe into the miſchiefe wherhinto ſhe would draw others:* Dat pœnas dum exigit: *They bee ruines which breake vpon that whereon they fall.*

iuſtice, and entreated him not to leaue Rome.

He remained 28. yeares there, and dyed the ſame yeare when as King *Lewis* the eleuenth left this life: Hee was made Chamberlaine to *Sixtus* the fourth, Biſhop of Oſtia, and Deane of the Colledge: Hee cauſed Saint *Auguſtines* Church to be built, and did much inrich that of Saint *Mary* the Great: The Chanons of this Church, and the Monkes of the other, did not yeeld that reſpect vnto his memory which they ought: For being ready to interre him they fell to quarrell for his Roabes, with ſo great a diſorder, as the rings were taken from his fingers, and hee had like to haue beene ſtript naked by the indiſcretion of thoſe whom he had cloathed.

This firſt ſickeneſſe of the Kings continued ſome 15. daies, [q] at the end whereof he went to ſee the Campe of his new diſciplined ſouldiers, which hee had erected, and cauſed them to bee put in battell, in a Valley neere to Pontdelarche in Normandy, hauing cauſed a great number of Tents and Pauillions to be made to lodge them in field, and Carts to encloſe them and to ſerue as a Trench: For the entertainement whereof hee muſt make new leuies for money, and exceſſiue taxes, for it did amount yearely to a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds Sterling: They that were about him when this ſickneſſe tooke him, conſidering how much the people were oppreſt, and thinking that hee would neuer recouer it, made diuers decrees for the ſuppreſſion of this Taxe. Oppreſſiõ of the people.

Many thought that this ſickneſſe had toucht his heart, and made him more ſencible of the miſeries and calamities of his ſubiects, for the remonſtrances ſo often made vpon this ſubiect had not preuailed any thing, and they expected no eaſe but what ſhould come from his owne motion: [r] He propounded to reforme all the diſorders of his Realme: If hee might not haue the honour to haue reigned well, he deſires to make his reigne better at his death then in his life, thinking nothing makes a Prince to be more lamented, then when he dies in ſome great action for the good of his Realme.

He meant to begin this Reformation by Iuſtice, and *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, that he loued not the Court of Parliament of Paris, for that he diſliked many things: He had ſo much contemned to giue great Offices to the recommendation of merite and ſufficiency, and therein to conſider the honour and condition of perſons as ignorance had the reputation which did ~~to~~ belong to knowledge, and they might ſay that France was betrayed by Aſſes, as Troy had bene by a horſe, [s] petty-fogging did triumph in the Pallace, and did plunge them that came for iuſtice into gulfes of confuſion: It became inſupportable by long and tedious delayes, and therefore he vndertooke to cut off the proceedings of the inſtructions of ſuites, and thoſe long formalities which made iuſtice like vnto a Vine, which, not being cut, brings forth much The Kings deſire to reforme Iuſtice.

[q] *During this ſickeneſſe all deſpaires were diſpatcht by the Biſhop of Alby, by his brother the gouernour of Bourgundy, by the Marſhall of Gie, and the Lord of Lude, who were lodged in two little chambers vnder his.*

[r] Hee had much oppreſt his people (*ſaith Phil. de Comines*) and more then euer any King did, Authority and perſwaſions could not moue him to eaſe them; It muſt come frõ himſelfe, as thẽ he would haue done, if God had preſerued him from ſickneſſe, & therefore it is good to doe well whilſt we haue leaſure, & that God giues health and vnderſtanding to men.

[s] *That age was in the thicke darkeneſſe of ignorance, the which doth weaken all reſolutions of wel-doing.* Diogenes *ſaid that Troy had beene betrayed by horſes, and the common-weale of Athens was loſt by Aſſes.*

much wood, and little fruit. Lawes are made for publike infirmities, and yet when there were moſt lawes, the Common-weale was moſt corrupted, and weakeſt. [t]

But ſuch good thoughts came to late: they ſay that the Moule opens her eyes when ſhee is ready to dye. The functions of his ſoule were languiſhing and deiected. It was no more that great Spirit, which gaue life and motion to all the ſpirits of his Realme, that firſt mouer which made all the ſpheares of Chriſtendome to work; and who, remaining in his Cabinet, [u] kept all his neighbours in awe. The remainder of his life was at the diſcretion of all kindes of languiſhings. This cold Melancholy could finde no heate, it was chill in the hotteſt dayes of the yeare, and did plunge him into a perpetuall waywardneſſe, inſupportable to his followers, and much more vnto himſelfe. Melancholly and ſickneſſe drew him by one and the ſame way vnto death. They ſought all meanes to cheere him, and cauſed Muſitians to play before him, they brought many ſheepheards of the Countrey of Poictou, to ſing, to make him merry, and to keepe him from ſlumber, which drew him to a perpetuall ſleepe. But as the flame is ſmothered by ſmoke, ſo this great deſire of life, and this baſe feare of death blemiſht the beauty of the goodlieſt actions of his age. [x]

His waywardneſſe & melancholy.

A yeare after hee fell into a relapſe of his ſickneſſe at Tours, where as he was taken with a more violent convulſion then at the firſt, ſo as he was held for dead, and remained ſome two houres laid vpon a mattreſſe. The Signior of Bouchage, and *Philip de Commines* made a vow for him to S. *Claude*, and he writes, that preſently after he recouers his ſpeech. A change which the minde of man ſhould conſider as all other meruailes of the hand of God, by the humility of his zeale, and not by the ſubtilty of his iudgement. [y] He went to Argenton to change the aire, and remained there a moneth very ſicke; then hee returned to Tours, and from thence paſt to S. *Claude* to performe his vow, where hee left an euerlaſting memory of his piety and deuotion. [z]

Relapſe of the Kings ſickneſſe at Tours.

At his returne hee paſt by Salins, where hee erected the Parliament of Bourgondy, which the ruines and extreame fury of the warre had chaſed from Dole. He made ordonances for the gouernment of Iuſtice, the which are yet obſerued in the Franch-County. Being at Beaujeu in Beaujolois, he was aduertiſed of the death of *Mary*, Dutches of Bourgondy, who had fallen from her horſe going a hunting, and had left two children, *Margaret* and *Philip*, for the which hee was not ſorry, foreſeeing that this death would breed ſome alteration in *Maximilians* affaires: for the Gantois

A Parliament erected at Salins.

[t] *To ſhorten tedious ſuites, and to cut off that which is vnprofitable, and ſuperflous in lawes, hath beene the enterpriſes of great Princes, of* Theodoſius, Iuſtinian, Charlemaigne *and* Frederick, *Emperours.*

[u] *Wiſedome workes great effects without mouing from one place.* Edward *of England ſeeing that* Charles *the fift did ſo much annoy him, and y t neuer went out of one place, ſaid* I neuer knew king that did Arme leſſe: He doth croſſe me more with his letters, then euer his Father and Grand-father did with their great forces & Armies.

[x] *We muſt drink this cup ioyfully when God preſents it. He that hath a firme hope of eternall life, ſhould not feare a temporall death. This careful deſire of life retaines nothing of the generoſity of the minde.* Maroboduus non exceſſit Italia per duodeviginti annos conſenuitque multum imminuta claritate ob nimiam viuendi cupidinem. Maroboduus *went not out of Italy for the ſpace of two and twentyy eares, and hee grew old, hauing much blemiſhed his glorry, by his too great deſire to liue.* Tacit. Annal. lib. 2.

[y] *The reaſon of that which is done miraculouſly depends onely of his power that hath done it. S.* Gregory *ſaith that miracles,* debent conſiderari per ſtudium & non diſcuti per intellectum.

[z] *The Chronicle ſaith, that in this voyage, for the ſafety of his perſon, he led eight hundred Launces, and ſixe thouſand foott.*

could not ſuffer the command of *Maximilian*, nor *Maximilian* endure the humors of the Gantois.[a]

[a] *When as* Manlius *was choſen Conſull, he ſaid vnto the people,* Seeke another to whom you may giue this honour: for I cannot indure your maners, nor you my commaundements. *Liu.*

At his returne from this voyage he would ſee his ſonne the Dauphin in the Caſtle of Ambois, where he had remained ſince his birth, and had not ſeene him, neither did he ſuffer him to be ſeene by all ſorts of men: for remembring, that at the ſame age the great men of the Realme had ſeized on him, againſt his father *Charles* the ſeuenth, he feared the like attempt.[b]

The King goes to ſee his ſonne at Ambois

[b] Claud Seiſſel *ſaith, That the King would not haue his ſonne ſeene by the Nobility, and men of Eſtate, ſo as many doubted whether hee were liuing or dead. And I thinke it is one of the reaſons which made him write, that* Charles *the* 8. *was ſuppoſed.*

One of the greateſt griefes and diſcontents which he might haue at the end of his life, was the apprehenſion of blame which France would giue him, to haue neglected the breeding and Inſtruction of this Prince, and to haue ſo late ſought to repaire thoſe defects: he would that the admonitions which he gaue him in the preſence of his moſt confident ſeruants, ſhould bee publiſhed in forme of an Edict, and enrolled in ſoueraigne Courts, to the end his ſubiects might know, that if his ſonnes reigne were not anſwerable to his hopes, the cauſe ſhould not be imputed to his fathers Inſtructions.

Admonition made by the king to the Dauphin.

Lewis, *by the grace of God, King of France, Dauphin of Viennois, Earle of Valentinois, and Dioys, to all thoſe to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come greeting, Wee let you vnderſtand, that conſidering the beginning of all things, and the end thereof, euen of humane Nature, whoſe dayes are ſhort: And that God our Creator hath giuen vs ſuch great graces, as it hath pleaſed him to make vs the head Gouernour and Prince of the Nobleſt Region and Nation vpon Earth, which is the Realme of* FRANCE; *whereof many Princes and Kings our Predeceſſors, haue beene ſo Great, Vertuous and Valiant, as they haue purchaſed the name of* The Moſt Chriſtian King,[c] *as well for reducing many great Countries, and diuers Nations, inhabited by Infidels, to the good Catholicke Faith, rooting Hereſies and Vices out of our ſaid Realme, and maintaining the Holy Apoſtolicke ſea, and the holy Church of GOD in their Rights, Liberties and Freedomes, as for doing many other goodly deedes worthy of eternall memory, ſo as ſome are held for Saints, liuing in the glorious company of GOD in his Paradiſe, which our Realme, and other our Countreyes and Signiories, we haue (thankes bee to GOD) ſo well entertained, defended, and gouerned, as wee haue augmented and enlarged it of all ſides, by our great care and diligence, and by the aid alſo of our good, faithfull, and Loyall Officers, Seruants and Subiects, notwithſtanding that ſoone after our comming to the Crowne, the Princes and Noble-men of our Bloud and Linage, and other great Noble-men*[d] *of our ſaid Realme, or*

[c] *The Kings of France cary the Title of* Moſt Chriſtian *ſince* Clovis. Charles *the Bald is called* Moſt Chriſtian *in his Coronation. Pope* Innocent, *&* Honorius *the* 3d. *in their Bulles to King* Philip Auguſtus, *and to* Lewis *the eighth, called them,* Moſt Chriſtian. *The Apoſtolike Legate, and three Biſhops named in their Letters, write that the Realme of France is* Moſt Chriſtian. Du. Tillet.

[d] *The Princes and Noble-men of the League, were* Charles *of France, the Kings Brother,* Iohn *of Anjou, Duke of Lorraine and Calabria;* Iohn, *Duke of Alencon;* Charles *of Bourgondy, Earle of Charolois;* Iohn, Duke *of Bourbon;* Francis, *Duke of Brittanie;* Iames *of Armaignac, Earle of Marche, and of Caſtres, Duke of Nemours;* Iohn, *Earle of Armaignac his vncle;* Iohn, *Earle of Dunois, and of Longueville, Baſtard of Orleans;* Lewis *of Luxembourg, Earle of S.* Pol. Charles, *Lord of Alvert, father to great* Alain, *and* Anthony *of Chabannes, Earle of Dammartin.*

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the greateſt part of them, had conſpired, plotted, and attempted againſt vs, and the Common-weale of our ſaid Realme, many great practiſes, treaſons and conſpiracies, ſo as by meanes thereof, there hath followed ſo great warres and diuiſions, as it hath cauſed a wonderfull effuſion of humane bloud, ruine of Countries, and the deſolation of multitudes of people, the which hath continued ſince our ſaid comming, vnto this preſent day, and is not yet fully quenched, but may, after the end of our dayes, reviue, and continue long, if ſome good order and courſe be not taken.

Wherefore, hauing regard hereunto, and to the age wherein wee are, and to the certaine infirmity wherein wee are fallen, for the which wee haue beene in great deuotion to viſite the glorious body of Saint Claude; *ſo as with the helpe of our Creator, wee are much amended, and haue recouered health. Wee therefore reſolued, concluded and determined, after the returne of our ſaid voyage, to ſee our moſt deere and well-beloued ſonne* Charles, *Dauphin of Vienna, and to inſtruct him in many notable things*[e] *for the direction of his life in good manners, gouernement, entertainement and conduct of the Crowne of France, if it pleaſe God hee come vnto it after vs. For the accompliſhing whereof, after our returne from our ſaid voyage, into our Towne of Ambois, wee went into the Caſtle of the ſaid place, where our ſaid ſonne the Dauphin was, whom we haue alwayes cauſed to bee kept, and bred vp there; where, in the preſence of a certaine number of Noble-blemen, and Ladies of our Bloud and Linage, and other great Perſonages, men of our Councell, Captaines and Officers, both to vs, and ſaid ſonne, wee haue called our ſaid ſonne before vs, and haue cauſed thoſe words and Remonſtrances which followed to be deliuered vnto him.*

First, after a recitall made by vs of the aforeſaid things, or of the greateſt part of them to our ſaid ſonne, wee haue let him vnderſtand, how much wee deſire, that after vs he might (with the aid of God) come vnto the Crowne of France, his true Inheritance; and that he might ſo gouerne and maintaine it, as it might bee to his honour and praiſe, and to the profite and vtility of the Subiects of his Realme, Dauphiné and other Countries and Signiories, and of the Common-weale.[f]

Item, *That if it pleaſed God to work his will on vs, and that our ſon ſhould come vnto the Crowne of France, wee haue commanded and en-*

[e] *Happy are thoſe Princes which learn the formes of Gouerning well, by the examples and inſtructions of their fathers.* Leon *receiued them from the Emperour* Baſillius, *and* Philip Auguſtus *from Saint* Lewis. *For if the higheſt knowledge of a Prince bee to know his Eſtate, the knowledge cannot bee more faithfull, nor certaine, then from thoſe which haue the experience. The Booke of the Emperor* Conſtantine Porphyrogenete, *for the Inſtruction of his ſonne aſſociated to the Empire (the which is now remaining in the Kings Library) is onely vpon this ſubiect; and as Monſieur* Caſaubon, *who hath it in keeping, writes in an eloquent Epiſtle vpon* Polybius: Sciebat vetus regnandi Princeps ad negotia gerenda in quibus Repub. ſalus continetur illud adprimè deſiderari vt ingenia hominum probè nota ſint quibus cum agitur ſiue illi ſint ſubditi, ſiue amici, ſiue ſocij, ſiue hoſtes. *The Prince who was old in Gouernement, knewe well, that in matters which concerned the ſafety of the Common-weale, it was chiefly to bee deſired, that the Diſpoſitions of men, with whom they are to deale, bee well knowne, bee they Subiects, Friends, Allies, or Enemies.*

[f] *This Inſtruction regards onely the ſetling of the Princes affaires, and doth not extend vnto the duties of Conſcience, nor to thoſe vertues which edifie Kings, Piety and Iuſtice. But to what end ſo many Inſtructions? To make a Princes conduct happy, wee muſt wipe theſe wordes out of his minde,* If it pleaſe, it is lawfull: If it may bee, it ſhall bee. *A good Prince ſhould not will any thing, but what hee ought.* Cæſari cum omnia licent, propter hoc minus licet: vt fœlicitatis eſt poſſe quantum velis, ſic magnitudinis velle quantum poſsis; vel potius quantum debeas. *For that all things are lawfull to* Cæſar, *therefore they are the leſſe lawfull: As it is a happineſſe to doe what thou wilt, ſo it is a greatneſſe not to will any thing but what thou mayeſt, or rather what thou oughteſt.* Plin. Paneg. Traja.

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ioyned him, as a father may doe his sonne, that he shall gouerne himselfe and the said Realme, Dauphiné, and Countries, by the Councell and aduice of our kinsmen, Lords of our Bloud and Linage, and other Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Captaines and wise men of our Councell; and especially of those whom he shall know and finde to haue beene good and faithfull to the deceased, our most honored Lord and Father (whom God absolue) to vs, and to the Crowne of France, that haue been vnto vs good and loyall Officers, Seruants and Subiects.[g]

Item, wee haue also expressely commanded and enioyned him, that when it shall please God he come vnto the said Crowne of France, that he shall maintaine all the Noble-men of our Bloud and Linage, and all other Noble-men, Barons, Gouernours, Knights, Esquires, Captaines and Commanders at warre, in their Offices and charges, and all other, hauing the command of men, and guard of Townes, places, and Forts, and all other Officers, either of Iustice, or other, of what condition soeuer, not changing or disappointing any of them, vnlesse they bee duely found faulty and disloyall,[h] and that there may be a due declaration made by Iustice, as is requisite in that case.

Item, Vnto the end our sonne may, and will, consider of, entertaine and accomplish our said Ordinance, Iniunction and commandement, wee haue laid before him the great miseries, inconueniences, and ir-repairable losses which befell vs soone after our comming vnto the Crowne, for that we had not maintained them in their estates, charges, & Offices,[i] the which hath continued long, to the great oppression and ruine of many of our Countries and Subiects, and doth yet continue, although that (God be thanked) we haue not lost any thing of the Crowne, but haue augmented it with great Lands and possessions; hoping shortly, with the pleasure and good will of our Creator, to settle peace and tranquility: And that if our said sonne should doe the like, and should not continue the said Noble-men and Officers, the like, or worse, might happen vnto him; and that as hee loues the good honour and increase of himselfe, the said Realme, and others our Countries and Signiories hee should haue a speciall care not to doe any thing to the Contrary, for what cause soeuer.

Which Remonstrances made by vs to our sonne, the Dauphin, for the good of the Crowne of France, and to the end the said Ordonances, Commandements and Iniunctions made vnto him, should take effect, and bee in perpetuall memory, wee haue demanded of our said sonne,[k] what hee thought, and whether he were content, willing, and resolued to entertaine the same things, and others deliuered by vs, and especially touching the said Charges and Offices. Whereunto he hath humbly made answere, and said, That he would willingly obey, accomplish, and performe with all

[g] Bodyn writes in the fourth booke of his Comm-on-weale, Chap. 4. that K. Lewis the eleuenth made another Edict, declaring all offices perpetuall, if resignation, death, or Fortune, did not cause some change, and hee ordained, that a Destitution by forfeite should not take place, if the forfeiture were not adiudged.

[h] An Officer which feares to be disappointed, holds all his actions pure, and keepes himselfe from failing: Yet a Prince should neuer displace without cause, and one of the greatest commendations which they giue to king Robert, is, that he neuer disappointed any Officer if he had not offended.

[i] King Lewis the eleuenth coming to the Crowne, did suddenly disappoint all his fathers ancient seruants, who handled him in such sort, as he was ready (as hee confest after-ward) to quit his Crowne and his estate.

[k] A marke of great mildnesse in a seuere Prince, and of great bounty in a difficult Father, hee doth not vse his authority ouer his sonne for so iust a command. Hee first sounds his will, then hee suffers him to consult with his obedience, the bond whereof is sealed with the Seale of Nature, the which hath not giuen to men any Commission to command others, and to make them subiect, except the Father, whom Procles calleth, The Image of the Soueraigne GOD.

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his power, the Commandements, Inſtructions, Ordonances and Iniunctions which we gaue him, for the which he did moſt humbly thanke vs.

Moreouer, wee commanded him to retire himſelfe with ſome of his Officers which were there preſent, and conferre with him vpon thoſe matters which hee had propounded vnto him, and reſolue whether hee would entertaine all that wee had enioyned him: The which hee hath done, and then he ſpake theſe, or ſuch like words vnto vs: Sir, with the helpe of God, and when it ſhall bee his pleaſure that theſe things happen, I will obey your commandement and pleaſure, and will performe and accompliſh all that you haue enioyned me. *Whereupon we ſaid vnto him, That ſeeing he would doe it for the loue of vs, he ſhould hold vp his hand, and promiſe ſo to do and hold: The which he hath done.*

Item, *After many other things declared by vs, concerning the ſame matter, and alſo of many Noble-men our aduerſaries within our realme,* [1] *who haue alwayes beene contrary to vs, and our ſaid Crowne, from whom part of the miſeries and inconueniences aboue mentioned, haue ſprung, to the end he might haue a watchfull eye ouer them, we haue recommended vnto him ſome of our good and loyall Seruants and Officers which were there preſent, and ſome abſent, letting him vnderſtand how well and faithfully they had ſerued vs, as well againſt our enemies, and about our perſon, as alſo in many and diuers ſorts. Of which things, and of euery their circumſtances and dependances, we haue ordained and commanded our louing and faithfull Notary and Secretary, M^r.* Peter Parrent, *to make all Letters, Proviſions, Patents and declaratory clauſes of our ſaid will and commandement, that ſhall bee needfull; as well during our ſaid Reigne, as that of our Sonne; and in the beginning of his ſaid Reigne, by manner of confirmation to the ſaid Officers, and confirming thē in their ſaid Charges and Offices, and we haue ſo cōmanded & enioyned our ſaid ſonne, to cauſe it to be done by the ſaid* Parrent, *as our Secretary and his. Wee alſo command by theſe Preſents, our louing and faithfull Councellours of our Courts of Parliament* [m] *of the ſaid Realme and Dauphiné, Exchequer of Normandy, Maiſters of our Accounts, Generals and Councellors of our Treaſurie, of Iuſtice, and of our Aids, Maiſters of requeſts of our houſhold, Prouoſt of Paris, and all Bailiffes, Seneſhals, Provoſts, and other our Iuſtices and officers, or their Licuetenants, and euery of them to whom it ſhall belong, which are at this preſent, or ſhall be hereafter, in our time, or our ſonnes, that they obſerue, entertaine and accompliſh, and cauſe to be obſerued, entertained and accompliſhed, from point to point inviolably our preſent Ordonances and Declarations, and all and euery thing contained in theſe Preſents, with their circumſtances and dependances, not doing, or ſuffering any thing to bee done to the contrary, either now or hereafter vpon any cauſe or occaſion whatſoeuer, forcing all them that ſhall oppoſe themſelues to the contraty, by the taking away of their letters granted to the contrary, ceſſation thereof, ſeizure and detention of their goods in our hands, impriſonment of their perſons, euen as is accuſtomed to be done for our own affaires, notwithſtan-*

[1] *A Prince cannot leaue a more profitable and fruitful precept vnto his ſonne, then to make him knowe the friends of his Eſtate, to cheriſh them; and the enemies to beware of them: the one and the other are known by the effects; but men regard but the face, and God ſeeth the heart.*

[m] *Preſently after the death of* Lewis, *the Parliament of Paris decreed, that the Officers ſhould continue in their charges, as they had done before, attending the anſwere of the new King, the which ſhewes, that charges are ſuſpended, vntil that his pleaſure bee knowne, according to an ancient Decree made in October,* 1382.

ding any opposition, appeale, or complaint, or any Ordonance made, or to be made by Vs or our said sonne, restraint, or commandement, defences or letters to the contrary, for the which wee will not haue the contents, effect and execution of these presents in any sort deferred, stayed, or hindered.

And for that many men haue need of these Presents in diuers places, We will that full credit shall be giuen vnto the Copy therof, made vnder the seale Royall, or signed by the said Parrent, *or any other of our Notaries, or ordinary Secretaries, as to this present Originall. In witnesse whereof we haue caused our Seale to be set, to these Presents. Giuen at our Castle of Ambois the 22 of September, in the yeare of grace* 1482. *and of our reigne* 22. *By the King, my Lord the Dauphin, the Earle of Beaujeu, the Earle of Marle, Marshall of France, the Archbishop of Narbona, the Signiors of Bouchage, Percigny, Plessis of Solhes,* Iohn Doyac, *Gouernor of Auuergne,* Oliuer Guerin, *Steward of his houshold, and many others being present. Signed* Parrent.

Miscounting in the History.

The date of this Edict discouers the mis-counting of *Philip de Commines*, [n] who saith, that in the yeare 1483. the King would see the Dauphin his sonne, whom he had not seene in many yeares before, and that soone after he had spoken vnto him, he fell into the extremity of his sickneſſe, whereof he died: for this Remonstrance was made in the Castle of Ambois, in September 1482. and the King died not before Auguſt the yeare following. But to resolue the doubt of times, it may be that the King some few dayes before his death, had a will to see the Dauphin, when as they conducted him to Paris, to make his entry, and to celebrate his marriage, and that *Philip de Commines* not beeing at Ambois when this first Remonstrance was made, beeing stayed in Dauphin or Sauoy, whether the King had sent him with Troopes, against the Earle of Bresse, hee had no knowledge thereof, and therefore hath written, *That the King had not seene the Dauphin in many yeares before.*

[n] Philip de Comines *was sent into Sauoy, to set at liberty the Signior of Illins a Dauphinois, whom the King had giuen for Gouernour to Duke* Philebert *his Nephew. When as the Earle of Bresse saue the Kings Armie at Maston, hee did what they desired.*

If a History bee the Image of Truth, [o] and if Truth can haue but one vniuersall face in all things, how can it accord the Chronicle with this Edict? It writes, that the King going to Saint *Claude*, and before his departure out of Tourraine, sawe the Dauphin at Ambois, and gaue him his blessing: That in the moneth of October, the same yeare, beeing fallen into a Relapse of his sickenesse, hee caused himselfe to bee carried to Ambois to exhort him to that which hee should doe, which makes mee to wonder, if in matters that bee secrete and important, Writers doe not alwayes giue full, perpetuall, and immutable Assurances, seeing that in these they dispense so freely with the Certainety.

[o] *A History is the proofe of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the mystery of life, and the Trumpet of Antiquity. It is the Image of truth, and as the image is perfect, that doth rightly represent the Originall, so a History should represent all things in their simple truth.*

The Instructions which the King gaue vnto the Dauphin, were found Good and Holy, but they could yeeld no good fruits, but with a peace. All the rest without it had beene of small vse, there being nothing whereof a Father, who leaues a yong heire, should

should bee more carefull, then to leaue him his inheritance quiet and assured.

Being therefore resolued to giue a peace to France, who attended it as a gift from heauen,[p] he thought to giue his sonne a wife, but not the Princesse of England, who was promised him by the Treaty of Piquigny.

Estate of the Low-countries at the discretion of the Gantois.

After the death of the Dutchesse of Bourgondy, the Gantois had seized vpon Prince *Philip*, and the Princesse *Margaret* her Children, telling the Arch-duke *Maximilian*, that the Guard and Tutele belonged vnto them. The King, who desired to haue the Princesse *Margaret* married vnto the Dauphin, and knewe well, that by the Gantois meanes, the Propositions of the Treaty would bee to his aduantage, commaunded *Des Cordes* to make some Ouerture thereof, with two or three petty Companions of the Towne of Gand, who had purchased some credite in the Seditions and Mutinies of the people. These Men fitting their duety to the time and fortune, transported with priuate passion (a deadly poyson [q] in Affaires of importance) and distasted with the soft and effeminate commande of *Maximilian*, consent speedily to the Propositions of *Des Cordes*, and promise to make them succeed to the Kings good liking.

A proposition of a peace and marriage.

There was little paine in the effecting of this businesse: for the Gantois, to preuent all difficulties which the Father might propound in the marriage of his Daughter told him plainely, that they would haue no more warres with France. They insulted ouer him, doing and vndoing many things contrary to his Intentions. On the other side, Pope *Sixtus*, both by the reason of his Office, as a common Father, and by the Law of Religion, which doth nothing more Christian,[r] then to make peace, solicited the King and the Archduke thereunto, to ioyne their forces against the common enemy of Christendome, and had sent the Cardinall of Saint *Peter ad Vincula* to exhort them.

P. *Sixtus* mediates a peace.

A Treatie of peace and marriage.

The Deputies of either side met at Arras: they layd open all the Pretences of the Crowne of France to the House of Bourgondy. The Kings intention was, that the Riuers should returne vnto the Sea, from whence they came; and his reason was grounded vpon the Law of the Realme, which giues no part of Reuenues of the Crowne in propriety to the Females; and portions giuen to the Princes of France, passe not to their daughters, when as they leaue no sonnes.[s]

[p] *There can bee nothing giuen more pleasing, nor more healthfull to the people, then a peace,* Vt circumspiciamus omnia quæ populo grata sint, atque iocunda, nihil tam populare quam pacem, quam concordiam, quã otium reperimus. *Let vs looke vnto all things that are pleasing and acceptable vnto the people, wee shall not find any thing more popular then peace, concord, and ease.* Cicero pro Le Agr.

[q] *All passion & priuate affection is a poyson in the conduct and managing of affaires.* Pessimum veri affectus & Iuditij venenum sua cuiq; vtilitas. *Euery mans priuate interest is a deadly poyson to true iudgement.* Tacit.

[r] *There is nothing more proper for a Christian, then to make peace.* οὐδὲν ἴδιον χριστιανοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ εἰρηνοποιεῖν. BASIL.

[s] *In old time the Infants of the House of France had their Portions in Soueraignty. This was abbrogated in the third race, and so ordered, as the yonger sonnes could not pretend any thing to the Succession of the King their Father, but a prouision for their entertainement, the which, (hauing no Heires Males) returned to the Crowne. Hereupon there was a Sentence giuen to the benefite of King* PHILIP *the third for the Earledome of Poitiers, and Lands of* Auuergne *against* CHARLES *the first, King of Sicile, brother to Saint* LEVVIS, *in the Parliament of Toussaints, 1283.*

Finally, vpon that Maxime, *That the reuenues of the Crowne are Inalienable, and not ſubiect to preſcription:* For men cannot preſcribe any thing againſt God, nor priuate men againſt the Eſtate. To apply the ſquare vnto the ſtone, and the Hypotheſis vnto the Theſis, the Kings Deputies did ſhew that the Dutchy of Bourgondy, the Franch-County, with the Earledomes of Flanders, Artois, and Henaut, were peeces of the Crowne. If their diſcourſe was not in theſe tearmes, it was ſo in ſubſtance.

The beginnings of the diminution of Flanders, as they of all the great Empires of the world, haue beene weake, vncertaine, and fabulous. [t] The Countrey was peopled by a Colony of Saxons, whom *Charlemaigne* brought thither, gouerned vnder the authority of the Crowne of France, by their Lords Forreſters. [u] The Eſtate began by *Baldwin*, ſuruamed *Iron-arme*, and continued in his poſterity; but as it ended by *Maud*, daughter to *Baldwin* the fifth, Flanders paſt vnder the commands of the Dukes of Normandy, then of *Thierry*, Earle of Alſatia, who married *Sibilla*, daughter to *Foulques* of Anjou, King of Ieruſalem, and had but one daughter, who was heire to the Earledome of Flanders, and married to *Baldwin* the fourth of that name, Earle of Henaut; of this marriage came *Baldwin*, Earle of Flanders, the eighth of that name, who was Emperour of Conſtantinople, who died at Andrinopile, who left but two daughters; *Ioane*, who died without children, and *Margaret*, Counteſſe of Flanders, [x] who married *William* of Bourbon, ſonne to *Archambauld*, Lord of Bourboun: He was father to three ſonnes; *William*, who died without children; *Guy* Earle of Flanders, and *Iohn*, Lord of Dampierre.

Guy, Earle of Flanders, married *Maud*, daughter and heire to *Robert* (others named him *Fegard*) of Bethunes, by whom hee had fiue ſonnes, and three daughters: *Robert* of Bethunes his ſonne, who hath deſerued the ſurname of *Great*, as well for the greatneſſe of his vertue as his fortune, ſucceeded him.

Charles of Anjou, King of Sicile, brother to Saint *Lewis*, gaue meanes to acknowledge his valour more gloriouſly, hauing ſet two Crownes vpon his head, by the Victory of the battell of *Benevent*, [y] whereas the Parricide *Manfroy* ended his tyranny, honour and life. Hee had enioyed them longer, and more happily, if hee had followed the councell of this Prince, [z] who found the death of *Conradine* and *Frederick* of Auſtria, Priſoners taken in the warre, barbarous and inhumane.

Guy, Earle of Flanders

Robert of Bethunes.

[t] *Eſtates, as all other things in the world, haue three times, the beginning, the decreaſe, and the declining.*

[u] *The Gouernors and Guardians of Flanders (ſaith Mr. du Tillet) before* Baldwin, *ſurnamed* Iron-Arme, *were Officers mutable at the will of the Kings of Frãce, although that ſome ſonnes haue ſucceeded in their fathers Offices, for that that they were heires of their vertues, & were called Forreſters, not that their charge was onely vpon the land, being full of Forreſt for coles, but the guard of the ſea was alſo committed to them.*

[x] Margaret, *Counteſſe of Flanders, who raigned thirty yeares, had two husbands, the firſt was* Bourcher, *an Engliſhman, by whom ſhe had one ſonne, which dyed yong: and* William *of Dampierre, ſecond ſonne to* Archambauld, *Lord of Bourbon, Father to* Guy, *Earle of Flanders, Father to* Robert *of Bethunes.*

[y] *Battle of Benevent, the* 10 *of February,* 1565. *where as* Manfroy, *baſtard to* Conrade, *whom he had poyſoned, was ſlaine.*

[z] Robert *of Bethunes, Earle of Flanders, did not allow of the death of* Conradyne: *The Hiſtory, which deteſts it, reſerues him this honour:* Vtrique nouo ac regio nomine indigno crudelitatis in orbe Chriſtiano exemplo ſecuri vitam eripit fruſtra Flandriæ Comite monente, generoſum victorem decêre moderationem, & clementiam. Sed vicit vox cruenta vita Conradini, mors Caroli; mors Conradini, vita Caroli. *Hee tooke away both their liues by an example of cruelty, which was new in the Chriſtian world, and vnworthy the name of a King, the Earle of Flanders telling him in vaine, that moderation and clemency did become a generous victor; but that cruell voyce preuailed: The life of* Conradine *is the death of* Charles, *and the death of* Conradine *is the life of* Charles.

Of

Of this Marriage *Charles* was borne who dyed yong,[a] and *Lewis* who was father to *Lewis* the ſecond, Earle of Flandes: Hee married *Margaret* of France, daughter to *Phillip* the Long, who treating of the conditions of this Marriage would that *Robert* of Bethunes his Grand-father, ſhould declare the children that were to be borne of this marriage, Earles of Flanders: This *Lewis* of Bethunes, ſurnamed of Creſſe, for that he dyed at the battell of Creſſe, left one ſonne called alſo *Lewis*; and ſurnamed of Mallaine: Theſe ſo diuers names haue but one Spring,[1] Mallaine is Bethunes, and Bethunes is Flanders: The greateſt Families of Europe haue forgotten their firſt names to continue them of their portions and ſucceſſions: So we ſee Bourbon for France, Auſtria for Habſpourg, and in this Genealogy of the Earles of Flanders, Dampierre for Bourbon, Bethunes for Flanders, and without any other diſtance, but from father to ſonne, Neuers and Mallaine for Bethunes.

Lewis the ſecond of Bethunes.

Lewis the third of Bethunes.

[a] Charles *of Bethunes ſon to* Robert *Earle of Bethunes dyed at a cleuen yeares of age. They write that he brought from his mothers wombe the figure of a Croſſe betwixt his ſhoulders.*

Lewis of Bethunes, or of Mallaine, married *Margaret* daughter to the Duke of Brabant, and had his onely daughter *Margaret*, who was firſt married to *Phillip* Duke of Bourgundy, and afterwards to *Phillip* the Hardy, ſonne to King *Iohn*. From this truth we muſt conclude, that the Crowne of France, had the right of homiage, and of Soueraignety ouer the Earledome of Flanders, before this marriage. The like is ſaid of the Townes of Liſle, Douay, Orchies, and Bethunes.

County of Artois.

Conſequently, Artois cannot bee ſeparated from France, no more then the Earledome of France from whence it is come, for the parties follow the nature of their whole. King *Lewis* the ninth, performing the will of *Lewis* the eighth, his father, gaue it for a portion to his brother *Robert*, vpon condition that he ſhould not tranſferre it to the daughters which ſhould be borne of his marriage with *Maude* daughter to the Duke of Brabant: For theſe reaſons, the treaty of Arras betwixt King *Charles* the ſeuenth, and *Phillip* the ſecond Duke of Bourgundy, did expreſſely reſerue the Fealty, Homage, and Soueraignty, of thoſe lands which did hold of the Crowne.[b]

[b] *King* Lewis *the eighth, diſpoſed after this manner of the Country of Artois.* Volumus & ordonamus quod filliusnoſter ſecundus natu habeat totamterram Attrebatenſemin feudis & domanijs & totam aliam terram quam ex parte matris noſtræ *Elizabeth*, poſſidemus ſaluo dotalitio matris ſuæ. Quod ſi idem qui Attrebatenſium tenebit ſine hæredem decedat volumus quod terra tota Attrebatenſis & alia terra quam tenet ad filium noſtrum Regni noſtri ſucceſſorem & liberos integrè redeat.

The Franch-county.

The Franch-County hath made a part of the State vnder *Cloues*, and *Clotilde*. The Dutchy of Bourgundy hath alwaies beene one of the goodlieſt Flowers. *Henry* the firſt, King of France, gaue it to *Robert* of France his brother for his portion; His poſterity hath held it vnto *Phillip* the ſonne of *Eudes*. *Phillip* the fourth, married *Ioane*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Phillip* the Long: [c] By this alliance, the two Bourgundies were vnited, and of this marriage came *Phillip* Prince of Bourgundy, who was married to *Ioane*

[c] Phillip *the Long had foure daughters by the Lady* Ioane *of Bourgundy*; Ioane *married to the Duke of Bourgundy*, Margaret *married to* Lewis *of Crecy*, Iſable *married to* Guy *Dauphine of Viennois, who was ſlaine with an arrow before the Caſtle of Lapierre, and* Blanch *a Nunne, in the Monaſtery of Louchan, neere Paris.*

daughter to *Robert* Earle of Bolleigne, who died at the battell of Crecy, *Phillip* his ſonne, ſurnamed *de Roue:* ſucceeded in the Dutchy of Bourgundy after his Grand-fathers death, in the yeare, one thouſand three hundred fifty and foure: Hee was married yong to *Margaret* of Flanders, the onely daughter to *Lewis* the third, Earle of Flanders, and dyed at the age of twenty foure yeares, in in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and two: By his death the Dutchy of Bourgundy came vnto the Crowne, by the right of returne, and by proximity of bloud, King *Iohn* being found neereſt to the ſucceſſion. This proximity is eaſie to verefie, being certaine that *Robert* Duke of Bourgundy had foure ſons, and two daughters, by *Agnes* of France, daughter to King Saint *Lewis*, *Hugh*, or *Hughues*, *Eudes*, *Lewis*, *Robert*, *Ioane*, and *Margaret*; *Hughues* was Duke and dyed without children; *Eudes* ſucceded him, *Ioane* was married to *Phillip* of Vallois, father to King *Iohn*, who onely remained of the diſcendants of *Robert:* He cauſed it to bee vnited and incorporated to the Crowne, and gaue it to *Phillip* the Hardy, his ſonne, by reaſon of his ſeruice and recommendation. [d]

Phillip the Hardy, Duke of Bourgundy.

The Deputies of Flanders were well inſtructed what they ſhould anſwere, and if they had not beene, a deniall had ſerued for a ſufficient reaſon, for in diſputes of conſequence, to conſent were baſe, and to deny wiſedome. They ſaid, that reaſons drawne from Lawes, and Cuſtomes obſerued, did not proue that ſucceſſions, Fees, and the place of Peeres, were incompatible with the quality of women: *Iudith* daughter to *Charles* the Bald, brought vnto her ſucceſſors Earles of Flanders, the Low Coũtries, with their largeſt limites: [e] The ſame Prouinces haue beene gouerned in diuers ſeaſons by women, *Margaret* of Alſas, *Ioane* of Conſtantinople, and *Margaret* of Mallaine.

The place of Peeres of France hath beene held by woemen. [f] The examples are in Normandy, Guienne, Tholouſa, and Brittaine. *Raoul* married the daughter of *Lewis* King of France, who had Normandy for her Dowry: *Elinor*, daughter to *William* Earle of Guienne had that goodly Prouince in marriage: *Alphonſo* brother to King S. *Lewis*, was Earle of Tholouſa by his wife: *Maude* of Artois, [g] by the iudgement of *Phillip* the Faire, ſucceeded in the County of Artois, by this onely reaſon that the daughters were capable of this ſucceſſion, and that repreſentation had no place in the direct line.

To all this the Deputies of France anſwered ſuddenly; *That Prouinces once vnited to the Crowne can bee no more diſmembred:*

Anſweres to the obiections.

[d] *In the inueſtiture which beares date the 6. of September, 1363. wee reade theſe words.* Ad memoriam reducentes grata & laude digna ſeruitia, quæ chariſſimus *Phillippus* filius noſter quarto genitus, qui ſponte expoſitus mortis periculo nobiſcũ imperterritus & impauidus ſteterit in acie prope Fictauos vulneratus captus, & detentus in hoſtium poteſtate: ibi & poſt liberationem noſtram hactenus exhibuit indefeſſo vero amore filiali ductus ex quibus ſuam merito cupientes honorare perſonam, perpetuoque præmio fulcire, ſibi paterno correſpondentes amore ſpem & fiduciam gerentes in domino, quod ipſius creſcente prouidentia dicti noſtri ſubditi Ducatus eiuſdem, à ſuis oppreſſionibus releuabuntur.

[e] *The ancient bounds of the County of Flanders, were betwixt the Ocean Sea, and the Riuers of Eſcault and Somme.*

[f] *In France, women are capable to hold the places of Peeres, and to giue their opinion in the iudgement of Peeres.* Maude *Counteſſe of Artois did aſſiſt at the Proceſſe of* Robert *Earle of Flanders, in the yeare* 1315. *And in this quality, the Dutcheſſe of Orliance, and the Counteſſe of Artois, were adiourned to iudge the Proceſſe of* Iohn Monfort *Duke of Brittany.* [g] Maude *of Artois, cauſed* Robert, *Grand-child to* Robert *the ſecond Earle of Flanders, to be excluded from the ſucceſſion by two decrees, the one made, by* Phillip *the Faire, at Aſmeres, the 9 of October* 1309. *and the other by* Phillip *the Long,* 1318.

That

That great Empires ſhould endure great changes and alterations, if the Females were made equall to the Males in the right of ſucceſſion, for their Crownes ſhould not be diſmembred into many peeces, for that we finde in Common-weales in generall, and in Families in perticular, more daughters then ſonnes; That if examples had more force then reaſon, and that they muſt decide the controuerſy by the number, they might not contradict the authority of King *Phillip* the Faire, who would that the County of Poictou, which hee had giuen to *Phillip* his ſonne, ſhould returne vnto the Crowne for want of Heires Male, by reaſon whereof, when as *Eudes* the fourth, Duke of Bourgundy, and *Ioane* of France his wife, daughter to *Phillip* the Long, had pretended the ſucceſſion of the County of Poictou, againſt King *Charles* the Faire, [h] they were reiected by a Decree of Parliament giuen the 22. of February: The ſame hath beene obſerued in other Portions of the Princes of France, for the Prouinces of Berry, Orleans, Anjou, Maine, the Countie of Clermont, Artois, Alançon, Perche, and Eureux.

The Deputies did not agree vpon theſe points, and the proofes could not be ſo cleere, but there would be ſtill found ſome exception or diuerſity: Moreouer, they treated for two Princes, who ſtood not vpon words but held all things doubtfull, wherefore they thought it fit for the good of a peace to giue more power to truſt then to iealouſy, [i] which is a ſhelfe, againſt which affaires ſuffer ſhip-wracke: They did winke at many things, and did turne from that which the neceſſity of affaires did forbid them to encounter: For in Treaties of this ſort, *Hee that can giue, muſt giue, and hee that cannot, muſt ſeeme liberall of that which hee can neither ſell nor keepe; He that will haue all, looſeth all.* Matters paſt as they deſired, not by the rigor of reſtitution, but in fauour of the marriage of the Dauphin *Charles*, with *Margaret* Princeſſe of Flanders; [k] For the Arch-duke and the Eſtates repreſenting Prince *Phillip* as Heires to the Princeſſe *Mary*, appointed for her Dowry, and promiſed, the Counties of Artois, Bourgundy, Maſconois, Auxerrois, Salins, Bar-ſur-ſeine, and Noyers for her, and her Heires, Males and Females: For want whereof all the afore-named land ſhould returne to Prince *Phillip*, and to his Heires. [l]

That if the lands returned to any other but Prince *Phillip* and his Heires, then the King might retaine them vntill the controuerſy were decided, for the Townes of Liſle, Douay and Orchies, the which ſhould be done within three yeares after the caſe ſhould

[h] Phillip *the Faire, would that the County of Poictou which he gaue to* Phillip *his ſon, who was afterwards King of France, Surnamed the* Long, *ſhould returne to the Crown for want of Heires Male, vpon condition that the King ſhould be bound to marry the Daughters.*

[i] *In Treaties it is neceſſary to vſe all the cautions which wiſedome and foreſight can inuent, but in the end wee muſt truſt them with who wee treate, elſe it is impoſſible to reſolue any thing.*

[k] Margaret *of Auſtria was married to the Dauphin, but ſhee was not his wife, for in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and twelue, He ſent her backe, and married the Dutcheſſe of Brittany: Shee was married to the Prince of Caſtile, who dyed in the firſt yeare of his marriage.*

[l] Phillip *the firſt, was married to* D. Ioane *of Caſtile, and had many children,* Charles *the firſt, Emperour:* Ferdinand *King of the Romanes, then Emperour, and King of Hungary.* D. Elenor *Queene of Portugall and France,* D. Maria *wife to* Lewis *king of Hungary.* D. Iſabella *Queene of Denmarke,* D. Katherine, *wife to* D. Iohn *King of Portugall.*

happen

happen: The ſaid Signiory ſhould be gouerned vnder the Dauphin, who ſhould make ſatisfaction for the mony borrowed in the Counties of Artois and Bourgundy, and ſuffer that the penſions granted by former Princes ſhould take effect.

And if the marriage were not conſummated, all thoſe places ſhould returne to Prince *Phillip*, reſeruing onely a Dowry of fifty thouſand Florins by the yeare, aſſigned vpon Bois de Vincennes, Montargis, Crecy, and other places of Champagne, Bry, and Touraine: That during the minority of Prince *Phillip*, and before his marriage, the King, nor Dauphin, ſhould not demand the gouernement of his Low Countries: There was a generall pardon granted to all baniſhed men of either ſide, and euery man ſhould re-enter into his poſſeſſions, without reſtitution of fruits: [m] The King alſo promiſed to fauour the Signior of Romont for the recouery of his lands.

All priuileges giuen by the Princes ſhould remaine to them that had obtained them. The houſes of Flanders at Paris, and Conflant, ſhould be reſtored to Prince *Phillip*, and that of Artois to the Lady *Margaret*.

This marriage was the gate by the which many Families of the Franch-County, paſt into France: The Signiors of the houſe of Chalon, *Iohn Dandelot* Maiſter of the Kings horſe, and Balife of Amont, *Iames* of Colligny father to *Gaſpard* of Colligny, High Admirall of France, *Guy* of Rochefort Signior of Pluuant, Chancellour of France, *Iohn* of Ache, Signior of Verreu, Captaine of Dijon, Balife of Auxois and Chamberlaine to King *Lewis*, *Iames* of Vaudre, and ſome others of the houſe of Mouy, and of Saint *Fall*. Theſe Conditions of ſuch aduantage were yeelded vnto without any difficulty, for the King had wonne them of Gand, who had the children in their [n] poſſeſſion, and whoſe onely care was to weaken *Maximilian*, and to take from him all meanes to arme againſt them; not conſidering that flying one miſchiefe they did runne into another, giuing the King meanes to haue them at his diſcretion, and that they were like vnto the horſe, which ſuffred it ſelfe to be bitted and backt by man, to encounter the Stagge.

During this Treaty, the King was growne ſo leane, pale, and disfigured, as a man could hardly know him, and in an other Religion they would haue commended him more to haue encountred death then to attend it. Hee was nothing but a ſhadow and a voyce, in the hotteſt daies of Summer his body was content with his owne coldneſſe, without ſeeking any other refreſhing. Hee made difficulty to ſigne any Articles, not for that he did not allow of them, but to hide the deformity of his griefe, [o] and there was not any one that durſt ſpeake vnto him, nor demand any thing of him.

[m] *It was also agreed that the Prince of Orange, the Earle of Isigny*, Leonard *of Chaloustour*, *Maister* William *of Baume, Signior of Ilain, and* Claud *of Theolongeon, Signior of Bastie, comprehended in the peace, should returne into the possession of their lands, in Bourgundy, Dauphinè and the Realme.*

[n] *If they of Gand could haue giuen vnto the King the Counties of Namur and Henalt, with all the subiects of that house which speake French, they would willingly haue done it, saith* Phillip de Commines, *to weaken* Maximilian.

[o] *When as age, or sickenes, causeth any deformity in a Prince, he should suffer himselfe to bee seldome seene:* Tiberius *did therefore liue out of Rome:* Facies parum decora ætas grauior, valetudo imbecillis sæpe risui & fastidio sunt: *A deformed face, old age, and infirmities are often subiect to be laught at, and loathed.* I. Lipsius ex Tacito.

When

Death of the King of England.

When as the King of England receiued aduertiſement of the reſolution of this marriage, he was ſo much grieued as hee dyed: he ſaw his hopes fruſtrate in France, and his actions contemned in England, repenting that hee had not giuen credite to his Councell, who thought it neceſſary to breake betimes with the King, & not to ſuffer him to fortefie himſelfe with the ruines of the houſe of Bourgundy, ſeazing vpon the Townes ſo neere vnto England; for the taking of Bollegne did threaten him with the loſſe of Callice and Guines. Towards the end of his daies, he recompenſed the toiles of his life, and plunged himſelfe in delights, taking care how to make himſelfe fat: That which was ſuperfluous became neceſſary to him: [p] *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, *that hee had no thought but of Ladies (and more then was fit) of Hunting, and to entreate his owne perſon well: when hee went a Hunting, hee cauſed many Pauillions to be carried for Ladies, and in this ſort made great feaſts, for hee had a body as fit for it, as any that euer I ſaw, being yong, and as beautifull as any man that liued in his time.* [q]

His Exerciſes and pleaſures.

Entring into the Realme hee ſaw himſelfe ſurprized with a ſtorme, and expelled by him who had aſſiſted him to conquer it; Hee retired into Holland with two Hulkes, a little Ship, and many men, without mony, ſeeing himſelfe to giue a gowne furred with ſables to ſatisfie the Marriner who had tranſported him: At the end of ſixe monthes he re-entred into London, when as his enemies had held him to be loſt. In eleuen daies the Earle of Warwicke had wonne the whole Realme for *Henry* the ſixth, *Edward* recouers it in twenty daies, with the hazard of two great battles. The ſtrongeſt carried it, [r] and remained peaceable King, yet with ſome remorſe to haue beene bound for the quiet poſſeſſion of his Realme, to the cruelties, and inhumanities, which he committed againſt his owne bloud: For he put to death King *Henry* the ſixth, and *Edward* Prince of Wales his ſonne, with the Duke of Clarence his brother.

Death of the Duke of Clarence the Kings brother.

The cauſe of this brothers death is not very certaine: The moſt common opinion is, that hee would haue armed to ſuccour the Princeſſe of Bourgundy, contrary to his brothers liking. *Polydore Virgil* ſaith, that enforming himſelfe, he learned of them that liued in thoſe times, that King *Edward* being aduertiſed by a Coniurer, [s] that his name that ſhould ſucceed him beganne with a *G.* had a conceit that *George*, Duke of Clarence, his brother, ſhould take the Crowne from his children, and vpon this apprehenſion hee put him to death in a But of Malmeſey. Others haue written, that hee ſought the Alliance of the Princeſſe of Bourgundy, and that the Dutcheſſe *Margaret*, ſiſter to *Edward*, fauoured his Deſignes, which the King (not wiſhing ſo great a

[p] *The increaſe of a Neighbours power, holds a Prince in perplexity, and ſometimes in ſuch irreſolution, as not daring to make warre, hee doth things preiudiciall to peace.*

[q] Edward *was held in his youth to excell all the Princes of his age, in beauty and ſtature, but when as hee came into France, in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and fifteene, He was growne groſſe. Few men become ſo but by their owne meanes.*

[r] *They are ſometimes bound to fortune, and ſometimes to pollicy, for the happy euents of great enterpriſes, but moſt cõmonly the ſtronger is the Maiſter.*
ἰσθλὸς ἐὼν, ἀλλὰ κρείσσονος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάγκῃ.
Occurrat fortiqui mage fortis erat.

[s] *All the anſweres of Sorcerers are doubtfull, and deceiue them that truſt in them: They ſpake truely, meaning the Duke of Gloceſter, and the King deceiued himſelfe vnderſtanding it of his brother of Clarence.*

fortune to his brother) hindred. That at the ſame time one of the Dukes ſeruants, hauing beene condemned to dye for poyſon, the Duke of Clarence was offended, and ſpake in ſuch ſort as the King, taking his words for threates of ſome great trouble, cauſed him to die in pryſon. [t] An act notwithſtanding which did afflict him with ſuch griefe and repentance, as remembring the great precipitation of his iudgement, procured by his brothers enemies, when as any came to ſue for a pardon, for any one that was condemned to dye, [u] he alwaies ſaid: *My poore brother had not any to ſue for him*, He left two children, *Margaret* who was married to *Richard Poole*, and *Edward* whom the King made Earle of Warwicke.

All the croſſes which *Edward* had ſuffred did not ſo much afflict him, as he receiued contentment at his returne from the warres of France, for the peace which he had brought backe, and the Treatie of marriage which he had made of his daughter with the Dauphin of France, and the penſion of fifty thouſand Crownes: So when he ſaw the Dauphin married vnto the Lady *Margaret* of Auſtria, he was ſo grieued as hee reſolued to returne into France to reuenge this iniury: Choller and griefe were ſo violent in his ſoule, as he dyed, the tenth of Aprill, at Weſtminſter, whereas the Parliament was aſſembled to reſolue vpon the warre of France. His body was carried to the Caſtle of Windſor, and interred in S. *Georges* Chappell: He had tenne children by *Elizabeth* his wife, and left *Edward* Prince of Wales, and *Richard* Duke of Yorke liuing.

All his life hee had beene liberall, and dyed couetous: Hee recommended his wife, children, and Realme to *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter, who to haue the Crowne, put *Edward*, who had raigned but two monthes, and *Richard*, his Nephewes, to death. [x] The daughters were declared Baſtards, by the Parliament, for that a Biſhop affirmed that hee had married *Edward* vnto a Lady of England before that hee was married to the Lady *Elizabeth Riuers*: Hee cauſed himſelfe to bee Crowned King in Iuly following. His brother murthers his children.

The parricide of his two Nephewes, cauſed ſo great ſcandall and horrour in all the orders of the Realme, and the mother, who had fledde into the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter, [y] hauing fore-ſeene the rage of this Tiger, filled the Citty of

[t] George *Duke of Clarence, brother to the King of England, made choice to dye in a But of Malmeſey, to die with ſome content, which an eaſy diſolution of the ſoule is wont to cauſe, as* Seneca *ſaith: or to make himſelfe drunke, and to free himſelfe from the horrour and feeling of death:* Druſus *meaning to dye of hunger would not eate any thing in nine daies but the flockes of his bed.* Tacit. l.6. Annal.

[u] *Repentance doth, vndoubtedly, follow cruell and raſh actions:* Caracalla *hauing put his brother* Geta *to death, hee did neuer thinke of him, or looke vpon his ſtature but hee wept. Hee cauſed* Lætus *who had perſwaded him to this paracide, to be impriſoned, and did all kindes of honour vnto his Funerall.* Funus Getæ accuratius fuiſſe dicitur, quam eius qui à fratre videretur occiſus. Getas *Funerall was performed with more then his that ſeemed to bee murthered by his brother.* ÆLIVS SPARTIANVS.

[x] Edward *had a baſe ſonne called* Arthur, *his daughters were married to diuers Princes,* Brigit *the laſt was a religious woman.*

[y] *This truſt, and recommendation of ſuch precious Iewels, bound the Duke of Gloceſter to haue a care of them.* ISDIGERDES *King of Perſia, ſeeing that* ARCADIVS *the Emperour his enemy, had recommended his ſonne* THEODOSIVS *vnto him, found himſelfe bound to preſerue his Eſtates, and laying aſide all paſſions of precedent hatred, hee proclaimed warre againſt any one that ſhould moleſt his pupill.*

London

London with very pittifull and ſtrange complaints, as euery man found this greedy and vnſatiate deſire to raigne, inhumane and tyrannous, hauing forced him brutiſhly to teare in peecees the Lawes of Nature, and to pollute his hands with his owne bloud.[z]

Earle of Richmond priſoner to the Duke of Brittany.

God did raiſe vp the Earle of Richmond, who was priſoner to the Duke of Brittaine, all good men deſired it, to reuenge the innocent bloud, and this Tyrant, fore-ſeeing that there was nothing to bee feared but from that part, ſent *Thomas Hutton* to the Duke of Brittany to deale with him that hee might not bee ſet at liberty, [a] ſeeking the friendſhip of King *Lewis*, who would not make any anſweres vnto his Letters, nor heare his Embaſſadours, calling him moſt inhumane, cruell, and wicked, for the moſt horrible and execrable murther of his Nephewes.

Earle of Richmond King of England.

The King aſſiſted the Earle of Richmond, who being ſet at liberty by the Duke of Brittany, paſt into England with three thouſand Normanes, the ſcumme (as *Phillip de Commines* ſaith) of the whole Prouince, and was preſently fortified, by all them that were offended for the death of their lawfull Prince, giuing him battell within few daies after his arriuall, in the which this Tyrant was ſlaine, and the Earle of Richmond acknowledged for King.

In all theſe great reuolutions wee muſt confeſſe a Diuine Iuſtice, which doth earely or late reuenge iniquities, purſuing them euen in the generations of children, who are puniſhed for their fore-fathers offences: *Henry* the fourth, cauſed *Richard* the ſecond to dye in priſon, *Henry* the ſixth, his Grand-child, dyed a priſoner to King *Edward* the fourth, *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter murthers *Edwards* children, and *Richard* is ſlaine by *Henry* Earle of Richmond the ſeuenth of that name. Who can deny, but there is an Eternall Iuſtice in all this, [b] which doth puniſh the wicked by themſelues, and makes vſe of them to ſcourge others, and it deferres publicke puniſhment for a time, the ſecret doth neuer abandon the crime, and is a perpetuall thorne in the offenders ſoule.

Death of *Francis Phœbus* King of Nauarre.

Francis Phœbus, ſonne to *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, dyed alſo, hauing ſucceeded to *Elenor* of Arragon his grand-mother, hee being but twelue yeares old, and raigned vnder the gouernement of his mother. [c] The Realme of Nauarre was ſo diuided, as it had neede of a Prince of more greate reſpect and farre better experience, and yet for that hee was neere allied to the Kings of France and Caſtile, the moſt factious were quiet,

[z] *Churches are Sanctuaries, but they giue no ſafety but to Innocents, and to them that are wrongfully perſued. The Temples of the Ancient were a Sanctuary to three ſorts of men, to Offendours, to Slaues, and to Debtors.*

[a] *Ambition of raigne is not reſtrained neither by the reſpect of piety, nor the motions of Nature.* Cupido regni fratre & filia potior. *The deſire of raigne is deerer then brother or daughter.* Tacit. Annal. lib. 12.

[b] *When as a wicked man commits any villany, hee is preſently a priſoner to* GODS *Iuſtice, and like a fiſh hee is taken with the baite of pleaſure and delight which hee hath taken in doing it.*

[c] *The Ladie* Magdaline *of France during her ſonnes minority carried this Title:* Magdaline, Daughter and Sifter to the Kings of France, Princeſſe of Viana, Gouerneſſe to our moſt deere, and wel-beloued ſonne, *Francis Phœbus*, by the Grace of GOD King of Nauarre.

and tooke the oath of Alleageance, when as hee entred with incredible applauſe into the Towne of Pampelone, the tenth of December, in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and two.

Preſently after his Coronation, *Ferdinand* King of Caſtile offered him *Ioane* his ſecond daughter in marriage: The Queene his mother did ſtill proteſt that her will did wholly depend vpon King *Lewis* the eleuenth her brother: The Hiſtory of Spaine ſaith that he had a deſire to marry her to *D. Ioane*, a Nun at Coimbra, to the end hee might renue the pretenſions which ſhee had to the Realme of Caſtile, as daughter to *Henry* the fourth; and by this meanes, hee did alwaies aſſure himſelfe of the County of Rouſillon. But when as his mother had brought him backe into Bearne, hee was poiſoned at Pau, playing on a Flute. Hee dyed with this griefe that his life nor death did not profite any man, [d] there being nothing that doth more trouble a great ſpirit then when he liues and dyes not for himſelfe. Dying hee ſpake theſe holy words, which the mouth of the Sonne of God pronounced a little before his death: ***My Kingdome is not of this world:*** If hee had liued, he was borne to be a great Prince, but the world (to ſpeake truely) is ſo ſmall a matter, as the Phyloſopher had reaſon to mocke at *Alexander*, who had carried the Title of Great. [e]

The Lady *Catherine* his ſiſter ſucceeded him, and was married to *Iohn* of Albret; *Iohn* of Foix, Vicount of Narbona her Vncle, did quarrell with her for the Earledomes of Foix and Bearn, ſaying that theſe lands, lying within the Realme of France, whereas women did not ſucceede, Queene *Katherine* could not pretend any thing, and did by force ſeaze vpon Maſeres and Monthaut, and beſieged Pamiers, but could not take it. Queene *Katherine* aduertiſed King *Lewis* the eleuenth with this inuaſion, [f] who ſent Commiſſioners into the Country to forbid the Vicount of Narbona to proceed by way of fact, vpon paine of looſing his right.

Katherine of Foix, Queene of Nauarre.

This controuerſy was of ſuch importance as he himſelfe would be iudge thereof, and after him *Charles* the eighth was Arbitrator: In the end they muſt paſſe by the cenſure of the Court Parliament of Paris: *Iohn* of Foix Vicount of Narbona, and after his deceaſe, the Kings Atturney Generall, as Tutor and Gardien to *Gaſton* of Foix his ſonne, ſaid againſt *Katherine* of Foix, that daughters being vncapable of dignites, by reaſon of their ſexe, might not ſucceed in the Realme, Dutchies, or Counties, but onely the Males,

Controuerſy for the lands of Foix, Bern, and Bigorre.

[d] *As no man ſhould deſire to liue to himſelfe alone, ſo that death is honourable which is imployed for the publicke:* Turpe eſt ſibi ſoli vivere & mori. Plut.

[e] Alexander *would be inſtructed in Geometry, to learne the greatneſſe of the earth, Hee found that the Title of Great, which he carried, was falſe, cõſidering:* Quã puſilla terra eſſet, ex qua minimum occupauerat: Quis enim eſſe magnus in puſillo poteſt: *How little the earth was whereof hee held the leaſt part, who can be great in a ſmall thing.* Sen.

[f] *France doth furniſh many examples againſt the Vicount of* Foix, *to ſhew that the daughters, being neereſt of bloud, did exclude the Males that were farther off.*

[g] *King* Charles *the eighth, ſought to make an agreement betwixt the parties, and therefore committed it to the Cardinall of Foix, and Monſieur* D'Alby, *but ſeeing they could not agree, hee ſent them to the Court Parliament, All which proceedings in writing were imparted vnto me by Maiſter* Galland, *one of the moſt famous Aduocates of the Parliament.*

and

and that they might not diſpoſe thereof by Teſtament. [h]

The King cauſed a Conſultation to be made of all the learned Lawyers of his Realme, to know what his Neeces right was. They found that it depended vpon this Maxime; *That the Nephew, or Grand-childe repreſents his Father and Grand-father in the right of Primogeniture, or firſt borne. That this right is transferred to the children of the elder, although hee die before the Father, and holds the place of lawfull heire.*

They did alſo conſider the cuſtome, and common obſeruation of this Realme, where the eldeſt ſonne dying, and leauing a ſonne, hee ſucceedes the Grand-father, as his Father ſhould haue done: The Grand-fathers ſecond ſonne being excluded from all pretention: for the Nephew excludes the Vncle, and repreſentation hath place in this Realme, in Fees which are not diuiſible.

In the time of King *Charles* the fifth, his Maieſty ſitting with the Peeres of France in his Court of Parliament, *Ioane* of Brittany, married to *Charles* of Blois, [i] was declared heire to the Dutchy of Brittany, as repreſenting her Father, againſt *Iohn*, Earle of Montfort, her Vncle. She was daughter to the Duke of Brittanies ſecond brother, and the Earle of Montfort was the third brother. *Allain*, Lord of Albret, as ſonne vnto the eldeſt, Vicount of Tartas, who was deceaſed, ſucceeded his Grand-father in the Landes of Albret, and excluded from the ſucceſſion the Lord of *Sancte Bazille* his vncle, and the Lord of *Oruall*, his Grand-fathers yonger brother. [k]

King *Philip*, in the yeare 1314. did iudge the ſuite betwixt *Maud*, daughter to the Earle of Artois, and *Robert* of Artois her Vncle; and by his iudgement it was decreed, that the daughter ſhould ſucceed, as the neereſt vnto her father. *Lewis*, Earle of Flanders, had but one daughter, the richeſt heire of Chriſtendome, the which ſucceded her father in the Earledome of Flanders, excluding the Duke of Brabant her Vncle, and was married to *Philip* of France, ſonne to King *Iohn*, and firſt Duke of Bourgondy, [l] the Dutchy of Guienne, which comprehends all Gaſconie, as well that which is of the iuriſdiction of Tolouſe, as of Bourdeaux, and more, was carried to the Crowne of England, by the marriage of the daughter of *William* Duke of Guienne, with *Henry* King of England. [m]

Henry, King of Nauare, & Earle of Champagne, left one daughter, who was married to K. *Philip* the Faire, and ſucceded her Father in the Earledome of Champagne. The laſt Earle of Poictou [n]

[h] *When as they ſay that women are incapable of dignities, it is to be vnderſtood of charges, which conſiſt in Functions and Offices. A Woman cannot be a Conſull, a Preſident, or a Chancellour; but when the dignity is patrimoniall, and annexed to the Fee, ſuch a dignity may belong vnto a woman, as wel as the iuriſdiction.*

[i] Charles *of Blois, and the Lady* Ioane *of Brittanie his wife, did enioy this Dutchy fiue & twenty years, or thereabouts, vntil that* Iohn *of Montford being ſuccoured by the Forces of England, ſlewe* Charles *of Blois in battle, and expelled his wife out of the Dutchy.*

[k] *In the houſe of Albret there are many Earledomes: The Earledome of Gaure, the Earledome of Dreux, the Earldome of Peyragore, and many Vicounties and Baronies. They held that houſe in the time of King* Lewis *the eleuenth, to haue ſixe thouſand pound ſterling of yearely rent.*

[l] *The Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Duke of Bourgondy, and* Margaret, *Princeſſe of* Flanders, *was made the twelfth of Aprill, one thouſand three hundred ſixtie nine.*

[m] Elenor, *the onely daughter to* William, *Duke of Guienne, and Earle of Poitiers, was married to* Lewis, *King of France; and beeing put away by him, ſhee married againe to* HENRY, *ſonne to the King of England, and Duke of Normandy.*

[n] *The County of Poictou, and the Towne of Poitiers were vnited to the Crowne by King* Charles *the ſeuenth, in the yeare* 1436.

had one daughter named *Margaret*, who was married to the eldeſt ſonne of France, and ſucceeded her Father, notwithſtanding that the Earle of Saint *Valier*, her Vncle, was then liuing.

Raymond, the fifteenth and laſt Earle of Tolouſa, dying without Iſſue Male, *Ioane* his onely daughter ſucceeded him, and was married to *Alphonſo* of France, brother to the King Saint *Lewis*. [o] *Matthew*, Earle of Foix, dying without children in the yeare 1398. his ſiſter, ſurnamed *Iſabel*, ſucceeded him, and was married to *Archambaut* of Grailly. *Lewis* of Luxemburge, Earle of S[t]. *Paul*, had many children, but his eldeſt ſonnes daughter, who was married to to the Earle of Vandoſme, was ſole heire of all his lands, as repreſenting her Father, who was the eldeſt. [p]

The Earle of Lauragais left but one daughter, who ſucceeded in the Earledome, whereof ſhe made donation to the French King.

The Earle of Caſtres had one daughter, who was married to a yonger ſonne of the houſe of Bourbon, Earle of Marche, who after her fathers deceaſe, ſucceeded in the Earledomes of Caſtres, and Vandoſme, and excluded them of Montfort, who were her Vncles, from the ſucceſſion. Of this marriage were borne two ſonnes, *Iames* of Bourbon the elder, who was Earle of Marche, and of Caſtres: and the yonger who was Earle of Vandoſme. *Iames* of Bourbon married *Beatrix* of Nauarre: [q] *Elenor* their onely daughter, was married to *Bernard*, Earle of Armaignac and Perdiac, who after her fathers death ſucceeded as well in the Earledome of Marche, as of Caſtres, and excluded the Earle of Vandoſme from the ſucceſſion. True it is, that theſe Earledomes haue remained in the houſe of Bourbon by tranſaction. [r]

William, Vicount and Lord of Mountpellier, although hee had many kinſmen of his name, had no other heire but his daughter *Mary*, wife to *Peter*, King of Arragon. *Peronelle*, [s] daughter to the Earle of Bigorre, ſucceeded her father in the Earledome of Bigorre, in the yeare, one thouſand two hundred ſixty foure, and was married to *Boſon* of Mathas, Vicount of Marſan and Gabardan. Of this marriage iſſued D. *Mathea*, married to *Gaſton*, Prince of Bearne, who ſucceeding her father and mother, brought vnto the principality of Bearne, thoſe goodly peeces of Bigorre, Marſan, and Gabardan.

In like manner by the daughter of *Gaſton*, Prince of Bearne, named *Margaret*, married to *Roger Bernard*, Earle of Foix, all that is come vnto the houſe of Foix. Examples which ſerue to confirme this generall cuſtome obſerued within the Realme: That in all Dutchies, Counties, Vicounties, Baronies, Lands and

[o] *The marriage of* Alphonſo *of France, and* Ioane, *Counteſſe of Tolouſe, was treated in the yeare* 1228.

[p] *They hold that the Counteſſe of Vendoſme did not ſucceede in the Earledome of Saint* Paul *by right of ſucceſſion, but by a Treaty of peace, and that her Vncles were all incapable of this ſucceſſion, for that the Landes of* Lewis *of Luxemburg her father, had been confiſcate.*

[q] Iames *of Bourbon, Earle of Marche, married with* Beatrix, *daughter to* Charles *the ſecond, King of Nauarre, the fifteenth of Auguſt, one thouſand foure hundred and fiue.*

[r] *The King made Donation of the Earledome of March, to* Monſieur de Bourbon, *and his wife: The Duke of Nemours children beeing reſtored to their Landes, there was a ſute to ouerthrow this Donation, and then an Accord was made, by the which the Earledome of Marche remained to the houſe of Vendoſme and Bourbon, the Duke of Nemours children being otherwiſe recompenſed.*

[s] Du Tillet *ſaith, that this* Peronella *of Bigorre, had fiue husbands:* 1. Gaſton *of Bearne.* 2. Ninion Sance, *Earle of Sardaine.* 3. Guy *of Montford.* 4. Raoul Teſcu. 5. Boſon *of Mathas.*

Signiories

Signiories, the daughters being neereſt in degree haue ſucceded, and beene preferred before the Males. So as if King *Lewis* the eleuenth had liued, he would haue decided this controuerſie, in giuing ſentence for the Neece againſt the Vncle: His iudgement had beene grounded, firſt vpon the right of the firſt borne, and repreſentation: ſecondly, vpon the conuentions of marriage betwixt *Gaſton* of *Foix*, and the Lady *Magdalen* of France, making expreſſe mention, that the children which ſhould bee borne, ſhould ſucceed in all the lands of Foix and Bigorre, then held by *Gaſton* of Foix, her father. Thirdly, vpon the ancient cuſtomes and obſeruances of the Realme. Fourthly, vpon the teſtament and laſt will of the Earle of Foix.

Death of *Alphonſo*, K. of Portugall.

Alphonſo of Portugall died alſo at the ſame time: hee had his ſhare in the miſeries of Kings, hee entred a childe into the Realme, [t] which was ill for himſelfe, and worſe for his ſubiects. His mother *Elenor*, ſiſter to *Iohn* the ſecond, King of Arragon, was depriued by the Eſtates, of the Regency which her Father had left her: *Peter*, Duke of Coimbra, cauſed her to bee poyſoned. *Alphonſo* tooke Armes to reuenge his mothers death: *Peter* was ſlaine before Lisbone with a poyſoned Arrow. They would haue married *Alphonſo* to *Ioane*, the ſuppoſed daughter of *Henry* the fourth, King of Caſtille: this Tragedy hath beene formerly plaid. He died at Sinta, being nine and forty yeares old, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred, eighty two, and the three and fortith of his reigne, and was interred in the Royall Monaſtery of the Battell of the order of preaching Friers.

After the warres betwixt him and the King of Caſtille, and the vnfortunate voyage which he made into France, hee did nothing but languiſh. He ſaw himſelf forſt to paſſe into France for ſuccors. Fortune could not ſet him in a more wretched eſtate · for there is nothing ſo miſerable, as to ſee a Prince expeld his Countrey, and begging. Pitty is preſently changed into contempt, and the conſideration of that which is honeſt, doth not ouer-ſway that which is profitable. They may well ſay, that kings are brethren, that one royall bloud cals another, that their interreſts are common, that *Rome* is his mother, the Senators his fathers, their children his brethren; yet if the aid which he demands, doth not benefit him that giues it, he ſhall returne more diſcontented then he came. [u]

[t] *Such as God giues the prince, ſuch muſt the people receiue him; but the wiſeſt of all Kings ſaith,* Vnhappy is that Realme which is commaunded by a child. Metius Falcoriius Nicomachus *approuing the Election which the Senate had made of* Tacitus, *being old and broken, vſed theſe wordes:* Dij auertant principes pueros & patres patriæ dici impuberes & quibus ad ſubſcribendum magiſtri literarij manus teneant quos ad Conſulatus dandos dulcia & circuli & quæcunque puerilis voluptas invitet. Quæ malum ratio eſt habere Imperatorem qui famam curare non nouerit, qui quid ſit Reſpub. neſciat, nutritorem timeat, reſpiciat ad nutricem manum, magiſtralium ictibus, terrorique ſubiaceat, faciat eos Conſules, Duces, Iudices, quorum vitas, merita, ætates, familias et geſta non nouerit. *God forbid the Princes and Fathers of the Countrey ſhould be tearmed children, whoſe hands their maiſters muſt hold when they ſubſcribe, and who are drawne to giue Offices with childiſh delights. What a miſery is it to haue an Emperour which knowes not how to maintaine his fame, nor what a Common-weale is, who feares his Tutor and is ſubiect to ſtripes and terror, and ſhall make them Conſuls, Dukes, and Iudges, whoſe liues, merites, ages, families and actions hee doth not know.*

[u] *In great deliberations, profite goes before honeſty.* Demetrius, *ſonne to* Seleucus, *hauing beene giuen in hoſtage, and bred vp from his infancy at Rome, intreated the Romans to reſtore him to his Realme, which was held by the children of* Antiochus; *and to moue them thereunto, hee called Rome his Countrey and Nurſe, the Senators his fathers, and their children his brethren. But for all this the Senate inclined to that which was moſt ſafe and profitable, they aſſiſted the children of* Antiochus, *being weake and yong, ſuſpecting much the great courage of* Demetrius, *who was in the flower of his age.* Polib.

Thus

Thus behold three Kings imbarked almoſt at one inſtant in the ſhippe of Death, onely God knowes the port whereunto they are arriued: hee did call at the ſame time, the Lady *Iane* of France, Dutcheſſe of Bourbon, to the end that *Lewis* ſhould not be grieued to leaue the world. The Chronicle calles this Princeſſe, *Moſt noble, Powerfull, Holy, and the example of good liuers*. She died in the Caſtle of Moulins, in May, 1482.

Death of the Dutcheſſe of Bourbon.

She had laboured all her life to entertaine loue and friendſhip betwixt the King her brother, and the Duke of Bourbon her Huſband, knowing that the concord of France, and the greatneſſe of her houſhold, depended thereon, and we may aſcribe vnto her, the glory of the peace which was made at Ryon, by the which the principall fire-brands of the great fire of the league, were quenched; Whereupon all they that loued quyet, caſt their eyes vpon thoſe of this Princeſſe, and held them the Pleiades of France, whoſe ſweete Influences made the Oliue-tree of peace to flouriſh.[x]

[x] *Princeſſes, by whoſe meanes peace doth flouriſh, are the Pleiades of Eſtates, wherein they are allied. Pliny ſaith, that the Oliue-tree ſprings vnder the Influence of the Pleiades.* Concipiunt oleæ virgiliarũ exortu hæc ſydus illarũ eſt. *Polybius ſaith, that among the Grecians the Caduce, and among the Barbarians the Oliue is a ſigne of peace & friendſhip.*

At the ſame time dyed *Iohn* of Bourbon, the ſecond of that name, Earle of Vendoſme. Here amazement ſtayes me ſuddenly, why in all the Hiſtory of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, *Philip de Commines* hath neuer made any mention of that Nurſery of *Cæſars* and of *Alexanders*, and of that Royall branch which hath brought forth the greateſt King that euer ware Crowne or Scepter. He ſpeakes of foure ſonnes of *Iohn* the ſecond, Duke of Bourbon, of *Charles* Cardinall of Bourbon, of *Peter*, Lord of Beaujeu, of the Biſhop of Liege, and makes no mention of *Iohn* the ſecond, Earle of Vandoſme, who liued vnder the reigne of *Charles* 7, and continued vnto the end of *Lewis* 11. wee muſt not wonder if the Chronicle hath forgotten it, it doth often follow toyes, and leaues moſt famous actions. As there are iniuries which are repaired by the quality only of them that doe them,[y] ſo we ſee writings of ſo poore a faſhion, as it is indiffrent whether they be inſerted or not.

But how comes it to paſſe that ſo diligent, ſo exact, and ſo iudicious a Writer had neuer caſt his eyes vpon this houſe, which had held all them of France in admiration, and had not ſpoken of the actions of *Iohn* the ſecond, Earle of Vendoſme, which were no workes of ambition, but of vertue, and had not glory for their ſimple obiect, but the contentment of his owne conſcience, deſiring rather they ſhould be grauen in the memory of good men, then vpon the front of publicke workes.

An Hiſtorian that doth ſurpaſſe honour, wrongs the publicke, and as a ſacriledge doth rauiſh the recompence of vertue,[z] and doth enuy the fruit that may grow thereby. For although that men may be borne generous, and full of heate for the loue of vertue, yet it is needfull that the precepts and Images be often repreſented

[y] *The baſeneſſe of him that doth a wrong, defaceth the fearing of the iniurie.* Crates *hauing receiued a blow on the face by* Nicodromus, *a Man of baſe condition, was contented for reuenge to ſet theſe words vpon his wound:* Nicodromus faciebat.

[z] *The ſweeteſt fruit of a great and heroicke action, is to haue done it: they are deceiued which thinke to giue any other glory vnto vertue, then it ſelfe. She cannot finde out of her ſelfe any recompence worthy of her ſelfe.*

vnto

vnto them, and that the ſtatues which are ſet vp in the Temple of memory, grauen with the ſciſſers of eternity, ſhould bee ſhewed them; yet it is not ſufficient to ſhew them adorned with the Palmes and Crownes of their Triumphes; they would haue them repreſented in ſuch ſort as they may ſeeme to breath, ſpeake, and ſay vnto them: [a] *You ſhall be as we are, if you will liue as we did.*

[a] *Mens mindes are excited to the loue of vertue, by the examples of glory & honor, which adornes the memory of men whom ſhe hath made famous: wherefore* Polybius *ſaith, that they did repreſent to the youth of Rome, their Images, as liuing & breathing, to encourage them to that deſire of honour which doth accompany good men.* Poly. lib.6.

A Hiſtory ſhould be free from loue or hatred.

This labour may haue great defects: they are found in the moſt perfect, but they ſhall rather ſeeme to come from want of Iudgement, then of will, the which I finde free, in this kinde of writing, from hatred and loue, furious paſſions which diſguiſe both truth and falſe-hood. They ſhall rather reproch me with ignorance, then with lying, and my writings ſhall alwayes haue more ſalt then ſpleene; with what face ſhall they appeare in this age, ſo much bound vnto the Kings glorious actions, if they were diſhonored as the reſt, with ſo iniurious a forgetfulneſſe of his Predeceſſors.

Iohn, Earle of Vendoſme, great great Grand-father to *Henry* the fourth, King of France and Nauarre, 'was ſonne to *Lewis*, Lord Steward of France, and Gouernour of Picardy, ſonne to *Lewis*, Earle of vendoſme, ſonne to *Iohn*, Earle of Marche, ſonne to *Iames*, Conſtable of France, the yonger ſonne of *Lewis* of Clermont, Duke of Bourbon, eldeſt ſonne to *Robert* of France, ſecond ſonne to S. *Lewis*. His Grand-mother was *Katherine*, heire to the houſe of Vendoſme, his mother *Ioane* of Lauall, daughter to *Guy* of Lavall, ſurnamed *dé Gaure*. [b]

[b] *The Signiory of Laual was erected to an Earldome by K.* Charles *the ſeuenth, at the inſtance of* Lewis *of Burbon, Earle of Vandoſme, & was the firſt act of Soueraignety which he did after his Coronation.*

His father dyed in the yeare of our Lord 1447. and this death happened in a time ſo full of troubles, as hee was forced to gird his ſword vnto him, more for the neceſſity of common defence, then by reaſon of his quality, or for ſeemelineſſe. Hee paſt his firſt Apprentiſhip in Armes, vnder the braue *Achilles* of France, *Iohn* of Orleans, Earle of Dunois, and was at the ſiege of Rouen, Bourdeaux and Fronſac with *Iohn*, Earle of Clermont, ſonne to *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, and *Carles* of Bourgondy, Duke of Neuers. He ſerued King *Charles* the ſeuenth in all occaſions that were offered to reſtore France; and to free it from the oppreſsions of her enemies, and did merit the Title of ***Moſt faithfull ſeruant of his Kings will, and an inuincible companion of his dangers.***

Loialty of the Earle of Vandoſme.

Theſe two qualities which ſhould haue purchaſed him loue with his ſucceſſor, were the cauſe of his diſgrace, wherein hee did comfort himſelfe by the knowledge he had of this Princes humor, who did not loue any of his bloud, nor them whom his Father had loued. This was not able to withdraw him from his duty: for hee ſtill preſerued the reputation of the ancient fidelity of them of his houſe vnto the Crowne. [c]

[c] *This branch of Vandoſme hath that of glorious,*

that it hath neuer left their kings, in a maner all the Princes of France were of the league of the Common-weale; yet Iohn, *Earle of Vandoſme, would not hearken to it. When as the Duke of Orleans tooke Armes againſt the Lady* Anne *of France, he drew vnto his party* Charles, *Earle of Angouleſme, the chiefe Noblemen of France; onely the houſe of Vendoſme remained with the Kings Gouerneſſe.*

And although that *Iohn* the ſecond Duke of Bourbon had declared himſelfe of the league of the Common-weale, for that the King had diſpoſſeſt him of the gouernment of Guienne, from whence he had expelled the Engliſh, and had reduced it vnder the obedience of the Crowne, yet would he not imbark himſelfe in the ſame ſhip; and for that he would not looke vpon this ſtorme from a ſafe ſhore, he was preſent at the battell at Montlehery, with *Francis* and *Lewis* his children; one of which was priſoner to the Earle of Charolois. As the example of the head of his houſe did not make him reuolt, ſo the feeling of his owne intereſt did not make him diſcontented. His father had carried the Staffe of Lord *Steward*, and his great grand-father the ſword of *Conſtable of France*. King *Lewis* the eleuenth diſpoſed of the one and the other in fauour of men, as farre inferiour in compariſon of his merites, as in qualities of his birth; yet he did not murmure, nor ſeeme diſcõtented, conſidering that it is no more lawful for the greateſt Prince of the bloud, then for the leaſt Officer of the Crowne to preſcribe a law to the Soueraignes will, to make it yeeld vnto his paſſions; and that the elections of Kings, in the diſtributions of honors, are not ſubiect to the rules of diſtributiue Iuſtice, which obſerues a proportion betwixt recompence and merit.[d] In the end this charge of Lord Steward is returned into the houſe from whence it went: It did honor others, *Charles* of Bourbon, Earle of Soiſſons doth honor it at this day by the great and goodly qualities which heauen addes to the greatneſſe of his birth: he reſtored order in the kings houſe, and reuiued the glory of his Maieſties ſeruice.

With the ſame courage that *Iohn* the ſecond followed the King againſt his rebellious ſubiects, he ſerued him againſt forraigne enemies,[e] and was imployed with the Duke of Bourbon to diſperſe the ſtorme wherewith King *Edward* the fourth threatned France, being come thither not ſo much to fight as to receiue the triumph which the vanity of his ambition promiſed him.

The proofes of his ſeruice are not verified by thoſe of recompence; and wee may ſay, that this Prince, beeing not preſent at the diſtributions of the great honours of the Realme, had no great ſhare in the Kings fauours and bounty: Wee ſee him hold his ranke at the Coronation, and in the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, but being none of thoſe that were honoured with the firſt colours of the Order of Saint *Michael*, hee hath remained in the ranke of thoſe great Spirits, whoſe contentment dependes onely of themſelues. All the Princes of the bloud cannot haue all the honours of the Realme. All Planets make not a ſhadow: the refuſall of a dignity augments the glory of him that hath well deſerued it, and the conceſſion doth not make him famous that is vnworthy.[f]

He had ſixe daughters, *Ioane* of Bourbon, married to *Iohn* the ſecond, Duke of Bourbon: *Catherine*, married to *Gilbert* of Chabannes: *Ioane*, wife to *Lewis* of Ioyeuſe: *Charlotte*, married to *Engelbert* of

[d] *The King of France holding his Crowne of God only, & the ancient Law of the Realme, diſtributes honors as he pleaſeth. It is a great violence to force a a minde full of courage, to hate that which hee loues, and to ruine that which he hath raiſed.*

[e] *He was preſent at the great Aſſembly at Amboiſ, with all the Princes of the bloud, and the chiefe Officers of the Crowne, to reſolue a warre againſt the houſe of York in England, & againſt the duke of Brittanie, where there was a league made for the defence of the houſe of Lãcaſter, and* Edward, *ſonne to King* Henry *the ſixth, was married to the Earle of Warwicks daughter.*

[f] *They ordained ſtatues for them that had made war in Affricke againſt* Tacfarinates, *though they did not vaquiſh him.* Dolabella *went thither, defeated him, & ſlue him; he demanded the ſame honours which had been giuen to others, which* Tiberius *refuſed, &* Tacitus *thereupon ſaid,* Sed neq; *Bleſus* illuſtrior & huic negatus honor gloriã intendis.

of Cleues, Earle of Neuers: *René*, Abbeſſe of Paintes, and then of Fonteuerard, and *Iſabell*, Abbeſſe of Caen, and two ſonnes, *Lewis* Earle of Vendoſme, [g] who married *Mary* of Luxemburg, and *Charles* his eldeſt ſonne, the firſt Duke of Vendoſme, married *Frances* of Alençon, and had by her ſeuen ſonnes, and ſix daughters: the ſecond of his ſonnes was *Anthony*, who married *Ioane* of Albret, Queene of Nauarre, and heire of the houſe of Foix, Albret, Bearn, and Armagnac. Of their marriage was borne *Henry* the fourth, king of France and Nauarre: their third ſonne was *Lewis* of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, father to *Henry*, Prince of Condé, to *Henry* Prince of Conty, to the Cardinall of Vendoſme, and to *Charles*, Earle of Soiſſons, and Grand-fahter to *Henry*, Prince of Condé, firſt Prince of the bloud. The yonger ſonne of *Iohn* the 2d Earle of Vendoſme, was *Lewis*, head of the branch of Montpenſier, and of Roche-ſur-yon, whom death hath cut off from this great tree. There remains one daughter, promiſed to the Duke of Orleans, the kings ſecond ſonne.

[g] Lewis of Burbon had 2 ſons. Iohn Earle of Vendoſme, and Lewis of Roche-ſur-yon head of the houſe of Montpenſier.

Death freed the Earle of Vendoſme from the cares which a longer life had augmented by the iealouſies and diſtruſts which the King conceiued of all the Princes of his bloud, & which kept him continually in the diuers agitations of hatred and feare. It is impoſſible but that he who by his extreame rigors & ſeuerities hath offended many, ſhould feare alwayes: hee cannot truſt his ſubiects as his Children, ſeeing he hath not entreated them as a Father, [h] he hath his ſhare of the feare which hee hath made common. Whereſoeuer hee caſteth his eyes, he ſeeth markes of his ſeuerity; ſo hee findeth not any one but puts him in feare: hee hath feare of his Children, feare before him, and feare behind: and as in his life hee had alwayes deſired more to be feared then loued, ſo in the end he found himſelfe compoſed of the ſame humor, fearing more then he loued.

[h] *Loue is a ſtrong guard of a Princes perſon.* Ageſilaus ſaid, *that he wold liue ſafe without gardes, if he cõmanded his Subiects as a good father doth his children. He muſt be beloued of his ſubiects, and feared of ſtrangers.* Amorem apud populares, metũ apud hoſtes quærat. *Tacit.* [1] *A Prince muſt be feared and loued, but for that it is difficult to haue' theſe two things concurre together, it were better and more ſafe to be feared, for that Princes which haue grounded themſelues vpon the loue of the people, haue found, that there is nothing more inconſtant, & men do ſooner offend him that makes himſelfe to be loued, then hee that is feared, yet muſt they not in ſeeking to bee feared, make themſelues odious.*

Hitherto it ſeemeth he did not truſt any man but *Peter* of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu, his ſon-in-law, in whom he had ſo great a confidence, as he referred vnto him all the care of his affaires, when as the pleaſure of hunting entertained him in the Forreſts, not for ſome few dayes, but whole moneths. The Author of the Annals of the houſe of Bourbon, who hath ſeene the originals of many great treaties, ſpeakes after this maner: *This Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu was in ſuch fauour with the king, as his Maieſty deſiring to retire himſelfe from affaires, kept commonly at Chamois and places thereabout, a Countrey, at that time, full of wood, and wilde beaſts, cauſing the ſaid Lord* Peter *of Bourbon, his ſon-in-law, to remaine at Montereau-fautyonne, to bee chiefe of the Councell, to whom all men repaired for their diſpatches which had any buſineſſe in Court. The King loued the woods and hunting to free himſelfe from cares, repoſing all vpon the ſaid Lord of Beaujeu. His Maieſtie alſo ſaid, That hee did hate deadly them of Bourgondy, Aniou, Alençon, aud the Dukes of Brittanie for their pride.*

And contrariwiſe, that hee loued Charles *of Artois, Earle of Eu, for that hee retained nothing of the arrogancy of his predeceſſours, and them of Bourbon more for their mildneſſe and humility.*[k] This vertue was neuer found in a great ſpirit, but it did purchaſe power and affection with others. Pride is barren, humility fructifieth: a vine ſpreading vpon the earth beares excellent fruit, the high and ſtraighteſt Cypres-trees are vnfruitfull.

Hee was not ſo bountifull of his fauours to the Lord of Beaujeu, but hee was as ſparing to the Duke of Bourbon his brother: he had an implacable hatred againſt *Iohn*, Duke of Bourbon, ſonne to *Charles*, the *Achilles* of France. This hatred was nouriſhed with a freſh apprehenſion, for that this Prince lamenting the diſorders of the State, the miſeries and oppreſsions of the people, and the bad vſage which *Charles*, Duke of Berrie ſuffered, had laid the firſt foundations of the league, had left it by the Treaty of Ryon, and re-entred againe into it vpon deſpight, for that during this Treaty, the Duke of Millan, by the Kings commandement, had ouer-run and ruined his Countrey of Beaujolois and Forreſt.

But for that hee was a Prince of great power, great courage, and great credit in the heart of all France: hee would not euaporate this fire of reuenge and indignation which hee had againſt them, and conſidered rather what he might doe, then what he ſhould do. And the Duke, who was acquainted with the diſpoſition of this King, knewe well, that all Princes write offences done them in braſſe, and the ſeruice which they receiue, vpon ſand; wherefore he remained long in his Dutchy of Bourbonois, and would not come to Court.

The King, whoſe chiefe care was to weaken his enemies, and to diuide them, gaue him the gouernement of Languedoc, diſſembling the remembrance of things paſt. Vpon this aſſurance the Duke of Bourbon ſhewed that hee did not breathe any thing, but the Kings ſeruice; neither had he any greater content, then to yeeld him proofes equall to his affection: and therefore hee followed him to Peronne, and we muſt beleeue that without him in this voyage hee had giuen his Enemies more courage to execute thoſe dangerous councels, hauing reſolued to ſtay him: For beſides the reſpectes of Alliance, the Duke of Bourgondy, reſpected this Prince, who had the two principall partes neceſſary in great Captaines, Valour and good Fortune.[l]

Wee haue formerly ſeene, that the Conſtable of Saint *Pol* did what hee could to drawe him to the Duke of Bourgondies partie, and to make him ioyne with the King of Englands forces; and that this braue Prince made it knowne, that nothing was able to ſhake his loialty, no not if he ſhould be reduced to the miſery

Fidelity of the Duke of Burbon

[k] *It is not the firſt teſtimony which the kings of France haue giuen of the mildneſſe, wiſedome and moderation of the Princes of the houſe of Bourbon. When as King Charles the fifth paſſed from Auignon, (where hee had ſeene Pope Clement the ſixth) into Languedock to ſettle an order for the coplaints of the Countrey againſt the oppreſſions which they had ſuffered vnder the gouernment of the Duke of Berrie his vncle hee commanded the Dukes of Berrie and Burgondy to retire, and would not haue any other prance necre vnto his preſence, but* Lewis, *duke of Bourbon, his vncle by the mothers ſide, and* Iohn *of Burbon Earle of March & of Vendoſme whom hee loued infinitly, giuing a reaſon hereof openly,* That he loued thoſe Princes, for that they had neuer ſerued any other maiſter, and had neuer had any ambition nor deſign againſt the ſtate, neither had they euer giuen him any occaſion to complaine of them.

[l] *The two qualities neceſſary in the Generall of an Army are, Valour and good fortune.* Duo ſunt quæ Claros Duces faciunt, ſumma virtus, ſumma fœlicitas. *Lat. Pac. Paneg.*

of

of *Iob*, [m] although that the ſincery of his actions could neuer wipe away the blemiſh which diſtruſt had put in this Princes eyes, yet would he not trouble the content which hee had receiued by the teſtimony which his conſcience gaue to fidelity and vertue. The King alſo fore-ſeeing that if his enemies were fortefied, with his fauour and forces, hee ſhould be much troubled, hee coniured him to come vnto him. The Duke excuſed himſelfe vpon a reſolution which hee had taken to liue quietly in his houſe, the which no man could enuy him, hauing purchaſed it with incomparable toyles and croſſes. Hee beſought the King to ſuffer him to reſt in the port of this tranquility after ſo many ſtormes, and to content himſelfe with the ſeruice which the other Princes of his houſe, and his Baſtard the Admirall did him.

[m] *An extreme oppreſſion is no lawfull cauſe to arme againſt the Prince, rebels ſeeke pretexes and coulors to ſhadow their diſcontents, but good ſubiects ſuffer with patience.*

The King entreated and coniured him to come, and to reape the ſame fruits in Picardy which he had ſometimes receiued in Guienne, [n] to the ſhame and confuſion of the Engliſh, ſending the Biſhop of Mande vnto him to deliuer his requeſts, and recommendations more confidently, and to aſſure him that the occaſion was not leſſe glorious then at Fromigny.

[n] *The honour of the glorious victory of Fromigny is giuen to* Iohn *the ſecond Duke of Bourbon, who then tooke the title of Earle of Clermont, for hee chargedthe Engliſh with ſuch fury, as with the loſſe of tenne men onely, hee defeated fiue thouſand Engliſh, and tooke* 1400. *priſoners.*

The Duke being loath to faile France in ſo great an occaſion, and remembring that his predeceſſours had not deſired a more glorious graue then to die vpon a field of battell couered with the bloud of their enemies, [o] and to free the King from all conceite, that he had a will to giue eare vnto the Conſtable, who did ſolicite him with all vehemency, he deliuered the Conſtables letters into the Biſhops hands, proteſting that hee would neuer carry Armes againſt the Kings ſeruice. The effects did not differ from his words; for ſeeing the Duke of Bourgundies troupes approach to enter the Country, he went to horſe and put them to rout: The Earle of Conches was ſlaine there, the Earle of Rouſillon Marſhall of Bourgundy was taken priſoner there, with the Earle of Dammartins ſonne, and the Signiors of Longy de Liſle, Digoin, Ruygny, Chaligny, and the two ſonnes of the Signior of Viteaux, one of which was Earle of Ioygny: Being then aſſured of the diſcent of the Engliſh, and that they had paſſed the Sea, he came vnto the King with ſixe hundred horſe, and commanded part of his Army which was neere vnto Beauuais. Matters being reduced to thoſe tearmes that the King deſired, and the King of England hauing repaſſed the Sea, he retired himſelfe to Moulins to performe the laſt duties to his mother, [p] and from that time reſigned his aboade at Court vnto his brethren.

[o] *The Princes of the houſe of Bourbon who haue dyed for the ſeruice of the Crowne, are* Peter *of Bourbon, ſlaine the 19. of September 1356. at the battell of Poictiers,* Iames *and* Peter *his ſonne at the Battell of Brignay neere vnto Lyon:* Lewis *at the Battell of Agincourt* 1415. Francis *at the battell of Saint* Bridget *on holy Croſſe day in September* 1525. Iohn *at the battell of Saint* Laurence, 1557. *and* Anthony *at the ſiege of Roan,* 1562.

After the Duke of Bourgundies death, hee would not bee an actor in the warre which the King beganne againſt his daughter,

[p] *The Lady* Agnes *of Bourgundy dyed in December* 1476. *Shee was wife to* Charles *Duke of Bourbon, and mother to* Iohn *the ſecond of that name, Duke of Bourbon, to* Charles, *Cardinall and Arch-biſhop of Lyon,* Peter *Lord of Beaujeu,* Lewis *Biſhop of Liege, and* Iames *who dyed at Bruges, and to the Lady* Ioane *of Bourbon, married to the Lord of Arlay, Prince of Orange, and* Margaret *of Bourbon, wife to* Phillip *Earle of Breſſe.*

and with a diſcourſe free from all flattery, a vice vnworthy of a great courage) [q] hee did not diſſemble his opinion, ſaying; that the King ſhould haue giuen it a better and a more reaſonable Title, then a ſimple deſire to ioyne the Low Countries to his Crowne, this ſo free and true a iudgement did much offend the King, who from that time reſolued to let the Duke of Bourbon know that this laſt offence had renewed the feeling of the firſt: He cauſed ſecret informations to be made againſt him, yet doubting his courage & reputation, he would not haue the rigor of his iuſtice aime directly at him; Hee beganne with his Officers, and gaue commiſſion to *Iohn Auin*, Councellour in the Court of Parliament, and to *Iohn Doyac*, to enforme againſt him, thinking that to free themſelues from trouble they ſhould bee forced to engage their Lord, [r] they decreed a perſonall adiournement againſt his Chancellour, his Atturny, the Captaine of his Guard and many others, who appeared with more confidence to defend themſelues, then ſlander had aſſurance to accuſe them; vpon their anſwere the Commiſſioners knew not what to ſay, and the Court of Parliamen, which knew well that it was a practiſe to trouble the Duke of Bourbon, whoſe probity and integrity (two rare qualities in that age) had purchaſed him the ſurname of *Good*, and the affections of all the people, enlarged them: The Chronicle ſaith, that this proceeding was againſt God and Reaſon.

It was a very ſencible griefe vnto him to ſee his loyalty called in queſtion, and his ſeruices contemned. But hee conſidered all theſe occurrents with an open eye, and a reſolute brow, with the aduantages which a good conſcience gaue him, and did iudge thereof with a ſetled ſpirit, lamenting the bad counſell which entertained the King in his great rigours in an age which was not fit for it. [s] Some other would not haue forborne teares for ſo peircing a griefe, he would haue loſt his ſleepe, and his body ſhould haue found no other reſt but that which diſquietneſſe brings by the agition of the mind; but afflictions which aſſaile good men do them no other harme but burne the bonds which hinder them to lift their hands, with their hearts, vp to heauen. They bleſſe the name of God in the midſt of flames, Impriſonment doth not deprine him, which ſuffreth for iuſtice, of the ſweetneſſe of a profound ſleepe: His reſt is ſo ſound as the Angell of the Lord which comes to deliuer him, muſt awake him.

It is now time that *Lewis* go the way which theſe great Kings haue traced vnto him. There wants nothing but this peece to the triumphant Charriot of death, and hee could not deſire better company then of theſe three Kings his neere kinſmen, who were there already, [t] he had paſſed by all the offices of life, there remained nothing but the laſt: but it is the moſt difficult, and would bee leſſe if he had thought on it in time; if going by the way of life, he

had

[q] *A great courage ſpeaks freely, but without bitternes or ſlander: Flattery is the marke of ſeruitude, and ſlaunder doth falſely vſurpe that of liberty.* Adulationi fœdum crimen ſeruitutis, maligniati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. *Tacit. Hiſt. Lib.1.*

[r] Claude *of* Seyſſell *ſaith, that King* Lewis *the eleuenth ſent vnto the Duke of Bourbon ſome of his miniſters, men of baſe condition, to doe him ſome intollerable wrongs, vnder colour of Iuſtice, thinking for the great ſpirit which hee knew to be in him, to prouoke him to offer ſome violence, or to make reſiſtance, but the Duke knowing to what end all was done, endured it with patience, and eſcaped by ſufferance & diſſembling.*

[s] *Seuerity is not good in a Prince whoſe age is declining, It is needefull to purchaſe loue,* Galba *knew it well.*

[t] *Hauing paſſed through all the charges of life, we muſt not refuſe that of death:* Seneca *ſaid to him that was loath to leaue the charges and offices which he had exerciſed in his life time.* Quid tu neſcis vnum eſſe ex vitæ officijs & mori? *Doſt thou not know that to die is alſo one of the duties of life.* Sen. Epiſt. 77.

had thought of the lodging of death, thoſe feares which hold him in worſe eſtate then death it ſelfe, ſhould be diſperſed. Accidents foreſeene a farre off, conſidered without amazement, and attended with reſolution, do not trouble the minde like vnto thoſe which ſurpriſe it: His thoughts were ingaged in ſo many mortall and periſhable things, as he had ſmall care of Immortall, and yet theſe went before him and attended on him, and the others followed after him and abandoned him: He hath buſyed himſelfe to gather vp *Atlantas* Apples, and hath ſo much the more hindred the fruite and priſe of his courſe; In the way of health he that ſtaies, retires; and hee that retires looſeth himſelfe and goes aſtray. There are three ſorts of men whom God loues not, they that ſtay, they that turne backe, and they that wander: Wee muſt giue courage to the firſt, call on the ſecond, and direct the others.

Lewis found himſelfe to be in ſo difficult a paſſage as he had need to be encouraged, ſupported and directed, [u] hee could not but murmurre againſt the Law of Nature which did not ſuffer him to glut himſelfe with the pleaſures of life: But to haue content of the reſt at the point of death, hee muſt make prouiſion thereof throughout the whole courſe of his life: That word, *I dye content*, is not alwaies found in the mouth, nor proceeds not from the heart of Princes, who haue had ſo much paine to content thēſelues, & in whoſe liues, as in thoſe of other men, we finde, *Vanity, weakeneſſe, inconſtancy, and miſery*: The great oppoſitions which *Lewis* makes againſt the decree of death, ſhew that he is not yet content with the fruits of life: He complaines that he hath diſcouered the Port, and deſires to thruſt himſelfe againe into the violent waues of the world; He thought that a little more life would haue made him reape the fruites of ſo many deſignes which hee had ſowne in diuers places, and did grieue that death would not ſuffer him to ſee that ended which he had begunne.

Lewis fals into new apprehenſions of death.

[u] *It is a ſweete conſolation to a Princes minde among the trances and feares which are found in the paſſage of life and death, when hee hath not to doe with any but himſelfe, that all his enterpriſes are ended, and that he may ſay, I die content.*

Yet it is a very remarkeable thing that before his death he ſaw all things new or renued in all other Kingdomes of Europe, as if the eternall prouidence of God, had not left him in the world, but to conſider theſe great changes which did amaze England, Arragon, Nauarre and Scotland. And although they were things farre from his ſight, yet could he not but be paſſionate, and informe himſelfe as interreſſed in all things: His curioſity notwithſtanding was ſtaid by the reſpects of his Religion, in contemning the offers of friendſhip which *Bajazeth* made vnto him, who ſent him a liſt of all the Reliques which his father had found at the taking of Conſtantinople, and of the Holy Land, promiſing to deliuer them vnto him; ſo as hee would aſſure him of *Zizimi* his brother, who had yeelded himſelfe to the Knights of Rhodes. This peece is worthy to bee related: *Mahomet* left two ſonnes, *Bajazeth* [x] the elder, ſurnamed by the Turkes *Ildrimy*, that is to ſay, Lightning, he cōmanded in Paphlagonia towards the black or Euxin Sea, *Iohn* called *Zizimi*, that is to ſay, Loue, was at Conio a city in Licaonia, the

Offers of *Bajazeth* to the King.

Zizimi reuolts againſt *Bajazeth*.

[x] Bajazeth *was the elder, and* Zizimi *the yonger, who ſaid that he was the Emperours ſon, for that hee was borne during the raigne of* Mahomet, *and* Bajazeth *before.*

the Ianiſaries were diuided which of the two ſhould ſucceed, the firſt was held effeminate and diſſolute, the other led a more manlike and martiall life: The controuerſy was followed by a great ſedition, and the great Turkes Treaſury was ſpoiled; many deſiring that the Scepter ſhould bee giuen to him that had the beſt ſword. [y] The faction of *Bajazeth*, by the wiſedome of *Acmet Baſha*, remained victorious, and *Zizimi* was forced to retire himſelfe into Aſia the leſſe, from whence he paſſed to Ieruſalem and then to the great Caire, towards the Souldan of Egypt.

The great Caraman hearing of the diuiſion which was betwixt theſe two brethren, held it a fit occaſion to be embraced, to recouer the Realme of Cilicia which *Mahomet* had taken from him, whereupon he inuites and ſolicites *Zizimi* by letters and Embaſſadours to ioine with him. They make an Army, and preſent themſelues neere vnto Mount Taurus to giue Battell vnto *Bajazeth*: *Zizimi* conſidering the inequality of their forces (for the Army of *Bajazeth* conſiſted of two hundred thouſand men) and that if hee fell into his brothers hands, he would put him cruelly to death, he thought there was no other retreate for him but to the Chriſtians. [z] This was not without doing great violence to his conſcience, breaking his habits in ſigne of breach of his heart, in ſuch reſolution, for he was a great obſeruer of his religion, and ſo iealous, as hee fell into fury when hee ſaw a Turke drunke: Hee dranke water with ſugar, and ſometimes wine, ſo as it were mingled with ſpices and other liquors, ſaying, that this mixture did alter it, in ſuch ſort, as it was no more wine. There is not any Law whereas humane pollicy doth not finde ſome exceptions.

By the aduice therefore of *Caraman*, hee left his wife and children with the Soldan of Egypt, and reſolued to ſeeke his fortune and ſuccours among the Chriſtians, and to retire himſelfe to Rhodes, hauing written this letter to *Bajazeth*.

Zizimi *King, to* Bajazeth *his moſt cruell brother.*

Letter of *Zizimi* to *Bajazeth*.

DEmanding of thee that which was iuſt and honeſt, [a] *thou a breaker of all Diuine, and Humane Lawes, and a contemner of* Mahomet, *doth force thy brother to flye vnto the Chriſtian name, and to them in particular, which weare a Croſſe, for the great hatred they beare vnto our powerfull Houſe: I am forced to retire my ſelfe vnto them to ſaue my life, and thou art the onely cauſe of this miſchiefe: If thou hadſt grãnted me that which I deſire ſo iuſtly I had remained peaceably vpon the frontier, and thy brother, a Mahometane as thou art, and of the ſame bloud, ſhould not be forced to ioyne with Chriſtians, with whom it would be impoſſible for him to ſerue God according to the ceremony*

[y] *The Law of Nations hath alwaies preferred the elder before the yonger, what aduantage of force or vallour ſoeuer he hath, and although that* Pirrhus *had ordained that which of his children had the ſharpeſt ſword ſhould ſucceede him. Yet notwithſtanding the eldeſt was leſſe valiant and carried it.*

[z] *In any ſenſible griefe, or when any execrable thing was ſpoken, the Iewes and Mahometans, rent ther garments. Among the acts of choller and fury of* Maximin, *obſerued by* Capitolinus *are theſe:* Incurrere in parietes, veſtem cindere gladium arripere quaſi omnes poſſet occidere. *To runne againſt the wals, to cut his garments, and to draw his ſword as if hee would kill all men.*

[a] Bajazeth *receiuing this letter and hauing read it, remained two daies retyred, and would not bee ſeene, ſhewing a wonderfull griefe, that his brother had retired to the Chriſtians, eſpecially to the Knights of Rhodes, the greateſt enemies hee had in Chriſtendome.*

of

of our Law,[h] *I attend from God the reuenge of ſo great a wickedneſſe, and do pray vnto our great Prophet to giue thee a puniſhment equall vnto thy crime: If our father had fore-ſeene thy impiety, I aſſure my ſelfe that with his owne ſword, or by poyſon, he would haue taken away thy life. Hee hath exalted the houſe of the* Ottomans, *and it ſeemeth, thou takeſt delight to ruine it: But it is impoſsble that an Empire which thou haſt vſurped with ſo great tyranny and cruellty, ſhould continue long, the building cannot be firme vpon ſo bad a foundation. The day will come, when to reuenge thine impiety, ſome one will do the like to thee and thy children, that thou attempteſt againſt me and mine. Adue and looke to the ruine which threatneth thee.*

Zizimi comes to Rhodes.

Zizimi was well receiued at Rhodes the 24. of Iuly 1482. the great Maiſter ſent *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga Prior of Caſtile with the Gallies of the Order to conduct him, he went himſelfe to meete him with all his Knights: *Zizimi* was amazed to ſee himſelfe receiued with ſo great honors in a Towne which his father would haue ruined. Hee made it preſently knowne that hee had a deſire to go into France, and to caſt himſelfe into the Kings Armes, although he were inuited by many other Princes to come vnto them. The great Maiſter hauing thereupon receiued commandement conducted him thither.

He is conducted into France.

They tooke Saye before him, [c] as they vſe to other Princes (an ancient cuſtome and knowne to the Romanes who had it from the Perſians) whereat being amazed, and deſiring to let them know that he was not come thether to diſtruſt, he did eate of euery diſh that was ſet before him, before any Say were taken: *Noble and generous minds* (ſaid *Zizimi*) *are not diſtruſtfull, I feare not to be poyſoned among ſuch braue and noble Knights, and if I had feared it I would not haue truſted my ſafety in their hands, I wil liue among them as a priuate man, and not as a Prince: Bajazeth* was ſo fearefull leaſt he ſhould be ſet at liberty, and trouble his Eſtates, as he payed yearely 45000 Ducats to the Treaſury of the Religion, 35000. for the entertainement of *Zizimi*, and 10000. to repaire the ſpoiles which *Mahomet* his father had done them at the ſiege of Rhodes, [d] and would that the Embaſſadours which carried the firſt payment ſhould paſſe into Auuergne to ſee in what eſtate he was.

The great Maiſter wrote to all the Princes of Chriſtendome, that if they did not contemne this goodly occaſion to diuide the Empire of the *Ottomans*, by the meanes of *Zizimi*, they might ſpoile him of all the Eſtates he had taken from the Chriſtians, and by ſo pretious a Gage, bridle all his deſignes, in ſuch ſort, as Chriſtendome might remaine long in peace and tranquility, for hee ſhould not dare to attempt any thing, whilſt his brother were in the Chriſtians power. [e] But at this ſeaſon Italy was full of diuiſions. The Pope, Venetians, and Siennois, were in league againſt *Ferdinand* King of Naples, the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan: The Em-

[b] *Zizimi was alwaies ſad and melancholicke, being depriued of the exerciſe of his Religion. At the firſt feaſt which the great Maiſter made him, there was Muſicke of all ſorts of Inſtruments; yet hee was nothing the merrier. They brought before him a ſcullion of the Kitchin, a Turk who was a ſlaue, who ſung, or howled out a ſong after the Turkiſh manner whereat he took a wonderfull delight.*

[c] *The Say which is taken to Princes is ancient,* Xenophon *in the firſt of his Cyropædia ſhews how the Perſians did vſe it.* Taci-tus *ſpeaks of* Ha-lotus, *who car-ued the meate, and tooke Say to* Claudius: in-ferre epulas & explorare gu-ſtu ſolitus. A-thaneus *ſaith, that the Romans called him that had this charge,* ὀψοφαγίστην, *and the Greciãs* ὀψοτηθην.

[d] *There was an accord made be-twixt the great Maiſter and* Ba-jazeth, *the* 8. *of December* 1482. *the which is worthy of me-mory; for that it may be ſaid that the great Turke to liue in peace, and fearing that* Zizimi *ſhould returne into*

Turkey, was forced to yeeld himſelfe tributary to the Knights of Rhodes. [e] Bajazeth *feared both at home and abroad,* Zizimi *had friends, he put all them to death whom he ſuſpected to fauour, and among others* Acmath Baſha, *who had taken Otranto,* Iſaac Baſha *was diſmiſt from his Offices.*

perour made an excuſe that hee could not intend it. Chriſtendome did not reape the profite it might haue done, and neglected this occaſion, as the precedent offered by one of the ſonnes of *Amurath*, who had made himſelfe a Chriſtian, and maintained that *Mahomet* was vnlawfull, and ſuppoſed.[f]

Mathias Coruinus King of Hungary ſent his Embaſſadours to the Pope to entreate him to be a meanes to deliuer *Zizimi* vnto him, promiſing by this meanes that Chriſtendome ſhould be reuenged for the diſhonour and loſſe that it had receiued at the cruel and bloudy battell of Varna: Let vs ſtay our eyes vpon the excellent vertues of this braue Prince, which is the third of the three greateſt Princes, which *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, had raigned at one time (a ſeaſon which did produce but meane things) and let vs turne them a little away from the firſt, who is now dying, and is no more but a ſad and lamentable image of the ruines of life.

Mathias Huniades or *Coruin*, was ſecond ſonne to *Iohn Huniades*, a great Noble-man of Valachia, who after the death of *Vladiſlas* King of Poland and Hungary, ſlaine at the battle of Varna, was choſen at the age of twenty yeares, by the common conſent of the Hungarians to be Lieutenant generall of the Realme.[g] Commendation of *Mathias Coruinus* King of Hungary.

He had forces in field, courage and opportunity to climbe higher and to make himſelfe King, but he would keepe himſelfe in this eſtate and preſerue the Crowne for *Ladiſlaus* ſonne to *Albert* of Auſtria, and to *Elizabeth* daughter to *Sigiſmond* King of Hungary. The Emperour *Fredericke* drew him vnto him, after the death of his father, to bring him vp. The Hungarians demanded him, and vpon the Emperours refuſall to deliuer him, *Coruin* did ouer-runne the Country of Auſtria, Stiria, and Carinthia, filled them with fire and bloud, expelled the Bohemians out of the Townes which they held in Hungary, and reſtored *Ladiſlaus* in his capitall Citty to his fathers Throne, at the age of 12. yeares. This great ſeruice deſerued an equall guerdon, but as ſuſpitions, iealouſies, and ſlanders, are plants which grow of themſelues in the Courts of Princes: *Huniades* made trial how hard it is for great vertues to be free from them, and to be long happy by the onely conduct of wiſedome.[h]

Vertue was in this braue courage, as the Iuy which ruines the wall that holds it vp: Glory which is the fruite of vertue made the Tree to wither, and this reputation, grounded vpon his merites, ſtirred vp enuy againſt him, and enuy framed ſlander, a monſter of hell, more cruell then hell it ſelfe, which torments onely the wicked, but ſhe doth cruelly afflict Innocents: There was nothing in him that could offend it but the greatneſſe of his merits, and ſeruices, which made him to be eſteemed the[i] *Hercules* of Hungary, and the rampire of Europe, for he alone had preſented his head, like a ſtrong rampire, againſt thoſe furious torrents *Amurath* and *Maho-* Slander worſe then hell.

[f] *After the taking of Conſtantinople ſome Chriſtians ſtood vpon Mahomet the ſon of Amurath, and gaue him to Pope Nicholas the 5. who cauſed him to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion and in good learning: after his death he retired himſelfe to the Emperour, and then vnto* Mathias Coruinus *King of Hungary, and knowing the controuerſy that was betwixt Bajazeth and Zizimi, hee let the great Maiſter of Rhodes vnderſtand that both their pretenſions were vaine.*

[g] *Of all the battels betwixt the Chriſtians & Turkes, that of Varna was the moſt memorable in loſſe: It continued three daies and three nights, the victory which ſeemed to fauor the Chriſtians in the beginning, turned from thē, and* Ladiſlaus *King of* Hungary *was ſlaine there, the 20. of Nouember.* 1444.

[h] *Suſpitions & detractions in the Courts of Princes not onely hurt the againſt whom they are made, but them that inuent the and that giue care vnto them. A Prince ſhould giue no eaſy eare vnto them, eſpecially when it concernes thoſe whom he may not puniſh, but he muſt forget the great ſeruices which he hath receiued.*

[i] *The Hiſtory giues this commendation to* Iohn Coruin. Huius & felicitas tyrannorum impetus repreſſit, velut obiecta moles, exundans flumen. Nec quiſquam regum, aut ducū res maiores & Europę vtiliores aduerſus Turcas geſſit. *This mans felicity did ſuppreſſe the fury of Tyrants, like a banke caſt vp againſt an ouer-flowing Riuer: Neither had any King or Captain done greater matters, nor more profitable for Europe, againſt the Turke.*

met,

met, Vlric Earle of Cilia being incenſed for that hee had broken the deſignes of his ambition in Dalmatia, ſuggeſted matter againſt him to *Ladiſlaus* a yong Prince, who beleeued eaſily that ſuch a courage would not conteine it ſelfe like to his other ſubiects, and that an authority which is exceſſiue is not ſafe: Death freed him from this ſlander, but the Calumniator continued it againſt his children, [k] *Ladiſlaus* and *Mathias* who ſmarted for it; The firſt not able to endure the inſolency and pride of the Earle of Cilia, fell to ſtrange termes with him, and from words to the ſword, and ſlew him. The King was much amazed at ſo hardy an act againſt the chiefe of his ſeruants, and from that time he reſolued to be reuenged, but hatching his reuenge vnder a faigned forgetfulneſſe, hee ſware to *Temiſvuar* vpon the Sacrament neuer to remember it, and for a greater proofe of his loue he preſented him with a robe of Scarlet embroidered with Gold: hee cauſed *Ladiſlaus* and *Mathias* to come to Buda, vnder colour to giue vnto *Ladiſlaus* a charge for the execution of a great deſigne, and the conduct of a mighty Army againſt the Turke, and to *Mathias* the place of Liuetenant generall of the Realme. They went raſhly, not conſidering how their father had ſometimes aduiſed them not to truſt an incenſed Prince. [l] The King not thinking himſelfe bound to hold his word vnto a ſubiect who had ſo much offended him, [m] cauſed *Ladiſlaus* head to be cut off.

Cruelty of *Ladiſlaus* King of Hungary.

God did ſhew vpon the point of this cruell execution the innocency of him that was executed, and that as this Prince had confounded his accuſers outwardly, ſo he had liued in ſuch ſort as hee felt no accuſation in his ſoule: [n] They bring him to the place of execution with his hands bound, and attired in that robe which the King had giuen him: he kneeles downe, recommends his ſoule to God, and ſtretcheth forth his necke to receiue death: The hangman gaue him three blows and made him to fall flat to the ground, yet he roſe againe although he were bound, and with all the force of his voyce and ſoule, called vpon God, the witneſſe of his innocency: at the fourth and fift blow the Executioner made an end of him: *Ladiſlaus* ſeeing that this death had wounded the hearts of the greateſt of his Realme, and that he was not ſafe amongſt them, retired into Bohemia, and led *Mathias* with him.

Death of *Ladiſlaus Coruin.*

The friends of Count *Vlric* ſeeing him conducted to priſon mocked at him, ſaying; ***That it was not the way to make himſelfe to be crowned King, as he had proiected.*** The fire of this great courage [o] which burnt inceſſantly (though couered vnder the aſhes of this miſfortune) anſwered; ***That if he were a King, he would cauſe their wickednesſe to be puniſhed after another manner.*** Theſe two brethren did ſerue for an example to reaſon, which aſſures how dangerous a thing it is to truſt a Prince that is yong, powerfull, offended, and ill aduiſed. He did not long enioy this reuenge, for ſoone after being at Prague he was poiſoned by a Lady, incenſed for that he had left her to marry *Magdaline* daughter to King *Charles* the ſeuenth.

Mathias Coruin a Priſoner at Prague.

[k] *The continuance of a great power which is aboue his condition that holds it, is not ſure.* Nunquam fatis fida potentia vbi nimia. *That power is neuer ſafe that is ouer-great.* Tacit.

[l] *Two brethren which thinke they haue offended a Prince, ſhould not ſuffer themſelues to be taken together.*

[m] *When the Prince holdeth his word with them that haue offended him, he addeth much glory to his reputation.*

[n] *To preſent ones ſelfe to death without amazement, is the triumph of his innocency, who feelleth no accuſation within him, and is not confounded with that which is done outwardly:* Sic vixi vt accuſatorem exterius non timeam vtinã ſic vixiſſem vt intra me ipſam accuſatorem conſcientiam non haberem. *I haue liued ſo as I feare no outward accuſer, I would I had liued ſo as I had not my conſcience within me to accuſe mee.* Greg.

[o] *A generous and couragious ſpirit cannot endure an offence or wrong, for any accident that doth oppreſſe him.*

As ſoone as *Michaell Zilaſius* brother to *Mathias* mother, was aduertiſed of this change, and that *George Poguebrac* entreated *Mathias* courteouſly, he aſſembled all his friends, and came to the Eſtates held at Peſta, accompanied with 20000. men where he demanded audience: He repreſented the great ſeruices of Count *Iohn Huniades*, who by his valour and courage had purchaſed the name of the Lightning and Thunder of the Turkes, [p] he complaines of the ingratitude wherwith he had bene rewarded, and the vnworthy vſage of his children; forcing ſome to pitty, and others to acknowledge thoſe great merits: whē as he ſaw their minds wauering, he thought it not fit to do things by halues; The people muſt be taken at their word, and opinions are like vnto peeces of coine, which although they be ſcarce currant, yet are accounted ſo if they haue courſe. Reſolutions which are taken in ſuch aſſemblies are not alwaies grounded vpon the knowledge of that which is, but of that which is maintained to be: He cauſed them which had the authority, to ſay that Hungary could not be without a King, & that they could not chuſe a better then *Mathias*: That if the Election might not be done willingly, he was there to haue him crowned by force, and ſaying thoſe words he drew out his Cimeterre, which he ſware not to ſheath againe vntill a reſolution were taken conformable to his. The Eſtates of Hungary ſaid, that they ſhould not looſe any time to ſeek another Prince, [q] and that they would not deſire one better known, more generous, nor of a better Race: Finally, they declared him King of Hungary.

Propoſitions at the Eſtates of Hungary.

Mathias Coruinus, choſen King of Hungary.

The aduice of this Election was carried ſpeedily to *George Poguebrac*, King of Bohemia, who was at ſupper, *Mathias* ſitting at the lower end of the table, hauig read the letter, he cauſed him to come and ſit aboue him; [r] *Mathias* was much amazed, his condition made him to dobut that which he vnderſtood not, and his thoughts were obſcured with the variety of falſe immaginations. After ſupper *Poegucbrac* told him what had hapened, ſaluteth him & embraceth him as king of Hungary, and entreateth him to loue him as his brother; *Mathias* promiſeth it, and their promiſes were confirmed by his marriage with *Katherine*, daughter to *Poguebrac*, with whom hee cauſed him to be conducted into Hungary.

He beganne to triumph as ſoone as to raigne, for to fight & vanquiſh was all one vnto him. At one time being followed by his owne forces, which were greater in courage and diſcipline then in number, [s] He did gloriouſly end three great enterpriſes, the one againſt the Emperour *Fredericke*, whom he forced to yeeld him that which he held of the Crowne of Hungary; the ſecond againſt the Bohemians, whoſe factions and conſpiracies he ouerthrew, and the third againſt *Mahomet* the 2. to whom he gaue many occaſions to think that the valour, conduct, and generoſity of *Iohn Huniades* his father were reuiued in him.

[p] Iohn Huniades *defended Hungary againſt* Amurath *and* Mahomet: *Hee repulſed* Mahomet *from the ſiege of Belgrade: The Hiſtory ſaith that he was called* Fulmineus terrur Turcorum: *The lightning terrour of the Turkes.*

[q] *It is eaſy for the ſonne to mount to honors when as he finds that his father hath prepared the way.*

[r] *To go from a priſon to a royalty, from great miſery to a ſupreme honour, are the effects of GODS Prouidence and bounty, who rayſeth the humble and throwes downe the proud.*

[s] *Theſe three qualities were eminent in* Iohn Huniades, Valiant, Wiſe, *and* Generous, Ducum omnium (*ſaith the Hiſtory*) qui cum Turcis arma contulerunt illotempore clariſſimus, ſolers. ac ſagax in proſpiciendis, patiens in expectandis, acer in perſequendis rerum occaſionibus, atque in ipſis rebus vrgendis pertinax, in conficiendis felix, ac fortunatus. *Of all Commanders which had made warre againſt the Turke, hee was at that time the moſt famous; watchfull to fore-ſee, patient in expecting, ſwift in embracing, reſolute in purſuing all occaſions, and happy in effecting them.*

He

Exploits of *Mathias Coruinus.*

He recouered Iaiſſe, and ſeuen and twenty Caſtles thereabouts, he paſt the riuer of Saue, entred into the higher Miſia, and in two aſſaults ſeized vpon Zerbenic, where are thoſe goodly Mines of ſiluer: he expelled *Suela*, that famous thiefe out of Bohemia, pacified the ſeditions of Tranſiluania, puniſhed them that were the Authors, [t] who had made *Iohn*, Earle of S. *Georges*, King; and beſieged, burnt, and ruined Romanſarre. The flames of the fire of his Iuſtice, did amaze all Moldauia: all the furies came out of Hell to follow his Armie, and to reuenge the iniuries of Chriſtendome vpon thoſe Infidell Prouinces. A warre which was all cruelty, and a cruelty which was all iuſtice; victory which is alwayes inſolent, and eſpecially in ciuill warres, [u] had no pitty, but of thoſe which had no more need: he had rather ruine Towns to ſaue ſoules, then to ſaue Townes, and ruine ſoules: he left in all places, ſuch markes of the furies and terrors of the warre, that euen at this day the Countrey laments the effects, and numbers the examples. That which the ſword did ſpare, was conſumed by fire and famine.

[t] *Puniſhment which is applied fitly, and ſeuerely done vpon the head of a conſpiracy, offends few, and ſpares many.*

[u] *Pitty nor Mederation doe not alwayes purchaſe fauour in a Conqueroxrs heart, they are forced ſomtimes to giue place vnto liberty, and therefore* Tully *ſaith, that* victoria ciuilib⁹ bellis ſæper eſt inſolens, *Victory is alwayes inſolent in ciuill warres.*

His valour & conduct

And therfore the name of *Mathias* was at that time a terror to the Women and Children of Hungary, who in all occaſions performing the duty of a Generall, and yet ſomtimes running the hazard of a Souldier, as if his body had bin borrowed; he was wounded in the thigh with an arrow. He did ſo diminiſh rhe number of his enemies, as the prouince was aſſured, and his Armie rich with ſpoyles.[x]

He makes warre againſt the Huſſites.

Being returned to Agria, he came to Buda, where he receiued letters of intreaty from Pope *Pius* the ſecond, and from the Emperour *Fredericke* to make warre againſt the Huſſits, the which he vndertooke. It was not his only obedience to the head of the Church which drew him to this warre, nor any deſire to triumph ouer the truth, ambition had a great ſhare in it, the deſire of a newe Crowne made him forget the good vſage which he had receiued in his impriſonment from *Poguebrac*, and diſpenſed him of thoſe bonds which cannot bee diſſolued by death, nor diſcharged but by life. Great enterpriſes are not ſcrupulous, and if the lawes of piety are to be violated, it is to content thoſe of ambition. They write that theſe two Kings made warre ten yeares, [y] and that the combat of their Ieſters, fighting at fiſts, reconciled them. In the end *Mathias* diſpoſſeſſed *George Poguebrac* of the prouinces of Morauia, Sileſia, and Luſatia, and death of his Crowne.

[x] Mathias *is taxed with ingratitude, for that hee had made warre againſt* George *King of Bohemia, who had giuen him liberty, and his daughter in marriage. This warre was vnfortunate to either, and preiudiciall to Chriſtendome.*

Mathias crowned King of Bohemia.

Mathias cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed and crowned King of Bohemia, and Marques of Morauia. Some Bohemians refuſed to obey him, and framed a faction vnder the name of *Ladiſlaus*, ſon to *Caſimir*, King of Polonia, whom they did acknowledge for their King. *Mathias* came thither, and preſt them ſo eagerly, and intreated them with ſuch rigor and ſeuerity, as all the Townes

[x] MATHIAS *King of* Hungary, *and* GEORGE, *King of* Bohemia, *made warre tenne yeares for Religion; And in the end they agreed, that his Religion ſhould be the better, whoſe Foole did vanquiſh the other at fiſt.*

ſubmitted themſelues to his will, to haue his peace and pardon: Theſe long and and troubleſome warres had ſo wâſted his treaſure, as hee was forced to make vſe of the Clergy goods. The Prelates of Hungary oppoſed themſelues, and the chiefe Noble-men of the Realme ioyned with them,[z] conſpiring together to expell him the Realme. Hitherto hee had made knowne what loue and force might doe; now hee ſhewes himſelfe ſo wiſe and temperate, as returning into the way of the duety of a good Prince, he doth eaſily reduce his people to that of good ſubiects:[a] And by this meanes many who had caſt themſelues into his enemies Armie, returned vnto him. *Ladiſlaus* beeing coopt vp in Nitria, was forced to make an Accord with *Mathias*, and to returne into Poland.

Nobility of Hungary diſcontented.

Caſimir his father apprehending this ſhamfull retreat, and taking his part of the Affront, reſerued the whole reuenge to himſelfe; hee leuied an Armie of threeſcore thouſand fighting men, Polonians, Bohemians, Ruſſians and Tartarians, and entred into Morauia and Sileſia, to recouer that which *Poguebrac* had loſt. The firſt beginnings were ſo fauourable, as not regarding the inconſtancy of fortune, he ſuffered his thoughts to wander in the common error of Princes, who neglect the ſtorme, during the calme of their affaires.[b]

Mathias held it not fit for his reputation nor courage to attend them, hee goes to meete them with eight thouſand horſe, and hauing furniſhed the Towne of Vratiſlauia with victuals and munition, he lodged himſelfe in the ſub-vrbs, and there attendeth them with a reſolution not to hazard any thing.[c] Euery day they made Sallies and Skirmiſhes to the Polonians loſſe, who neuer returned but with griefe for ſome priſoners taken, but many more ſlaine. And to ſhew that hee did little eſteeme their Attempts, and that hee could looſe little, and get much, he cauſed ſcaffolds of Wood to bee built vpon the Walles for the chiefe Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Towne, and for thoſe chiefly who were not made but to bee beloued. They beheld the Knights who made Sallies vpon their Enemies, and caſt themſelues couragiouſly into dangers for their ſakes. At their returne they commended their valours, and encouraged them to continue. If they were hurt, they were the firſt that dreſt them, if they returnd victors, they preſented them the priſoners Armes and colours which they had taken.

The Princes of Germany deſiring to diuert this ſtorme, and fearing that this fire, kindled vpon the Frontier, would flye further, laboured to quench it: *Erneſtus*, Duke and Elector of Saxony, and *Iohn*, Marques of Brandebourg,[e] made an Army of ſix thouſand

[z] *This conſpiracy was ſo ſtrong and violent, that of 75 Tribes of the realme, there were but 9 that cõtinued in their firſt obedience.*

[a] *That Prince is wiſe which doth not diſdaine to giue ſome ſatisfaction to his ſubiects whom he hath offended, eſpecially when he feares a greater miſchiefe.*

[b] *In great deſignes Princes thinke only what they ſhould doe when they haue executed them, & caſt not their eyes vpon that which may hinder the execution, and which as* Polybius *ſaith, hath neede of great prouidence* Polyb.lib.11.

[c] *A Prince ſhold not ſtay vntil his enemy come vnto him, and force him to feed him at his charge.*

[d] *It is a great aduantage for a Generall of an Army, when hee is aſſured that victory brings him great profit & great effects, and that the loſſe cannot equal the gaine.*

[e] *The courages of theſe 3 Princes were vanquiſhed by the eloquence of the Marques of Brãdeburg, who in the Aſſembly of three Kings, of* Caſimir, *King of Polonia;* Ladiſlaus, *King of Bohemia, and* Mathias *King of Hungary, diſcourſed with ſuch grauity and vehemency,* vt præ admiratione adſtantes obſtupuerint. Ita tunc, virtute Erneſti Saxonis & eloquentia Ioannis Marchionis hæc ora Germaniæ magno diſcrimine liberata, redijt ad tranquilitatem, *That the aſſiſtants were amazed with admiration. So then by the vertue of* Erneſt *of Saxony, and the eloquence of the Marques* Iohn, *that coaſt of Germany was freed from great danger, and recouered peace-*

horſe,

horſe, and preſented themſelues before Vratiſlauia, proteſting that they came thither to no other end, but to ſet vpon him that would not liue in peace. So by their meanes a peace was concluded the 12. of February, in the yeare 1475. and Sileſia was diuided betwixt *Ladiſlaus* and *Mathias*.

Mathias makes war againſt the Emperour

This war being ended, he began an other againſt the Emperour, he beſieged Bohemia, and forſt the Emperour to demand a peace. Pope *Sixtus*, and the Senate of Venice (for that they would not incenſe the Emperour) tooke from him the penſions which they had giuen him, to the end that the Emperour ſhould not think that they fauoured his deſignes; yet for all this *Mathias* did not forbeare to preſſe the Emperour to effect that which he had promiſed him; & ſeeing that hee thought to entertaine him with the vanity of his words, hee began the warre againe, and beſieged and tooke Hambourg vpon the confines of Auſtria and Hungary.

Death of *Mathias Huniades.*

Mahomet thinking to make his profit of this diuiſion, ouer-ran the Countries of Dalmatia, Carinthia and Friuly, and carried away a great number of ſlaues; but they were ſet at liberty, and they that led them cut in peeces, being incountred by *Mathias* Captaines.[f] The Emperour *Fredericke* ſought a peace of him; the which taking no effect, there was a truce concluded. Soone after *Mathias*[g] died at Vienna in Auſtria of an Apoplexie, in the yeare 1490. being 47. yeares old. He had taken to his ſecond wife, *Beatrix* daughter to *Ferdinand*, King of Naples, by whom he had not any children, ſuffering himſelfe to be tranſported with her ambitious humors, enemies to all reſt.

The commendation which is giuen him of a great Prince, and a great Captaine, doth not blemiſh that to haue made the Sciences and learning to flouriſh againe, and to haue fauoured them that made profeſſion thereof, and among others, *Iohn* of Monroyall, the Ornament of the Mathematickes: He repleniſhed his library with the rareſt bookes hee could finde, out of the which are come ſome fragments of *Polybius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*.[h] If after the death of *Mahomet* they had put *Zizimi* into his hands, as he deſired and beſought the Pope, he had ouer-throwne the tyranny of the *Ottomans*: for *Bajazeth* vpon theſe apprehenſions, ſought to be at peace with him; but the Pope would haue him make warre againſt the Huſſites of Bohemia.

Let vs returne and ſee what *Lewis* doth in his ſad & melancholike thoughts of that day which muſt bee the Iudge of all the reſt: he hath giuen an end to all his deſignes, and the law of Nature will haue him end: hee doth not liue but by intreaty, and the dayes which remaine ſerue onely but to the end he ſhould husband them that they might profite thoſe which hee hath paſt and loſt. His Seruants comfort him, and his Phyſitians haue no meanes

[f] *The portrait of of this Prince makes him of a higher ſtature then the ordinary of men, open and quicke eyes, his eye-browes eleuated, a bigge head, a faire face, and of a good complexion a large forehead & flaxen haire.*

[g] *Hee that hath written the Hiſtory of the kings of Hungary, ends the diſcourſe of* Mathias *life in theſe tearmes:* In ſomma non ſi può dire altro di vantagio: ſe non ch'e vanita il perſuaderſi, che altre perſonnagio ſi trouaſſe alhora in tutte le parti pareggiante l'inuitto & glorioſo *Matthia Coruino:* ſe l'ambitione d'vna principeſſa Aragoneſſe non lo haueſſe tyrannegiato. *To conclude, there can bee no more ſaid, but that it is a vanity to think that there can bee any one found comparable to the inuincible and glori-*

ous Mathias Coruinus: *if the ambition of a Princeſſe of Arragon had not tyrannized ouer him.*

[h] *A Prince which affects glory, eſteemes them that are the Trumpets. The moſt valiant haue done things worthy to be written, and haue written things worthy to be read,* Corn. Sulla, Cæſar, Auguſtus, Claudius, Traian, Adrian.

to cure him: they entertaine him with vaine hopes, and diuert his thoughts from any thing that might augment his waywardneſſe: And for that they told him, that a Northerly winde, which did then reigne, made mens bodies ſickly, and did hurt the fruits, he commanded the Pariſians to goe in Proceſſion to S. *Denis*, to cauſe it to ceaſe. [i]

[i] *The Chronicle ſaith, that to appeaſe this Northerly winde, all the Eſtates of Paris went diuers dayes in proceſſion to S. Denis in the moneth of February, & that the ſame prayers were made in May following for the kings health.*

But he was more troubled with diſtruſt: It is a torment vnto him, in compariſon whereof all his other afflictions ſeeme light: Hee feares his ſonne ſhould deale with him, as he had done with *Charles* the ſeuenth his father, and that he would bee the head of a faction. When as *Peter*, Duke of Bourbon his ſon-in-law, entred into his chamber, he would ſee if they of his traine were not armed. Hee liued in as great feare amongſt his owne followers, as a paſſenger can doe in a thicke Forreſt which is haunted with Theeues and Murderers. [k] Diſtruſt of *Lewis* 11.

[k] *The Prince is happy which diſtruſteth not his ſubiects, but can ſleep ſafely with them, yea among the woods, as* Eberhard, *Duke of Wittemberg ſaid.*

Hee feareth leſt they ſhould aduance his dayes, that the old factions would reuiue: In former times hee diſſembled all, now hee diſtruſts all; he doth not remember what was paſt, but to be reuenged of offences: he doubts his ſon-in-law, diſtruſts his daughter, and feares his ſonne. And to the end the weakeneſſe of his minde ſhould not bee iudged by the indiſpoſition of his body; and to make it knowne that they be not the legges, [l] but the minde which commaundes and reignes, hee makes diuers Ordonances, which make the people thinke that they cannot come but from a ſound iudgement, and a firme and vigorous diſpoſition: for although that theſe deſires ſeemed to haue ridiculous cauſes, yet they proceede from a great and conſtant reſolution to end his life in action.

[l] *Authority and Seuerity ſhould ſupport the contempt of olde age: the Empeperour* Seuerus *being full of the gout, the great men of his Court contemned him, and gaue the Title of Emperour vnto his ſonne:* Seuerus *cauſed himſelfe to bee carried vnto the Pallace, and commanded thoſe proond heades which contemned him, to bee cut off, who being proſtrate at his feete to demaund pardon, hee ſaid vnto them,* Learne that it is the head, which commaundes, and not the legges.

But he was no more but a walking Anatomy, and euery man wondred how hee could liue: *Philip de Commines* ſaith, that in the voyages which hee made to diuers places after his firſt ſickneſſe at the Forges of Chinon, *His great Heart carried him.* Now hee hath not any about him but two or three men of baſe condition, and bad fame, who after his death were preſently chaſed from Court: hee did often change the Groome of his Chamber, and all other ſorts of ſeruants; and to excuſe this change, hee ſaid, that it was one of the pleaſures of nature. Hee did not ſuffer them to ſpeake vnto him of any Affaires, but ſuch as could not bee diſpatched but by his Commaundement. A Prince in his perfect health ſhould not bee troubled nor importuned with euery thing. [m]

Humane remedies failing to cure him, they had recourſe to extraordinary, and did things which the originall calleth ſtrange.

[m] *Whileſt that a Prince buſieth his head about matters of ſmall conſequence, the moſt important paſſe away and are forgotten. It is not fit to trouble a prince with all ſorts of Affaires, nor to binde him to play the part of a Chauncellor or Preſident.* Maius aliquid & excellentius à principe poſtulatur, *Some greater matter, and more excellent is expected from a Prince.* Tacit.

Philip

Philip de Commines ſaith, *That Pope Sixtus the fourth being informed, that through deuotion he deſired to haue the Corporall whereon S.* Peter *ſang Maſſe, he ſent it preſently vnto him, with many other Reliques, the which were returned backe againe.*[n]

It ſeemeth that *Philip de Commines* doth great wrong vnto the memory and courage of ſuch a Prince, when hee ſaith, that neuer man feared death ſo much, or did ſo many things to thinke to auoid it; and who in the apprehenſions he had that they would aduance it, he neither truſted ſonne, daughter, nor ſon-in-law: what a madneſſe, to offend Nature to auoid that which ſhee hath ordained? What a blindneſſe, to thinke to reſiſt time, which carrieth away all? Turne thy head of all ſides, thou ſhalt ſee the ruines of Townes, and why not of Men? Behold *Megara* before thee, *Aegina* at thy backe, *Pyrea* on the right hand, and *Corinth* on thy left. What is all this but ruine, contempt, ſolitarineſſe and horror?[o]

They told him, that in Calabria there liued one called *Francis of Paulo*, an Hermite of an admirable holineſſe and auſterity of life; who did great miracles: he neuer ceaſed vntill he had obtained leaue from the Pope to draw him into France, thinking that by his preſence and prayers he might prolong Life, and recoile Death. This holy man had not purchaſed the reputation of ſanctity by falſe Titles: he had made profeſſion from his Infancie[p] by an incredible humility and auſterity of life. God had giuen him the gift of Propheſie, and had vſed his hands to make his power knowne. He had paſt the ſtraight of Sicile vpon his Cloke ſpred vpon the Waues, the Maiſter of the Barke refuſing to receiue him, and reiecting him as an vnprofitable burthen. The King ſent men expreſly to Naples to haue him come: hee paſt by Rome, where he was honoured of all men for the holineſſe of his life. Entring into the Kings Chamber, hee caſt himſelfe at his feet, intreating him to prolong his dayes: he would willingly haue had the Sunne deſcend ten degrees, and the ſhadowes of his Diall to haue gone backe. *Philip de Commines* doth not report the Anſwere of this Hermite, and hath depriued vs of ſo iuſt a curioſity, hee ſaith onely, *That hee anſwered as a wiſe Man ſhould doe.* Hee went not with that oſtentation which we finde in them that are learned: for hee was ſuch a one as Saint *Francis* deſired his Religious men, ſhould bee more skilfull to pray then to reade,[q] hee had a ſweete, pleaſing, and eaſie ſpeech, and his language was Italian, not common, or much knowne vnto the French, which made him to bee admired. Wee muſt beleeue, that this light of the Spirit of God, ſhining clearely in a minde purged from worldly affaires,[r] made him ſpeake words, if not altogether Diuine, yet at

[n] *Of this, & for that the Turke ſent to offer him the Reliques which were found at Conſtantinople,* Phil de Commines *concluddes, that this Prince was eſteemed and honoured throughout the world.*

[o] Sulpitius *comforts* Tully *by the ruines of theſe foure Townes which were ſometimes moſt flouriſhing, ſaying,* Hemnos honumculi indignamur ſi quis noſtrum interijt cum vni loco tot appidorum cadauera proiecta ſint. *Are wee poore men angry if any of vs dye, when as the carkaſſes of ſo many Townes are caſt into one place?*

[p] Francis of Paulo *borne of meane parẽtage, profeſt himſelfe an Hermite from his youth. Hee went out of his Hermitage to build a little Church neere vnto* Paulo, *where hee layd the firſt foundations of his Order vpon humility, calling them* Minimes *that ſhold make profeſſion, and vpon auſterity, binding them by a fourth vow to a perpetuall lent. He died at Tours being 93 yeares old.*

[q] *Francis of Aſſiſe ſaid, that hee had rather haue his religious men skilfull in praying then in reading.*

[r] *As the ſonne is ſeene more plainly in a cleerre water then in mire, ſo the diuine light ſhines more in ſpirits that are cleanſed from worldly affaires then in thoſe that are alwayes troubled with the cares thereof.*

the leaſt, free from pleaſing and flattery, which in theſe extremities, doe alwayes abuſe Princes; making them beleeue that they are farre from death, although it hang vpon their lippes. There are many which aſſure them that they ſhould hope for more good then they euer had; but there are fewe which let them know, that they ſhould feare greater torments then they haue euer endured. It is lawfull for the Phyſitian of the body to[f] lye vnto his Patient, but he that hath the cure of Soules, neither may nor ought.

Flatterers pleaſing to Princes.

God did much fauour this Prince, to ſend him a man of this condition to helpe him to dye; who among many great qualities, neceſſary to this Office, euen towards ſuch a King, might ſpeake freely vnto him, without diſſembling, or flattery: For Princes in theſe extreamities haue need of men which ſhould not bee like vnto the ſonnes of *Zebedee*, who ſpake of Scepters and Honours, when as Chriſt diſcourſed of the Croſſe: They muſt let them know, that the world, and all that is great and admirable in the world, is vnworthy of the ſoule, which is not made for the world, but the world is made for it. [e] That beeing of a ſubſtance exempt from corruption, and by conſequence, from death, cannot haue an obiect diſproportionable to her power, nor can delight in mortall and corruptible things; and being the Image[u] of God, there is not any thing hath reference to her eternall eſſence, but her Immortality. God had no beginning, and it hath hath no ending: God is for euer, and man deſires nothing more then to continue his being. The forme of his vnderſtanding is Truth, and there is no other Truth, but God. The great world hath but one ſunne, the leſſer but one ſoule, and both haue but one God.

This good man vndertooke to make this Prince capable of two things, the hearing whereof is difficult to men, and Kings are very hardly taught: to loue God, and to contemne the world. The world entertaines their minde with ſo many things which men think worthy of loue, as they cannot lodge any other affection in their hearts, and do not thinke of the loue wherewith the Angels liue and burne, being the fire of the Intellectuall world, as the Sun is of the cœleſtiall, and the Elementary of ours. Princes in ſtead of louing God, loue themſelues, they finde that all is made for them, they diſpoſe ſo abſolutely of all the beauties and pleaſures of the world, as they deſire no other: they haue vnder their powers ſo many great and goodly ſpirits, as they haue no will to change their abode, to ſee them of the other world; [x] all is made for them, nothing is ſpoken againſt them: for them the fiſh cut the waues, the birds beate the aire, beaſts march vpon the earth, and men runne,

[f] Plato *in the third Booke of his Common-weale, giues phyſitians leaue to lye, and to promiſe health vnto the ſicke, euen in their extremity, to giue the ſame courage & comfort.*

[e] *The health of the body depends of the ſoule.* The ſoule (*ſaith Chryſoſtome*) was not made for the body, but the body for the ſoule, who ſo neglects the firſt, and is too carefull of the ſecond, looſeth both.

[u] *As a Tryangle is not filled with a Tryangle, ſo nothing is able to fill the heart but God.* Cæteris omnibus occupari poteſt, repleri autem non poteſt, capacem enim Dei, quicquid Deo minus eſt non implebit. *It may well be buſied with other things, but it cannot be filled: whatſoeuer is capable of God, nothing can fill it that is leſſe then God.*

[x] *One demaunded of* Cercidas *the* Megapolitaine *if hee dyed willingly. Why not, ſaid hee? For after my death I ſhall ſee thoſe great men,* Pythagoras *among the Phyloſophers,* Hecateus *among the Hiſtorians,* Homer *among the Poets, and* Olympus *among the Muſitians.* Ael.lib. 13. de Var.Hiſt.

toyle,

toyle, ſweat and kill themſelues; wherefore when in the end conſcience commands them to raiſe their thoughts towards the place whither their face is turned, to mount towards their beginning, to breathe nothing but eternity, to contemne the fumes of the world, and to admire the light of Heauen, they haue their heads ſo heauy, and their eyes ſo dazled, as they cannot vnderſtand, that *Hee that loueth the world, the loue of God is not in him.* The eye cannot, at one inſtant, behold both heauen and earth.

The exhortations of *Francis de Paulo* did caſt ſome ſeeds of the loue of God into this Princes heart; but the cares of the world were the birds which carried it away, and did ſmother it in the thornes of affaires. The fruits of a ſlow piety, which doth flouriſh but in the Winter of mans life, doe neuer ripe well. It muſt bee manured in due time:[y] the ſame God which would haue fire burning alwayes vpon his Altar, will that fire burne continually in a Princes Heart. It was ſometime kindled well in that of *Lewis*, but the firſt winde of worldly affaires blew it away.

His heart had good inclinations when as neceſſity and afflictions preſt it; but hee ſuffered them to wither at the firſt Sunne-ſhine of proſperity. A miſchiefe which is naturall to the fragilitie of men, who doe no good, but for the feare of euill, and make themſelues voluntary ſlaues to things whereunto they ſhould command, and which are made for them. There is not any man but would bluſh at the reproach which his owne conſcience may giue him, that if hee had giuen him the tenth part of the time which he hath imployed for his fleſh, it ſhould bee much better.[z]

Lewis then following the firſt traine of his life, ſeemed to haue more Deuotion then Conſcience, more trembling with ſuperſtition then conſtant in Piety, [a] more deſirous of the health of his body, then of his ſoule: for hauing made a prayer vnto Saint *Eutropeus* to recommende vnto him the one and the other, *Claudius* of Seiſſell ſaid, that hee cauſed the word *Soule* to bee put out, ſaying; That it was ſufficient if the Saint made him to haue corporall health without importuning him with ſo many things.

Hee was growne ſo confident that his holy man would cure him, as hee ſtill ſent to *Pleſſis* to tell him, that it conſiſted onely in him to prolong his life: The more hee truſted this good man, the more he diſtruſted all his ſeruants.[b] The Caſtle was well guarded, the Walles were fortified with great barres of Iron. The guard ſtood Centinell in the Ditches, hauing command to ſhoot at any one that ſhould aproch before the gates were opened

[y] *That piety comes late when it hath not recourſe to God, but at need. Byon had vanquiſhed Athens, & had poyſoned many ſpirits with the impiety of* Theodorus, *his maiſter being reduced in the end to languiſh of a great infirmity, hee began to acknowledge, that there were Gods, but it was to cure him. A mad man (ſaid he that writ his life) not to beleeue that there were Gods, but whe he had need of their helpe.* Diog. Laert. lib. 4.

[z] *This reproch is like vnto that of* Marcus Varro, *in his Satyrs.* Si quantum operæ ſumpſiſti vt tuus piſtor bonum faceret panem, eius duodecimam Philoſophiæ dediſſe tempore bonus iampridem eſſes factus. *If thou hadſt ſpent but the twelfth part of that time in philoſophy which thou didſt to haue thy Baker make good bread thou hadſt in time been made a good man.*

[a] Alexander *was ſtrooke with this infirmity, who hauing liued impiouſly, dyed ſuperſtitiouſly. At his death there was none ſeene about him but Diuines and South-ſayers, who made prodigies of the lighteſt things.*

[b] *Such extraordinary guards and diſtruſts were not without cauſe: for as* Phil. de Commines *ſaith, ſome had an intent to enter into* Pleſſis, *and to diſpatch matters as they thought good, for that there was nothing diſpatched; but they durſt not attempt it, wherein they did wiſely, for there was good order taken.*

Hee would willingly haue drawne the ladder after him going to bed: hee daily changed his ſeruants, and depended vpon the auſtere humors of *Iohn Cottiere* his Phyſitian, to whom hee gaue monethly ten thouſand Crownes, not daring to refuſe him any thing, and promiſing whatſoeuer hee deſired, ſo as hee would chaſe away that fearfull apparition[c] of Death, at the name whereof hee ſhrunke downe betwixt the ſheetes. This Phyſitian did ſometimes braue him, ſaying; *I know well, that one of theſe mornings you will chaſe me away as you haue done others; but I ſweare by God, you ſhall not liue eight dayes after.* This poore Prince in ſtead of vſing him as *Maximin* did his,[d] gaue him whatſoeuer he would, Biſhopprickes, Benefices, and Offices. The holy man of Calabria on the other ſide watcht, faſted, and prayed continually for the King, neither was it euer poſſible to diuert him from the thoughts of his pouerty. The King could not giue enough to the one, and could not force the other to receiue any thing.[e]

He ſometimes attired himſelfe richly, contrary to his cuſtome, but it was in a Gallery like to a flaſh of lightening, and as one would ſay, *I am yet here*; or by his rareneſſe to procure admiration to Maieſty and Grauity, like to to the Kings of *Egipt*; [f] hee had not any in his Court, but his Phyſitian and maiſter *Oliuer*. Euery man began to bee weary of this ſolitarineſſe. The French deſire to ſee, and to preſſe neere their King: They doe not Court it in vaine, and doe not ſerue an inuiſible maiſter: Hee ordained diuers buſineſſes, both within and without the Realme, ſending to fetch diuers things out of farre Countreyes for oſtentation and rareneſſe; [g] as little Lyons in Affricke, Rayne-Deere and Buffes in Sweathland and Denmarke, Allans in Spaine, Mules from Sicile, and little Grey-houndes out of Brittanie: Hee changed his Officers, caſhiered his Captaines, tooke away their penſions, and all to bee ſpoken of, fearing they ſhould hold him to be dead, although it bee very hard to conceale the death of a great King.[h] They might ſay of his deſignes, as *Stratonicus* did of the Rhodians buildings: That he vndertooke things as if hee had beene Immortall: for hee feared, that in doing nothing, the people would bee curious to know what hee did, not apprehending ſo much the hatred of his ſubiects as their contempt.

Curioſity of *Lewis the* 11th.

In theſe laſt and extreame languiſhings hee cauſed the peace to be proclaimed at Paris; as the Archduke had done at Bruſſels: for it had bin ſaid, that it ſhonld be publiſhed in the Courts of Parliament of France, and in the chiefe Townes vnder the Archdukes obedience, and ſworne by the Abbots, Prelats and Noblemen of the countries of *Artois* & *Burgondy*, to the end it might be known that it

Publication of the peace.

[c] Alexander Tyrant *of Pherea liued in ſuch diſtruſt, as the Chamber wherin he was accuſtomed to lye, was kept by two terrible dogges, hauing a ladder to aſcend vnto it.*

[d] Maximin *the Emperour commanded his phyſitions to be ſlain for that they could not cure his wounds.*

[e] Antipather *King of Macedon ſaid, that he had two friends at Athens,* Phocian & Demades, *The one hee could neuer content with giuing, and the other he could neuer moue to receiue any thing that hee offered him.* Plut.

[f] *The ancient Kings of Aegipt ſhewed themſelues ſeldome vnto the people, and alwayes after ſome newe manner, carrying ſometimes fire vpon their heads, and ſometimes a bird, or a branch, to moue admiration.*

[g] *The more rare and vnknowne things that Princes haue, the more apparant is their greatneſſe, and therefore they cauſe many beaſts to bee kept for ſhew, as Tygres, Lyons, and Ounces.*

[h] *There is nothing can bee leſſe concealed then the death of a prince.* [i] Stratonicus *ſaid, that the Rhodians did eate as if they ſhould dye ſoone, and did build as if they had beene immortall.* Plut.

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was not onely made with the Princes to continue during their liues, but with the Princes and people. The Princeſſe *Margaret* [k] was brought to Hedin by the Lady of Rauestien, baſe daughter to Duke *Phillip*. The Earle of Beaujeu, and the Lady *Anne* of France his wife receiued her, and conducted her to Amboiſe whereas as the Dauphin was: Shee made her entry into Paris in the beginning of Iune, and was married in Iuly.

[k] *This marriage was ſo diſpleaſing vnto the Arch-duke, as* Phillip de Cõmines *ſaith, he would willingly haue taken her from them if he could, before ſhe went out of the Country, but they of Gand had giuen her a good Guard.*

Entry of the Lady Dauphin into Paris.

The Chronicle reports the pompe of this entry in theſe termes. *On Monday the ſecond of Iune, about fiue of the clocke in the euening, the Lady Dauphin made her entry into Paris, being accompanied by the Lady of Beaujeu and the Admirals wife, with other Ladies and Gentlewomen, and they entred by Saint* Dennis *gate, whereas were prepared for her comming three goodly Scaffolds; in the one, and the higheſt, was a perſonage repreſenting the King, as Soueraigne; On the ſecond were two goodly children, a ſonne and a daughter, attired in white Dammaſke, repreſenting the ſaid Dauphin, and the Lady of Flanders; and in the other vnderneath, were the perſonages of the Lord of Beaujeu, and of the Lady his wife; and of either ſide of the ſaid Perſonages were the Armes of the ſaid Lords and Ladies: There were alſo foure perſonages, one of the Husbandmen, another of the Clergy, the third of Marchandize, and the laſt of the Nobility, euery of which made a ſhort ſpeech at her entry.*

The marriage being celebrated at Paris, whereunto all the chiefe Townes of the Realme were inuited, the King would haue his ſonne returne to Amboiſe, not holding it fit that this new Sonne ſhould riſe before the Weſt of his life. This great reioycing of all France did but augment his heauineſſe, to ſee himſelfe forced to quit the place vnto his ſonne: All the helpes which the Art of man could inuent were imployed: He cauſed the holy Oile to be brought, [l] the Clergy of Paris, the Court of Parliament, the Vniuerſity, and other Companies, went in Proceſſion, the laſt day of Iuly 1483. to meete it at Saint *Anthonies* in the field, it was lodged that night in the holy Chappell, and the next day paſſed on, and was followed with the ſame company vnto our Lady in the fields. *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, that he had an intent to take the like vnction that he did at his Coronation: Others haue written that it was to know the declining of his life, for when the King is dead, it is empty, and filleth againe miraculouſly for the Coronation of a new.

[l] *This Vyall of holy Oile was ſeene by* Philip de Commines *vpon the Cupbord in the Kings Chamber, at Pleſſis, at the houre of his death. Others haue written that he gaue vp the Ghoſt as it arriued.*

Laſt actions of *Lewis* the eleuenth.

On Monday, the 25. of Auguſt, he fell into that extremity of ſickeneſſe which ended his daies, and forced him to acknowledge himſelfe, not onely mortall and dying, but as death: At that time he ſent vnto his ſonne, all ſuch as came to ſee him, ſaying vnto them: *Go vnto my ſonne, your King, ſerue him well:* giuing to euery one ſome charge to deliuer vnto him, but moſt confidently to *Stephen de Vers*, Baliffe of Meaux, who had bene his Gouernour: He ſent vnto him alſo his chiefe Officers, the Chancellour with his Seales, and all his traine, the Captaines and Archers of his

Guard, his Huntſ-men and Faulkeners. But his intent was not to ſuffer them long there, if hee recouered his health as aſſuredly as he felt his courage firme, and his iudgement ſtrong, the braine not being troubled with the maligne fumes of his infirmity, for he had a continuall looſeneſſe: So wee ſee that the ſoule in this ſeperation of the lodging wherein it hath beene ſhut, and whereof it hath great cauſe to complaine,[m] recouereth new ſtrength, by the ioy which it conceiues to re-enter into this ſpheare of her reſt. She diſpoſeth (ſaith a great man of this age) more wiſely, and more holily of all things, fore-ſeeth more certainely that which is to come, fore-telleth it and doth prophecy, for that ſhee beginnes to approach to her firſt beginning, to be ioyned againe to that immortall being, and to participate with the life eternall.

Soone after hee fell into great faintings, which made him to looſe his ſpeech, but he recouered it, to will the Duke of Bourbon to go vnto the King his ſonne, and that hee ſhould haue a care of him, charging him with many extraordinarie things, the which had cauſed terrible accidents if they had encountred a froward and difficult ſpirit: *Philip de Commines* in this place ſpeakes what hee thinkes good, and confirmeth his opinion by the euents, *Hee gaue him all the charge and gouernement of the King, and commanded him that ſome men ſhould not come neere him, telling him many good and notable cauſes, and if the Lord of Beaujeu had obſerued his commandements in euery point (or at leaſt in part, for there were ſome extraordinary cõmandements which were not to be kept) & that in the generality he had obſerued thẽ better, I think it had been profitable both for the Realme and himſelfe, conſidering thoſe things which haue ſince happened.*[n]

Commandements extraordinary of the King.

This commandement of the King incountering a ſpirit, which was milde, tractable, and temperate, had not the effects it ſhould haue had. Bounty, and mildeneſſe are ſometimes negligent in matters which require heate, and quickeneſſe. This Prince was one of the beſt of his age, being nothing but mildeneſſe and courteſie. The more rare theſe qualities are in Princes,[o] the more excellent they are: arrogancy neuer faileth in them who haue no wants, and pride doth alwaies follow felicity: It is a miracle to ſee a great Prince, courteous, milde, and affable. Rome found not any Surname more odious, for the laſt of her Kings, then that of Proud, and comprehended in that word all the vices, for the which ſhe changed the forme of her gouernment, and ſuppreſt the Royalty in deſpite of the King; Yet the mildeneſſe and facillity of this Princc gaue a great foundation to the troubles which happened for the Regency of the Realme.

[m] *The body complaines of the ſoule, as of a troubl ſome gueſt, & the ſoule complaines of the body, as of a troubleſome lodging.* Vt qui in alieno habitant multis aguntur incommodis, ſemperq; de aliqua domicilij parte queruntur: Ita animus nunc de capite, nunc de pedibus, nunc de ſtomacho, nunc aliud de aliquo queritur ſignificans ſe eſſe non in ſuo domicilio, ſed vnde breui ſit emigrandum: *As they that dwell in another mans houſe haue many diſcommodities and doe ſtill complaine of ſome part of it: So the ſoule doth complaine ſometimes of the head, of the legs, of the ſtomacke and other parts, ſhewing that ſhe is not in her own manſion, but frõ whence ſhe muſt ſoone depart.* Sẽ.

[n] Phi. de Com. *doth note heere the diuiſion which was betwixt the Lady* Anne *of France, and the D. of Orleance, whereof he hath not written any thing in the courſe of the hiſtory: A diuiſion which cauſed the Aſſembly of the Eſtates at Tours, and then of a league, whoſe firſt attempts appeared before Orleance, the ſecond ended in Brittany, by the battell of Saint Aubin the 28. of Iuly 1488. and by the taking of the Duke of Orleans.*

[o] *Humility and courteſie are goodly qualities in great men:* Humanitas tam clara in imperatore quam rara eſt. Nam quum indiſcreta felicium prediſſequa ſit ſuperbia, vix cuiquam contingit & abundare fortuna & indigere arrogantia. Cuius quidem ita maiores noſtros ſemper præteſum eſt, vt grauiorem ſemper putauerint ſeruitutæ contemptum. *Humanity is as glorious as rare in an Emperour: For as arrogancy is an indiſcreeet Hand-maid to fortune, it ſeldome happens that any one abounds with good fortune and wants arrogancy: The which was alwaies ſo hatefull to our fore-fathers, as they held contempt more grieuous then ſeruitude.* Lat. Pac. Pan.

The

Lewis the 11. would not haue the speake of death vnto him.

The King had often said in his life time, that in what extremity soeuer they saw him they should neuer pronounce that word of death vnto him, [p] finding it too distasting for a Kings eare: Yet must he be content that she present her selfe, and that she take his Crowne from his head, as she hath done the Armes, Club, Sceptter, and Sword out of the hands of *Achilles, Hercules, Alexander,* and *Cæsar*: They that had charge of his conscience, expected when he himselfe finding his strength to faile would acknowledge it. The resolution to signifie this iudgement vnto him, was taken betwixt a Diuine, his Physition, and Maister *Oliuer*: They went roughly unto him, and with small respect, like vnto men which had added impudencie to the baseneſſe of their condition, there

Indiscretion of the that speaks to *Lewis* the 11. of death.

speech was after this manner: *Sir, wee must discharge our consciences, hope no more in this holy man nor in any other thing, for vndoubtedly you are a dead man, thinke of your conscience, for there is no remedy:* Euery man spake something briefly, to let him know that they were all of one accord concerning his death: He answered, *I hope that God will helpe mee*; and the flesh desiring to deceiue the Spirit by a vaine confidence of her forces, and to declare herselfe openly against the constancy and resolution, which this last point of life required of him, to make them iudge of his courage, she made him say, *I am not, it may be, so sicke as you thinke:* Being halfe dead he counterfeits himselfe whole; The spirit, body, & forces faile him, onely dissembling holdeth good: Hee desired rather to weare in languishing, then couragiously to breake in sunder the chaine which (although he were a great Prince) held him in the seruitude of life. [q]

Hee was enuironed with Reliques, and made Barricades of them, thinking that death should not dare to passe ouer them, and lay hold of him, he was so often dead, as fiue daies before his death [r] newes came to Paris before the accident, by reason of a fainting: They that were about him held him for dead, and euery man thought of his owne priuate affaires: But behold sodainely the dead man called for meate, they saw him reuiue in an instant hauing a plaine speech, a firme vnderstanding, and a iudgement such as in the vigour of his age, disposing of many things for the good of his Estate, as if this fainting of his bodily force had beene nothing but to suffer his spirit to meditate: saying; *Tell* Des Cordes *that hee giue ouer the enterprise which wee haue vpon Callice, least hee incense the English, that hee remaine sixe monthes with the King my sonne, and that they thinke no more to make warre against the Duke of Brittany, nor any neighbours to this*

[p] *These feares which happen at the dissolution of such sweete company as the body and the soule, cometh not through faintnes of heart, or want of courage; this word* Death, *hath drawne words of griefe from the soule of the Son of God, it hath made the heart of the most constant to tremble, and the Stoickes haue painted palenes and blushing on the foreheads of many great and valiant Captaines: The greatest courage of the world, would not willingly go to danger, if he were assured to dye there.*

[q] Lewis *hath had great resemblances in his raigne, and in his life, to the humour of* Tiberius, *his end did also sauour of his.* Tiberium iam corpus iam vires nondum dissimulatio deserebat, idē animi vigor sermone ac vultu intentus quæsitæ interdum comitate quāuis manifesta defectione tegebat. *Force & strength fayled* Tiberius, *but not dissembling, the same vigor of the minde with a setled speech and countenance, and a counterfeit courtesie did couer it, although he decayed visibly.* Tacit. lib. 6. Annal.

[r] Tiberius *did all he could to conceale his death, it being bruited abroad* Caligula *thought to enter into the Empire, but behold the dead man demanded meate, and his successour began to quake for feare:* Macro *who had beene one of his fauourits, seeing him to continue too long, caused him to be smothered with couerings.* Macro intrepidus opprimi senem iniectu maltæ vestis iubet discediq; ab limine. Macro *being without feare, commanded that the old man should be smothered with couerings, and that they should presently go from the dore.*

Realme

Realme for fiue yeares at the leaſt. Hee would haue peace beginne his new raigne, to the end the Kingmight grow in age, and France in wealth: *I will be interred, ſaid he, at our Lady of Clery, and accompanied at my funerall by ſuch and ſuch.* They told him that the Kings of France were interred at Saint *Dennis,* [f] and that his father and Grand-fathers were there, *It is all one,* ſaid he, *I will lye there:* Hee had ſo great a deuotion to the Virgin *Mary*, had made ſo many vowes vnto her, and had receiued ſuch viſible effects of her interceſſion, as he would haue her Temple the depoſitary of his bones.

He fell extremely ſicke on Monday, and although that no man thought that he ſhould haue continued vntill the next day, yet hee ſaid, *That the good Lady would make him liue vntill Saturdy*: It was true, his prayer returned into his owne boſome; he ended the weeke, the laſt day of his life was on Saturday, the thirtieth of Auguſt, at eight of the clocke at night, hauing liued three ſcore and three yeares, and raigned three and twenty: Hee continued in the world longer then any Prince of his race, that is to ſay of the third branch of the Kings of France, but he liued little, [t] hee that hath beene long at Sea in ſtormes and tempeſts, and hath neuer arriued at a ſafe Port, cannot ſay that he hath ſayled much, but that he hath bene long toſſed with a tempeſt: In like manner hee that hath liued long in the croſſes of this life, cannot ſay that his life hath beene long, but that hee hath continued long in the waues of this world.

Death of *Lewis* the eleuenth.

Hee dyed not with this griefe, not to haue done any thing in the world, he that in dying carryeth no other marke of his being, but old age, departeth ſhamefully out of this life: *Lewis* the 11. left it not with that remorſe to haue beene idle, & to haue let the torrent of age ſlip away, without retaining ſome-thing [u] for his ſucceſſors, giue him the honour to haue freed them from ſubiection, and France is bound vnto him to haue beautefied it with the Crownes of Dukes and Earles. The death of *Charles* the laſt, Duke of Bourgundy, reſtored vnto him the Dutchy, and County of Bourgundy, but his good title muſt be ſo aſſiſted by force, as his Prouinces were rather conquered then reſtored.

He vnited alſo vnto the Crowne, the Dutchies of Anjou and Mayne, which had beene ſeparated for the portion of *Charles* the firſt King of Sicile, [x] and giuen for a Dowry to the Lady *Margaret* of Sicile, who married with *Charles* of France Earle of Vallois. This marriage reſtored that hope vnto France, which ſhe had in a

[f] *Saint* Dennis *Church is the Sepulchre of the Kings of France* Dagobert *was the firſt founder, and there was interred: The Kings predeceſſours had their Sepulchres in diuers places,* Clouis *is interred at Saint* Geneuiefue, Childebert, Chilperic, *and* Clotaire *at S.* Germain *des pres,* Clouis *or* Lewis, *at Chelles,* Pepin *at Saint* Denis, Charlemaine, *at Aix La Chapelle, and their ſucceſſours haue their Tombes in diuers places, but the greateſt number is at Saint* Dennis.

[t] *I thinke, ſaith* Phillip de Commines, *that from his infancy, he neuer had but troubles and afflictions vntill his death, and if all the good daies which hee had in his life, wherein he had more ioy and pleaſure, then trouble & care, were well numbred, I beleeue there would bee few found, and that for one of pleaſure & eaſe, there would bee twenty of paine and affliction.*

[u] *Of running water there is nothing kept but what is drawne forth to vſe; In like manner of the courſe of life, there remaineth nothing but what vertue reſerueth for glory to haue liued:* Tantum habes à currente flumine quantum hauris ita ex annis ſemper euntibus nihil accipis niſi quod in res duraturas collocaris. *Thou haſt ſo much of a running ſtreame as thou draweſt forth, ſo of yeares which ſtill ſlide away, thou retaineſt nothing but what thou doſt employ in durable things.*

[x] *The returnes of the Counties of Anjou and Maine, which had beene very remote from the Crowne, was drawne there by the marriage of* Charles *of Valois, who married the daughter of* Charles *the ſecond, King of Sicile, vpon condition that he ſhould renounce the rights and hopes of the Crowne of Valencia and Arragon.*

manner

manner loſt to reunite thoſe Prouinces, for that contrary to the Law of the Realme, they had beene giuen in marriage to a daughter.

France is alſo bound vnto him for the acquiſition of the County of Prouence, by the meanes which haue beene formerly mentioned: The peece was not entire, for the Principallity of Orange was ſeperated, yet in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and fifteene, he had purchaſed the homage and iuriſdiction of *William* of Chalon Prince of Orange, and made it ſubiect to that of Dauphine.[y]

Age of *Lewis* the eleuenth.

Hee paſt the three ſcore and third yeare of his age, the which he had alwaies apprehended for that the Kings of this branch had neuer attained vnto it: And as it is the nature of man to deſire to liue, and to repent to haue liued, when he had attained vnto it, he would willingly haue kept backe that tearme, in the which nature by the great infirmities wherewith hee was brought low, chaſed him out of this life, not as from a Ship-wracke, but as out of an Inne where hee had made good cheere.[z] In like manner Princes, and they that haue liued in pleaſure, feare not death for want of courage, as many thinke, but for the long continuance of their delights and contents. Hee arriued not at this port without ſtormes and great perils, in the which hee was preſerued by the ſame hand which had diuerted many damnable attempts againſt his perſon. The moſt doubtfull of theſe accidents was at Peronne, the greateſt at the battle of Montlehery, the moſt vnexpected vnder the port of the Caſtle of Alençon,[a] when as a great ſtone falling from the Vault did but touch his ſleeue: An accident which ſhewes, that no man knowes where death ſhall ſurpriſe him, and that a wiſe man ſhould alwaies attend it reſolutely in all places.

Dangers which hee did eſcape

This Raigne was rough, difficult, and toſſed with ſtrange reuolutions. Such as liued in thoſe times ſaid that the world had neuer beene more wicked. Opinion, which like vnto *Orpheus* Harpe, doth alwaies moue the leſſer and weaker ſpirits, hath made this beleefe common among them, that the world doth daily impaire, that the Golden Age is changed into Siluer, then into Copper, and in the end into Iron and Braſſe: That our[b] Grand-fathers times were better then that of our fathers, that ours hath increaſed in wickedneſſe, and that they which ſhall ſucceed ſhall be more wicked. But I find in this Princes time as famous villanies as haue bene ſince: His Chronicle doth produce many, beſides thoſe great diſtractions which the Hiſtory hath obſerued in publicke actions, as rebellions, Infidelities,

Paradox that the world growth not worſe.

Ætas parentum peior auis tulit.
Nos nequiores mox daturos, Prolem vitioſiorem.

But in all ages men haue beene corrupted and diſordered: Seneca *ſaith, that his complained, and that ſuch as ſhould come after would make the like complaint.*

[y] *Lewis of Chalon Prince of Orange, bought of* René *King of Sicile, the homage and Soueraignty of the Principallity of Orange, which was held of the County of Prouence, and* William *of Chalon ſold it to King* Lewis *the* 11.

[z] Themiſtius *compares the death of old mẽ, to the going out of an Inne, and that of yong men to a Ship-wracke.*

[a] *This accident happened on Sunday the* 8th. *of Auguſt* 1473. Edward *the* 2. *King of England, playing at Cheſſe, ended his game ſo fitly, as a great ſtone fell vpon the place as ſoone as he was vp, and had ſlaine him if hee had ſtayed.* Thomas Walſingham.

[b] *It is true that the older the world growes, the more remote it ſhall bee from the innocency, and ſimplicity of the firſt Age.*

Attempts, Treaſons and Conſpiracies, not diſcouering many other exceſſes which haue remained ſmothered in the conſciences of two or three. I haue collected the examples which it ſetteth downe, as a lumpe of many poyſons to make a Treacle againſt vice. The firſt in ſhewing a great liberty diſcouereth a great bounty.

The yeare that the King made his entry into Paris, a yong woman left her huſband to follow her owne diſordered luſts, and after her huſband beeing well aduiſed (theſe are his very words) tooke her againe. Wiſe men hold the ſower and ſweete of marriage ſecret: That age as well as thoſe which haue gone before, and haue followed after, doth furniſh examples of men, who in fauour of *Mecænas* [c] haue ſhut their eies whilſt they courted their wiues.

[c] Galba *hauing inuited* Mecænas *to ſupper, ſeeing his wife and him to court it by lookes and ſignes, hee ſlipt downe vpon his Cuſhion, fayning to be very ſleepy, to giue way vnto their loues: The which hee maintained with a good grace, for his man being ready to take away the diſhes which ſtood vpon his Table, hee cryed out vnto him, how now Knaue? doſt thou not ſee that I ſleepe not but for* Mecænas.

In the warre of the Common-weale, there were ſeene paſſe through Paris two hundred Archers on horſe-backe, after them eight Strumpets, with a blacke Monke their Confeſſor: In the yeare one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and fiue, the ſixt of Iune, a Capper in Saint *Dennis* Streete, ſtrangled his wife in his owne houſe, and a Labouring man of Clignancourt cut his Throate. Another Gentle-woman of Paris was accuſed of Adultery, and poyſoning, by her owne huſband. A father had long abuſed his owne daughter, and had many children by her, and as the wicked are neuer content with one wickedneſſe, hee fell from Inceſt to Parricide, [d] killing his children ſo ſoone as they were borne: Hee was hanged at Paris, and his daughter was burned at Magny neere vnto Pontoiſe. Three Serieants, forced a Prieſts chamber in Paris and did beate him outragiouſly, they were condemned to bee whipt through the Streetes of Paris. A Religious man of the Temple had his Throate cut by one of his brethren, The great Prior of France being aſſiſted by the Commanders and Knights, condemned him to bee kept priſoner in a Dungeon, and there to be fed with the bread of ſorrow and water of heauineſſe. A faire Burgeſſe of Paris, who was much eſteemed among the women of beſt fame, gaue eare to the Earle of Foix, who attempted againſt her honour, ſuffered her ſelfe to be wonne, and left father, mother, huſband and children, to follow him. A Hoſier being accuſed of many Thefts cut out his owne tongue, for that hee would not confeſſe any thing. There were many ſcandalous Libels caſt abroad in Paris, againſt the Kings chiefe Officers, namely againſt the Conſtable of Saint *Paul*. An Archer was condemned to be hanged at *Paris*, for [e] ſacriledge, hauing robbed the Church of Meudon. A Franciſcan Frier Preaching indiſcretly, was baniſhed the Realme, in the yeare one thouſand foure

Examples of diuers diſorders.

[d] *When as the minde of man hath once ſubiected it ſelfe to the tyrany of vice, hee is not wicked with one kind of crime onely.* Quiſnam hominum eſt quem tu contentum videris vno Flagitio. *What is hee among men, whom thou ſhalt ſee content with one villany.* Iuuen.

[e] *The Schoole of Phyſitions at Paris, demanded him to be cut, that they might ſee how the ſtone is framed, and how it lyeth in mans body, for that there were many troubled therewith in thoſe daies, he was cured and his life ſaued.*

hundred

hundred three ſcore and eighteene, in the month of October, a Monke Hermaphrodite vſing both Sexes became great with childe.

Behold how that in thoſe times, as well as in ours, exceſſe and diſorders were common. The world is nothing but a ſincke of all filthineſſe. *O what a vile and abiect thing* (ſaid an Ancient) *is man, if hee doe not raiſe himſelfe aboue man!* Wee ſee few become good men for the onely reſpect of integrity and honeſty: If they enter into the Temple of Vertue, it is alwaies by ſome falſe dore.

Children of *Lewis* the 11.

Lewis the eleuenth had three ſonnes and three daughters: *Ioachim* died yong, and this death drew, with ſorrow, from the fathers heart a Vow neuer to know any other woman but the Queene. *Francis* Duke of Berry died in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and foureteene: This loſſe cauſed him to ſhut himſelfe vp for ſome few daies, in the Caſtle of Amboiſe, refuſing to ſee or to bee ſeene of any, not conſidering that Kings children were men borne in the cries and groanes of their mothers, and bewayling their owne miſeries like to other men. [f] This griefe was humane, and ſhould haue beene lamented humanely, and comforted by this reaſon: *That the thing which is reſtored to him to whom it belongeth cannot be ſaid to bee loſt*: But it is hard to ſee a goodly flower die at the breake of day: A vaine reaſon, he that maketh it to grow, may gather it when, and how he pleaſeth.

Louyſe his eldeſt daughter dyed alſo in her Infancy; *Anne* was betrothed to *Nicholas* Marqueſſe of Pont, Grand-childe to *René* Duke of Anjou, but hee did not marry her, for the Duke of Bourgundy being iealous of this Alliance propounded vnto him the marriage of *Mary*, his onely daughter, to draw him by this vaine hope, from the ſeruice of this Crowne: Shee was married to *Peter* of Bourbon, *Ioane* his third daughter was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, and put away in the firſt yeare of his raigne: So as finding her ſelfe hatefull vnto her husband, and vnpleaſing to many, ſhee left the world: [g] Her father loued her not, for that Nature had giuen him cauſe to complaine of her deformity, hauing not ingrauen any markes of her fauours, neither vpon her face nor on her perſon, for ſhe was blacke, little, and crooked: [h] The Signior of Leſguiere her Gouernour did hide her often vnder his Gowne, when as the King met her, to the end hee ſhould not bee troubled with the ſight of her. The hatred of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, her father, the death of *Charles* the eighth, her brother, and the diuorce of King *Lewis* the twelfth, her husband, changed all the ſweeteneſſe of her life into the bitterneſſe of the Croſſe, and imbarkt her as in a tempeſtuous Sea, whereas ſhee found no other Port but that of death. The children of great men to become the children of God, are bound to drinke of the cuppe

[f] Stratonicus *an Artificer of Athens, hearing that the mother of* Timotheus *cryed out at her deliuery, ſaid;* How wold ſhe haue cryed, if ſhe had made an Artificer? *Hee mocked at that common flattery, which ſpake of Kings children, as of the children of the Gods.* Atheneus.

[g] *Being vnmarried ſhe wedded herſelfe to ſolitarineſſe, the which ſhee had deſired all her life: In her Infancy, the King demanded of her of what Order ſhee would haue her Confeſſour, and ſhee made choice of the Gardien of the Franciſcan Fryers at Amboiſe.*

[h] *Beauty, is a peece of ſo great recommendation, as they that are not fauored there-with, are leſſe pleaſing euē to them that by Nature ſhould loue them.*

of affliction[i] as well as the meaneſt. The way to heauen is full of Thornes: The flaming ſword appeared at the entring of Paradice: The Land promiſed to the faithfull aboundeth with plenty of Milke and Honny: Milke is firſt bloud before Milke; Honny is drawne from bitter flowers, Roſes grow among Thornes.

[i] *Happy are thoſe paines and afflictions which are to amend & ſaue, not to ruine & deſtroy the afflicted: The Croſſe is the marke of the Citizens of heauen, they whom the hand of God diſdaines to ſtrike, are ſuch as he diſdaines to amend.*

Her huſband loued her not, and yet during the time of his impriſonment in the great tower of Bourges, he receiued no other ſuccour, nor aſſiſtance but from this Princeſſe. The cauſe of their Diuorce was Sterrility, and want of conſent in marriage. CLAVDIVS of Seyſſell ſaith that hee gaue her vnto him, to the end that ſterrility, and barreneſſe, might depriue him of all meanes to haue children, ſo much he hated and abhorred the Bloud Royall.[k]

Cauſe of the diſſolution of the marriage of *Lewis* the twelfth.

[k] *The cauſe of this diuorce was ſterility, and want of conſent in marriage: Lewis declaring that King Lewis the 11. had forced him to marry her.*

Her conſolation was in this ſolitarineſſe, for that ſhee recouered the liberty which ſhee had long deſired: The King gaue her the Dutchy of Berry for her portion, the Towne of Bourges was her retreate, with a yeerely penſion of one thouſand two hundred pounds Sterling. Shee made the Order of the Religious of the Annunciado, otherwiſe called the Order of the Virgin *Mary*, the which was allowed and confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and one, and ſhee cauſed the Monaſtery of Saint *Laurence* of Bourges to be built: The habite of her Religious women is a blew, or skie couloured Gowne, a white Kercher, and a red Scapulaire, with a Cord of tenne Knots, ſignifying the ten Vertues, or Conſolations, which the Virgin *Mary* had in her life[l]: She dyed at Bourges, the fourth of February, one thouſand foure hundred and foure: Her body was burnt, and the aſhes caſt into the wind in the firſt troubles, when as the Earle of Montgomery tooke the Towne of Bourges.

[l] *The ten Knots of this Cord had relation firſt to the pureneſſe: ſecondly, to the wiſedom; thirdly, to the humility; fourthly, to the faith; fiftly, to the vertue, ſixthly, to the praiſe; ſeuenthly, to the obedience; eighthly, to the pouerty; ninthly, to the patience; and tenthly, to the pitty of the Virgine* Mary.

Charles his ſonne ſucceeded him at the age of thirteene yeares: The Hiſtories of thoſe times, ſpeake much of the greatneſſe of his courage, and the weakeneſſe of his braine: They all agree that hee neither had any great vnderſtanding, nor much wit: Two great defects in two little words, the which are much dilated in the actions of his life, whereas wee ſee that hee attempts lightly, and giues eare to many things which are alwaies preiudiciall to them that hearken to them[m]: If the felicity of an eſtate dependeth of obedience, if to obey well depends of commanding well, if to command well depends of a Princes wiſedome, what good cõmandement can be expected from a Prince, who neither hath a ſound

[m] *A Prince ſhould ſtop his eares to reports, and ſhould flye them*: Clandeſtinas exiſtimationes nulliſq; magis quam audientibus inſidiantes ſuſurros. Melius omnibus quam ſingulis creditur. Singuli enim decipere & decepi poſſunt, nemo omnes neminem omnes fefellerunt. *Secret ſuggeſtions and whiſperings which circumuent none more then them that giue eare vnto them. It is more ſafe to truſt all in generall then any one in particular: A man in particular may deceiue, and bee deceiued, no man hath deceiued all men, neither haue all men deceiued any one man.* C. PLIN. PANEG.

iudgment

iudgment, nor hath gotten any thing to make it better? What hope is there that hee ſhall euer be able to command others and himſelfe well?

Diſpoſitiõ of *Charles* the eighth

After that *Philip de Commines* hath ſhewed that hee was touched with the like feuer of the braine to *Charles* the ſeuenth his Grand-father, and to *Lewis* the eleuenth his Father, who both feared their Children; and that for this cauſe hee ſoone paſt ouer his griefe for the death of the Dauphin his ſonne: He addes, that this Prince *was alwaye little, both of body and vnderſtanding; but hee was ſo good, as there was neuer a better creature ſeene.* *Claudius* of Seiſſill ſaith, That hee was a good Prince, Noble, and of a greater courage then of body, couetous of honour and glory, deſiring all good and honeſt things as much as his age could beare, and that hee failed in the flower of his youth, when as hee began to vnderſtand his owne affaires. *Peter Deſrey* a Champenois, who hath written his Chronicle, ſaith; That hauing paſt the weakneſſe of his firſt Age, youth gaue great hopes of more force and vigor of his Spirit, and that hee did exerciſe himſelfe in the knowledge of many things, which make Princes learned in the difficult knowledge of all.[n] *After the death of his father* (ſaith this Chronicler) *and that hee had taken vpon him the Royall dignity, he began very willingly to reade bookes written in the French tongue, and had a deſire to vnderſtand the Latine; and to do like a good Prince, hee imployed his youth willingly to ſerue God deuoutly, and to heare the councell of wiſe men, deſiring to learne how to gouerne well.*

[n] *The knowledge how to reigne and commaund, is the higheſt and moſt difficult of all others. Bookes may helpe much, for that they furniſh examples whereof the ſhortneſſe of life cannot ſee the hopes. But a good vnderſtanding doth all. The knowledge which comes frõ books, may ſerue for an ornamẽt, but not for a foundation. The Phyloſophy of Princes is conſtancy, faith and ſincerity, other ſcyences are but as Paintings, as* Plato *ſaith.*

Notwitſtanding that the careleſneſſe of *Lewis* the eleuenth to haue him Royally inſtructed, and bred vp, hath miniſtred occaſion to the moſt famous Hiſtorian of thoſe times, and which hath beene ſince, to write that which cannot bee ſpoken but of a Prince, ill bred, and worſe brought vp: yet let it not diſpleaſe him: for this *Charles*, whom hee giues vs for an Ignorant Man, is the ſame whom hee compares vnto *Iulius Cæſar*, for that his comming and his victory in Italy was but one thing. [o] For it is true, that hee ſtrooke more amazement into Italy at the brute of his comming, then the Gaules had done by their deſcent in former times.

Hee put all the Potentates in alarme, Piſa at liberty, Florence in feare, and Sienna in iealouſie; and hauing the effects of his deſire greater then thoſe of his hopes; hee entred armed into Rome, with his Launce vpon his Thigh, hee planted his Cannon on the Market-place, and made himſelfe to bee acknowledged and admired of all men for the Deputy of the liuing God, for the reformation of the diſorders of Italy: and without ſtriking ſtroake, or pitching any Tent, hee entred a

[o] *Carlo* condotto ad allogiare al Caſtel Capoano gia habitatione antica de re Franceſi hauendo con marauiglioſo corſo d'inaudita felicita ſopra l'eſſempio di *Iulio Cæſare* prima vinto che veduto & con tanta facilita che non fuſſe neceſſaria in queſta eſpeditione ne ſpregare mai vn padiglione ne rompere mai pur vna lancia. *Charles being conducted to lodge in the Caſtle of Capua, an ancient habitation of the Kings of France, hauing with an admirable courſe of vnheard of felicity, beyond the example of* Iulius Cæſar *vanquiſhed before hee had ſeene, and that with ſo great facility, as in the expedition he had no need either to pitch a Tent, or to breake a Launce.*

Conquerour into Naples; and in his returne, hee marched (as it were) vpon the belly of Italy, being all banded againſt him, to hinder his retreate. And although that France hath not reaped the glory and fruit which ſhee promiſed vnto her ſelfe by this voyage, it ſufficeth that the cauſe was iuſt and glorious: for wee muſt iudge of things not by the euents and executions, but by the cauſes and motions of their wils that haue done them. P

P *He that conſidereth of things by the euents, doth iudge of the whole Image by the heele. In all occaſions we muſt ſettle our iudgements not vpon the iſſue & execution but vpon the cauſes & intentions of them which doe them, and the differences of things.* Polyb. lib. 2.

This courſe might haue carried me vnawares to vnfold the whole part of the Table. Behold (by the grace of God) wee are come to the banke; It is ſufficient to haue written the Fathers Hiſtory, leauing the Sonnes to ſome other. But before wee end, wee muſt repaſſe vnto the Iudgements of the actions of this Prince. That done, wee will enter into the great Carriere of the toyles and glory, the Combates and victories, the Vertue and Fortune of the greateſt Prince that euer was before or after *Lewis* the 11th.

The end of the tenth Booke.

THE

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3 *What he was towards King* Charles *the seuenth his father, towards his sonne, his wife, and the Princes of his bloud.*

4 *Maiesty: The care hee had to preserue the respect: hee did not affect pompe: who were the chiefe officers of his Crowne: hee is very wary to confer titles of honor and dignity, he contemnes the mark of maiesty.*

5. *Magnificence: The order and expences of his house: he receiues the Embassadors of forraigne Princes with great state. His buldings.*

6 *Clemency: He leaues no offence vnpunished: his Prisons and Cages of Iron, a rigorous vsage of the Dukes of Alençon and Nemours: Hee reuengeth old offences which he had receiued before he was King, and forgets not them of the league: Seuerity in the end makes him feare-full and distrustfull.*

7 *Iustice: He institutes the Parliaments of Bourdeaux and Dijon: hee loues not the Parliament of Paris: a free and couragious admonition made by the President* La Vacquerie: *how chiefe Ministers should carry themselues to Princes: Of the Kings Audiences.*

8 *Wisedome: He was alwayes accompanied with feare, he let slip the occasion to do his businesse in England and Flanders, he can choose men and draw forraigne Princes to his deuotion, as the Archduke of Austria,* Cosmo di Medicis, *and others; he drew vnto his seruice the Lord of Lescun, and Creuecœur, and* Philip de Commines. *His tongue offends his wisedome.*

9 *Liberality: He is neither couetous nor liberall: he hath formes to giue which bind much: hee entertaines many Pentioners: his liberality passeth to excesse, empties his Coffers, driues him to necessity, and to lay rigorous Impositions vpon the people.*

10 *Valour: Proofe of the greatnesse of his courage in diuers encounters, what care he had of warre. His policie and military discipline.*

11 *Knowledge: He had more knowledge of learning & the scyences, then other kings his predecessors. The pittifull estate of the profession of learning vnder his reigne, his Apothegmes and Answeres.*

12 *Temperance: Hee had two base daughters: his priuate kind of life: his domesticke pleasures: his exercises and his confident seruants. Diuers other obseruations vpon his life and Historie.*

THE

THE HISTORY
Of LEWIS *the eleuenth.*

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE.

MEN iudge freely of the liues of Princes after their deaths: the glistering of their Purple Robes doth no more dazle their eyes, [a] and the Iudgements which are made, are purged from flattery, which doth alwayes augment the good, and diminish the ill which they do. That King doth greatly binde him which speakes of his life, when he giues him no occasion to lye in commending him: For Princes are neuer so perfect, but Truth may finde great exceptions in the goodliest qualities of their praises; and before that the Statue be made perfect, there must much Marble bee taken away, and the forme exactly sought in the substance. *Philip de Commines* saying that hee had seene the greatest Princes of his time, and in them all there was both good and euill, for that they were men; he addes for truth, freed from all flattery, *That God had created* Lewis *the eleuenth more wise, more liberall, and more vertuous then all they, and that in him there were more things belonging to the office of a King and Prince, then in any of the other. I haue in a manner* (saith he) *seene them all, and knowne what they could doe; wherefore I deuine not.*

Iudgmēts are free after death.

This great authority which hee preserued vntó the last gaspe, and carried into death, was supported by three mighty pillars, which his owne wisedome had raised, Seuerity, Constancy, and Reputation. [b]

Liberty of iudgment vpon the life of *Lewis* 11.

But for that these good soules are like vnto the Mill-dew of the starres, which looseth much of her pureneſſe passing by the Regions of the aire; and by the entrailes of Bees which forme it; and that the gold of Princes vertues cannot bee drawne absolutely pure from their liues, being alwayes mixt with diuers strange matters, we must consider if the piety which was in him, hath retained nothing

[a] *Themistius seeing that the court of the Emperour* Iouinian *was full of flatterers, said, that they adored the purple more then the person, and that the Court was an* Euripus *whose waues did flow and ebbe in an instat.* Nicep. Cal.l.10.c.42.

[b] *Maiesty is the inuincible fort of a Prince, it is better preserued by seuerity, then by too great mildnesse & facility. It doth also require Constancy, and that nothing be done, or vndone lightly. Reputation maintains it, & will not that all depend of her, and that there be no other authority but hers.*

nothing of ſuperſtition or hypocriſie, his clemency of feare, Iuſtice of cruelty, wiſedome of ſubtilty, liberality of prodigality, and his other goodly qualities of Art and diſſimulation. Euery man may now ſpeake his opinion without feare of diſpleaſing, or blame of flattery: [c] praiſe may paſſe on freely, and boldly, without any other neceſſity or bond, then the reſpect which euery man ſhould haue to preſerue the memory of Princes, againſt the outrages of ſlander.

Poſterity, which vnderſtands not things, but by the voice of ſuch whom benefites or offences haue bound to remember them, doth alwayes receiue flatteries and lies for truth. [d] It is fitting in painting to repreſent *Hannibal* and *Antigonus* halfe-faced, to hide the eye which they wanted; but a Hiſtory muſt ſhew the whole face, to the end that Princes may find their owne vices in the portrait of others. This hath noted them, to ſhew that there is nothing perfect in this world; and if the Tapeſtry of this Princes life bee faire and pleaſing, viewing it on the right ſide, you ſhall finde the backe very much disfigured with knots and ſeames.

We muſt not ſeeke his Elogies in the Hiſtories of ſtrangers, [e] who ſpeake as if God had ſuffred him to liue for the miſerie of the Common-weale, and the ruine & deſolation of the people, whoſe fatneſſe and good eſtate he held dangerous for the health of the whole body; holding for a Maxime, that they ſhould not do ill vnto the people, nor attend any good of them.

In the end the Chronicle ſpeakes after this manner: *This King in his life time, by reaſon of ſome men that were about his perſon, as* Oliuer *the Diuell, called* Dain, *his Barber,* Iohn Doyac, *and many others, to whom hee gaue more credit then to any men of his Realme, did during his Reigne, many Iniuſtices, wrongs and violences, and had brought his people ſo low, as at the time of his death they were almoſt in deſpaire.*

Piety and Religion of *Lewis the* 11th.

All this is nothing but a rough draught of his humours: To view the whole Table wee muſt conſider what his Religion and Piety was towardes God, and his obedience towardes the Pope: then wee will paſſe to his affection toward his Wife, his Sonne, Father, and his neereſt Kinſmen the Princes of his Bloud, and his Seruants. Of all theſe things the Iudgement ſhall bee reſerued to truth and diſcretion, which will haue the memory of Princes to be alwayes reuerenced; and that they ſpeake of their defects, not as of vices, but as of imperfect vertues. [f] For the firſt, the good is alwayes good, and the euill is alwayes euill; Opinion cannot change the eſſence of things, they are very hardy which will haue actions to bee other then they appeare: Slander hauing no ſtrong ſight to behold the brightneſſe of vertue, vſeth falſe ſpectacles, and calleth that Feare which is Wiſedome, Hypocriſie that which is Deuotion, and Inhumanity that which is Iuſtice. I finde that *Claudius Seiſſell* hath iudged very boldly of the Deuotion and Piety of this Prince, thinking that he hath pierced

Harde iudgment of *Claudius Seiſſel.*

[c] *Praiſes which are not neceſſary are beſt:* Neminem magis laudare Imperatorem decet, quam quē minus neceſſe eſt.

[d] *Flattery or hatred do moſt cōmonly turne an Hiſtory out of the right way of truth, & therefore* Tacitus *proteſts, that they of whom he ſpeakes, are not known vnto him neither by offences done, nor by benefits receiued* Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius, nec beneficio, nec iniuria cogniti.

[e] Buchanan *ſaith, that* Lewis 11. Tyrannidem exercebat, *practiſed tyranny; and that there was nothing more common,* Quam ex vſu & ſuis cōmodis ſine diſcrimine fidem fall re quibuſcunq; ſed precipue agnatis Principibus, *then of cuſtome, and for his owne profit, to deceiue any without diſtinction, eſpecially the Princes of the bloud.*

[f] *The vertues of Princes ſhold be ſpoken without flattery, & their vices by diſcretion, they muſt not ſet downe their defectes plainly, but paſſe them ouer as vertues which are not perfect. It is the aduice which* Plutarke *giues, writing the life of* Simon.

into the very inward parts, by the obſeruation which he hath made of the outward man. He hath repreſented him very melancholicke and ſuperſtitious, alwayes trembling and terrified with the horrour of eternall paine. *His deuotion* [g] (ſaid he) *ſeemed to bee more Superſtitious then Religious: For to what Image, or Church of GOD, and Saints, and namely of our Lady, that he vnderſtood the people had any deuotion, or where there were any miracles done, he went thither to make his Offerings, or ſent ſome expreſly thither. Hee had moreouer his Hat full of Images, the moſt part of Lead and Tinne, the which whenſoeuer any good or bad newes came vnto him, or that the humour tooke him, hee kiſt, falling ſometimes ſuddenly downe vpon his knees, in what place ſoeuer hee were; ſo as hee ſeemed rather a man diſtracted then wiſe.*

[g] *True pietyſupports it ſelfe, ſhe will haue the ſoule cheereſull & obedient, and that a good man bee ſo, although that nothing ſhould bee euer knowne.*

Such cenſures belong to him who doth keepe and iudge the hearts of Kings; but it is true, this Princes Religion was wholy outward, retaining nothing in his heart. It was popular and ceremonious, as if he had had for the obiect of his worſhip a viſible dignity, and that it were ſufficient to appeare holy, and not to bee ſo. [h]

God the Iudge of Hearts.

[h] *Religion will haue an exterior and publicke exerciſe with her Ceremonies. The Prince is bound vnto it, and it is Impiety for any other to contradict it, and to trouble the order, But the ſeruice which is done by the Spirit, is anſwerable to the eſſence of God, who is all Spirit, and that which is done outwardly, is more for vs then for him.*

His Chronicle ſaith, that on a Sunday, the eighth of September, going from the Tournelles to our Ladies Church, hee paſt by the Church of *Mary Magdalen, to ſubſcribe himſelfe a brother and companion of the great brotherhood of the Bourgeſes of Paris.* The God of the people is the God of Kings, but the exterior ſeruice of Religion allowes many things to the ſimplicity of the people, which are not fitting for the maieſty of Kings.

If wee ſhall iudge of cauſes by the euents, wee may ſay, that the Pilgrimages on Foote and Horſe-backe, and the moſt zealous deuotions of this Prince, haue often couered deſignes which were repugnant to Piety and Iuſtice: Hee did therein alwayes circumvent ſome one, and vpon this opinion, that the ſhew of religion workes wonders in the beleefe of men, [i] keeping them from iudging raſhly of his life and actions, whom they ſaw ſo familiar with God. They ſay, that he did fit his religion to his deſignes, and not his deſignes to his religion. They did not in thoſe times ſpeake of that moſt impious Maxime; *That it is ſufficient for a Prince to ſeeme outwardly religious and deuout, although he be not ſo.* A Maxime of Atheiſme, which mockes at God, to deceiue men: at God, who in the end confounds hypocrites, & wil be ſerued with an vnfaigned heart, whereof hee ſees and ſounds the deepeſt bottome. [k] We may well ſay, that the world lookes but to the exterior, and that which is in ſhew. It is not poſſible in matters of religion, whoſe actions muſt be ſo often reiterated, that hypocriſie ſhould ſtill ioyne them ſo well together, but ſome one will diſ-band and diſcouer the deceite. The Signior of Haillan, Hiſtoriographer of

Pilgrimages of *Lewis* 11.

Maxim of *Machiuel.*

[i] *The peoples opinion of their Princes holineſſe workes great effects.* Sertorius *with his Hinde had grauen ſuch a ſuperſtition in his Souldiers mindes, as they did not thinke that they were gouerned by a man who had more iudgement thē they, but they did firmly beleeue that it was ſome God which guided them.*

[k] *They make* Machiuel *Author of this Maxime, that a new Princce cannot obſerue all things for the which men are eſteemed good; beeing often conſtrained for the maintaining of his eſtate, to doe things contrary to faith and religion, to leaue the good when he may, and to do the euill when he is forced.*

France,

France, who hath promiſed to publiſh the whole Hiſtory of this King, and hath giuen vs an abridgement in his booke, which is excellent and iuditious touching the affaires of France, ſpeakes of his Religion after this manner: *Neuer Man was more ſuperſtitious then hee, hee did things which were good in ſhew, but to a bad intent, thinking by his ſuperſtition to deceiue both GOD and the world. The ſuperſtitioous feare not to doe euill for the opinion they haue to obtaine abſolution by the acts of their ſuperſtition.* [l] *Hee tooke from the poore to giue vnto Churches, and did more oppreſſe his people with Tributes and Taxes, then any other King of his Predeceſſors, and therefore hee made his ſubiects to bee ill affected vnto him.*

Hee confeſt himſelfe often, for that once a weeke hee touched them that were troubled with the Kings euill. It is the onely miracle which hath remained perpetuall in the Chriſtians religion, and in the houſe of France. That this griefe, whoſe beginning is an incorrigible ill digeſtion, a hidious vlcer to looke on, dangerous to touch, and for the moſt part incurable, ſhould bee healed by theſe words: *The King toucheth thee, and God cures thee*, is a wonder beyond the reach of diſcourſe and iudgement. [m] I ſay a perpetuall miracle: for ſince *Clouis* the firſt Chriſtian King, it hath continued to them which ſucceeded to his Religion and Crowne. Other Realmes haue had the like graces giuen them, but they haue not continued: The Kings of England cured the falling ſickeneſſe, they of Hungary the Iaundiſe, and they of Caſtille thoſe that were poſſeſt.

Curing of the Kings euill.

The Kings of *England* haue the ſame vertue.

I could not finde what men he imployed for the ſeruice of God, and the conduct of his conſcience. [n] I reade, that beſides the great Chaplin, or Arch-chaplin, hee had two Chaplins and one Clarke of the Chappell; and that a Franciſcan Fryer called *Iohn Vouſte*, did for a long time exerciſe one of theſe charges.

The Chronicle ſaith, that a little before his death hee made a Doctor of Tours, called Maiſter *Martin Magiſtri*, his Councellour and Almoner, who dyed at Clerry after the voyage of Saint *Claude*. In the accounts and expences of his Houſe, wee finde, that hee bound the Citty of Tours to giue euery day in the Weeke (Friday and Saturday excepted) a peece of *Royall Beefe* a foote ſquare to the Lepers and Hoſpitall of Tours; and for the performance thereof gaue a hundred pounds ſterling to bee imployed in the purchaſe of lands for the foundation of this peece. Leproſie, which growes from an Aduſt and Melancholy bloud, demands meates that are leſſe earthly; [o] being certaine, that nouriſhment ingenders diſeaſes, and being ingendred, entertaines them.

Hee granted vnto the holy Chappell at the Palace of Paris, the moities of the Regalities to bee imployed in the entertainment of the Church and Ornaments. Hee founded the Religious Nuns of the *Aue Marie*, which was the ancient Conuent of the

[l] *Hipocriſie cannot continue long, lying cannot deceiue long. The night laſts not, but whē the Sun is far from the Horizon. Iudgements are ſetled vpon that which they ſee, wherefore* Machiuel *ſaith, It concernes euery man to ſee, and few to feele, but in the end the maske falles.*

[m] *That* Clouis *did firſt cure the Kings Euill, is drawne out of the Epiſtle of* Hormiſda *a Pope. S.* Lewis *addes to the Ceremony of touching, the ſigne of the Croſſe. His arme is at Poblette, whither they that are ſick of that diſeaſe go in pilgrimage to be cured.*

[n] *Wee finde that he, who was the head & directer of Gods ſeruice in the Kings houſe, was cald* Apocriſiaire *vnder the firſt race, Arch-chaplain in the ſecōd, and great Chaplain, or great Almoner vnder the third.*

[o] *The aire, water and nouriſhmēt may not only alter the temperature of bodies, but alſo of the minde.* Sunt qui non corpora tantū verum etiam animos valeāt mutare liquores.

Beguines, a kinde of Religion, which was (as it were) *Neuter*, betwixt the *Maries*, and other religious Women: his picture, and that of Queene *Charlotte* is to bee seene in the quire in glasse. He did enrich the Church of our Lady of Clery, and of Victory, with great reuenues. Being at Lyon in the yeare 1476. he gaue vnto the Chapter of the Church of Foruiere, [p] the rents and guards of S. *Simphorien le Chastel*, and the Farme of the *Chastelenie* of *Charlieu*, to binde them to say certaine Masses daily in a Chappell called, *Our Lady of good Councell*. The letters of dispatch shewe the great deuotion of this Prince to the seruice of the virgin *Mary*, and begin in these tearmes: *Hauing had consideration of the great and singular graces which God our Creator hath heretofore done vs, at the Intercession of his blessed Mother, the glorious virgin* Mary; *in whom, after God her sonne, we haue alwayes had our chiefe refuge and hope: and who, in the conduct of our greatest affaires, hath alwayes imparted vnto vs her grace and Intercession to God her sonne; so as by her meanes, and aid, our Realmes and Signiories are, by the grace of God, preserued, entertained, and remaine in peace, vnder vs and our true obedience, notwithstanding any enterprises, practises and conspiracies which haue beene made since our comming to the Crowne, against vs and our said Realme, Signiory and Subiects, as well by our enemies and aduersaries, as other our rebels and disobedient subiects, their adherents and complices.* He did institute many godly things, the obseruation whereof hath continued vnto our times: [q] his deuotion to the virgin *Mary* made him ordaine, that at noon-day euery man should pray at the sound of a bell, and say the salutation of the Angell for the peace of the Realme.

[p] *This Church is one of the most remarkable Antiquities of the Citty of Lyons. The word of* Foruiere *comes from* Forum veneris, *or* Forum vetus. *It is much bound to the memory of* Thomas *Archbishop of Canterbury.*

[q] *The institution of the prayer which is made at noone by the sound of a bell, was the first day of May,* 1472.

The Emperour *Charlemaine* had great and eminent vertues: hee declared himselfe enemy to *Didier*, King of the Lombardes, who had reuolted against the Pope: he pacified Italy, subdued the *Saxons*, and expelled the *Sarazens* out of Spaine. But this enterprise was greater and more hardy then profitable and needfull: for *Gannes*, otherwise called *Gannelon* betrayed him, and was the cause of that memorable defeat of *Roncivaux*, [r] where those braue and generous knights were lost, whose incredible valour is no more beleeued, then the truth of the Romance. He ioyned the Roman Empire to the Monarchy of France. But the Emperiall Diadem did not cure the great afflictions of the minde which he had all the time of his Empire, by the reuolt of the Sarazens in Spaine, the Sclauonians, or Danes, and the Normans. Three yeares before his death, at the age of 68 yeares, he gaue himselfe to holy contemplation, and to the care of Religion, and the Church; he erected the Vniuersity of Paris, by the aduice of *Alcuin* his Schoole-maister, and did people it with the most learned men of his time.

The commendatiō of *Charlemaigne.*

Founder of the Vniuersity of Paris.

[r] *In the valley of* Ronceuaux *dyed these valiant Captaines,* Rowland, Reynold *of Montauban, and* Ogier *the Dane.* Charlemaigne *made these foure verses vpon the death of* Rowland *his sisters sonne:*

Tu patriam repetis tristi, nos orbe relinquis,
Te tenet aula nitens, nos lachrymosa dies,
Sed qui lustra geris octo & binos super annos,
Ereptus terris, iustus ad astra redis.

He

Hee had foure wiues and many Concubines, the greatneſſe of his vertue, and the wonders of his reputation, made him to be adored of his ſubiects, and redoubted of ſtrangers: The Sophie of Perſia, and Preſter *Iohn* of Ethiopia ſought for his alliance: He built two goodly houſes, the one at Iughelheim the place of his birth, the other at Nieumegue; hee built the Bridge at Mentz, a worke of tenne yeares, the which, the yeare before his death was ruined by a ſuddaine fire, in leſſe then two howres: He built the Church of Aix la Chapelle where he is interred: During his life he cauſed ſixe Councels to be called, at Mentz, at Rheims, at Tours, at Chalons, at Arles, and at Francfort, and made Orders for the Reformation of the Church: [f] He died the eighteenth of Ianuary, and in the eighth day of his ſickeneſſe, in the yeare eight hundred and foureteene, the three ſcore and eleuenth yeare of his age, and the ſeuen and fortieth of his raigne, including fifteene yeares of his Empire.

His Buildings.

His Death

For his great and heroicke vertues, which ſerue as an example, and patterne to Princes, and for his great bounty to Churches, for the which *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, that a Chartreux Monke called *Iohn Galleas*, Duke of Milan Saint: [t] King *Lewis* the 11. would that the day of his death ſhould be ſolemnized like Sonday. The Church doth not ſolemnize the birth of Saints, it makes the day of their death a Feaſt, which is another kind of birth then the firſt, there being no more proportion betwixt the world out of which they go, and heauen whereinto they enter, then there is betwixt the wombe out of which they go, and the world whereinto they enter. He cauſed his Statue to be taken out of the ranke of the Kings, to make an image vpon the Altar of the Chappell at the Pallace with that of Saint *Lewis*; he would alſo haue his owne in his ranke, after another faſhion, kneeling before the Image of our Lady.

His Canonization.

But how great ſoeuer his zeale was vnto the Church, yet would he haue the Popes know, wherein, and wherefore, they were bound vnto the Crowne of France: The Kings of France haue deſerued, the glorious Surname of *Eldeſt ſonne of the Church*, hauing defended it from great enemies, and freed it from terrible perſecutions. It is alſo found that at the laſt wherewith ſhe is threatned ſhe ſhall haue no other deliuerer but a King of France; [u] the which hath made many to ſay, and write, that the Maieſty of the Church ſhall neuer bee ouerthrowne ſo long as the Crowne of France ſhall endure.

Popes bound to the Crown of France.

The deuotion of *Lewis* did not make him incenſible of the wrongs which the Temporall power might receiue from the Spirituall. Pope *Pius* the ſecond, *Paul* the ſecond, and *Sixtus* the fourth, knew well that this ſpirit could not ſubmit himſelfe in all things without knowing the reaſon: He did not diſſemble the wrong

[f] Charlemain *made a booke for the reformation of the Church, which carries this title,* Capitula Caroli Magni, *and containes proofes of his great pietie. When he went to Collegiall, Churches, or Monaſteries, hee did ſing with the Prieſts, and ſay the leſſons of the morning, and cauſed thē to be ſaid by his children and other Princes of his Court.*

[t] Phillip de Commines *viſiting the Church of Pauia, and beholding the ſtatue of* Iohn Galeas *Duke of Milan on horſeback to be higher then the Altar, whom a Chartrous Monke, borne at Bourges, called Saint; he demanded of him why he called him Saint, ſeeing the Towns which were painted about him were ſo many markes of his tiranny, hee anſwered ſoftly, in this Country we cal all thē Saints that do vs good, hee built this Monaſtery.*

[u] *This opinion is grounded vpon a Treatiſe of Antichriſt, which ſome attribute to Saint* Auguſtine, *others to other ancient fathers, and many to* Rabanus: *Reade vpon this ſubiect the eighth Diſcourſe of Doctor* Suares, *a Portugois, vpon the Apocalipſe.*

which *Sixtus* the fourth,[x] did vnto the dignity of his father, and common paſtor of Chriſtian people, banding himſelfe againſt the Common-weales of Florence and Venice, and ſuppoting the vndue exactions which were made in the Chancery of Rome: He forbad all men to ſend any mony thither to haue prouiſion of Benefices, by Buls and expectatiue graces, vpon paine of confiſcation of body and goods, giuing the moueables, iewels, and horſes of all the offendours to them that ſhould diſcouer them. Hee appointed Commiſſioners in the chiefe Townes of the Realme, to ſee and peruſe the Buls and prouiſions which ſhould be brought from Rome, that he might know whether they were contrary to the priuileges and liberties of the French Church; [y] He commanded the Biſhops and Prelates which remained in the Court of Rome, to watch ouer their Troupes, and to be reſident in their Biſhoprickes, vpon paine of priuation of the Temporall of their Reuenewes, and to prepare themſelues for the holding of a Councell at Lyon when it ſhould be called, vpon the inſtance which he would make vnto the Pope: He was aduertiſed that Religious Friers going to generall Chapters of their Orders out of the Realme, were imployed to carry packets, and intelligences, he made a defence for the going to any Chapters which ſhould be held in forraine Prouinces; [z] the puniſhment was diuers: He appointed baniſhment for them of Ciſteaux and of Clugny, and declared them incapable to hold any Benefices in France, and in regard of the Begging Friers, beſides baniſhment, he ſaid that he would root out, and expell the Realme all them of that Order which ſhould infringe his Edict.

Religious men imploied in meſſages.

Howſoeuer he did reuerence Church-men, yet would hee not haue them ſtray from publicke inſtructions, to cenſure affaires of Eſtate; for ſuch kinds of diſcourſes do more trouble the minds of men then comfort them: They be but cloudes which breake forth into brutes of ſedition, incenſe Princes, [a] and are like vnto the arrowes of Thrace which were ſhot againſt heauen to appeaſe it: He was aduertiſed that Frier *Athony Fradin*, a Franciſcan born at Ville-Franché in Beaujollois, ſpake too boldly of the bad gouernment of affaires: He ſent *Oliuer le Dain* to Paris in the beginning of the yeare 1479. to forbid him to Preach. The multitude (which runnes as it is led) mutined againſt this purſuite, and followed this Preacher in troupes to defend him, [b] yea the women carryed ſtones and kniues, to vſe againſt ſuch as ſhould come to offend him.

Sermons of ſeditiõ.

From one liberty they ſaw diuers ſpring, as faults follow one another, and this ſedition was ready to cauſe great tumult: [c] The Court of Parliament preuented it in ſuch ſort, as they gaue the King ſubiect rather to content himſelfe with the repentance then the puniſhment of this ſilly multitude. They commanded the Frier

[x] *Pope* Sixtus *beeing offended at the violence done to Cardinal* Riario *his Nephew, and to the Arch-biſhop of Piſa, did excommunicate the Florentines, declaring that hee would employ againſt them & the Venetians his perſon, goods, & whatſoeuer elſe he could: The King vpon this aduertiſement thought it not reaſonable that the goods appointed for the ſeruice of God, ſhold be employed in war, making a defence to to carry mony to Rome.*

[y] *The Signior of Gaucourt Chamberlaine to the King was appointed in the Towne of Amiens, the commiſſion is reported by* Du. Tillet.

[z] *The defences by this Edict giuen at Selongnes the third of September 1476. were generall againſt the Religious of the Order of Ciſteaux, of the Charthuſians of Clugny, and the fowre begging Friers; But the Charthuſians are not ſubiect to the puniſhment, by the ſame Edict it is ſpoken of the Friers Minors of the three Orders.*

[a] *Diſcourſes of affaires of State in a troubl ſome and difficult time enter into ſeditious Spirits, as burning nailes do into greene wood. They be Conduit Pipes, ſaith the Preſident* Du Vair, *by the which deſtil the affections wherewith the people are ſeaſoned, and afterwards thruſt on to good or bad actions.* [b] *The people go like troupes and conſider not;* Quo eundum, ſed quo itur: *Whether they muſt go, but whether they go.* [c] *Light faults ſhould be repaired by pardon, and great by ſeuerity; and a Prince, as* Iulius Agricola *ſaith, muſt not alwaies bee pacified with the puniſhment, he muſt reſt oftentimes contented with the repentance of ſuch as haue erred.* Nec pœna ſemper, ſæpius pœnitentia contentus eſſe debet. *Tac.*

to

to go out of Paris, and not to Preach ſeditiouſly in any other Prouince; They did conſider that France had ſeene and ſuffered terrible agitations by the violence of theſe ſpirits, and that England had beene violently afflicted vnder the raigne of King *Richard*, by the ſeditious Sermons of one onely man, who ſeeking to confound all Orders by a pernicious equality, Preaching alwaies in his Sermons that when as *Adam* did eate the Apple there were no Gentlemen, that Nature, the Miniſter of God, had created all men of the ſame forme, and had caſt them in the ſame mould, as brethren and companions lodged on the ſame earth, [d] and if God would haue made this diſtinction amongſt men, he would haue ordained this difference from the beginning.

[d] *The Biſhops of England hauing forbidden the Pulpit to* Iohn Ball *an Engliſh Prieſt, he went to Preach ſeditiouſly in the fields, cauſing himſelfe to be followed by the people, where in the hearing of* 200000. *he began with theſe tearmes.*

When *Adam* delu'd, and *Eue* ſpan: Who was then the Gentleman?

Diſcourſe is a powerfull charme.

A great man of that time ſpake theſe words vpon that ſubiect, which are ſo worthy and true, as the Hiſtory ſhall not ſtray to ſtep a little out of the High-way to conſider them. *In truth* (ſaith he) *the force of ſpeech is a powerfull thing, eſpecially hauing life giuen it by paſſion; for you would ſay that it doth, in a manner, mould and faſhion mens ſoules, and that it is a fire kindled, which incountring another body inflames and ſets it on fire, how farre off ſeeuer it bee, like vnto* Naphte, *which kindles at the very ſight of the fire.* [e] *I haue often obſerued when, not with any eloquent diſcourſe, but with words which were ſcarce intellegible, and without any diſcourſe of reaſon, they haue put the people that heard them into choler, for that they were ſo: ſo eaſily do paſſions cõmunicate by words, and paſſe from him that ſpeaks, to him that heares.* The ſame iealouſy which a huſband hath for the honour of his wife, the feeling which the ſon hath for the loue of his father, the ſame motions which a faithfull Miniſter hath for the loue of his Prince, a Preacher ſhould haue for the Glory of God, he ſhould dry away for the zeale of his houſe, and for the increaſe of his ſeruice; any other paſſion that tranſports him is but fury.

[e] *What cannot Eloquence do in the mouth of an honeſt man and of credit, ſeing that comming from a ſeditious ſpirit, it workes ſuch great effects. One word of a man of credite, ſaith* Polibius, *may diuert men from bad enterpriſes, and draw them to good: The eloquence of a wicked man is like poyſon in a cup of Gold.*

How *Lewis* was towards his father.

Next to the ſeruice of God, piety reſpects the obedience and honour which we owe vnto our parents. It is true that *Lewis* offended againſt this Law, not onely in his firſt age (whoſe weakneſſe & facillity to the impreſſions of other men might excuſe his errour) but in his full virility, which made him inexcuſable, when as hee could not be ignorant that his duty towards his father was ſo naturall, ſo religious, and ſo ſtrictly commanded, by Diuine and Humane Lawes, as all other duties yeeld vnto it. [f] The ioy which King *Charles* the 7. had of his birth did not continue ſo long as the ſorrow he had for his diſobedience; when he was borne he had cryed *Noë* like others, and this word which in the beginning did ſignifie reſt & conſolatiõ, was a preſage of the croſſes & toiles which he endured. It is true that this ſowre ſeuerity wherwith he controuled his actions, was cauſe of his diſordets & exceſſe; [g] For being vnwilling

[f] *All the offices of Piety yeeld to that of the child to the father, the ſonne which ſees his father & his ſonne in danger of their liues, if he cannot relieue both, he muſt abandon his ſonne to ſaue his father; for the dutie which hee owes him is more ancient then the loue which he beares vnto his children:* Cymon *being vnable for his pouerty to bury his father, before he had paid his debt, ſold his owne liberty.* [g] *The rough, ſeuere, and imperious proceeding of fathers towards their children makes them to grow inſolent and diſordered. It is a Diuine counſell which Saint* Paul *gines vnto fathers:* Parentes ne prouocetis ad iracundiam filios ne deſpondeant animam: *Parents prouoke not your ſonnes to anger, leaſt they turne away their minds.*

to diſ-ioyne the authority of a father from that of King, he choſe rather to keepe him in feare and obedience by the ſeuerity of the one then by the mildeneſſe of the other: He thought that he had no better meanes to enioy this ſpirit then by keeping him ſhort, and reſtraining the violent motions of his courage, and that being in neceſſity he ſhould be alwaies in obedience.

He was eighteene yeares old before he had any portion allowed him, no not that which did belong vnto him from the day of his birth; for the father conſidered that if at the age of twelue or thirteene yeares, when as he had no part in the Eſtate, he ſhould haue beene had of ſome great faction, the increaſe of meanes and yeares would haue drawne him to great enterpriſes. The firſt example of his diſobedience was the trouble of the Praguery, which hath bene formerly related, when as he ſuffred himſelfe to be ſurprized and ſtole away from the Earle of March, his Gouernour, whom Chroniclers haue called a Prince of the Bloud, and erroniouſly haue taken the husband for the wife. For it is true, that *Iames* of Bourbon, [h] Earle of March, King of Naples, and ſonne to *Iohn* of Bourbon firſt Earle of Vendoſme, hauing but one daughter of his firſt marriage, gaue her to *Bernard* of Armagnac Earle of Perdriac, who by this marriage carried the name of Earle of March, and Gouernour to *Lewis* the 11. [i]

For this reaſon it was late before he gaue him the gouernment of the Country of Dauphine, neither would hee that the diſplacing of Officers ſhould depend vpon his capricious humours, this wiſe father hauing found that his actions were ſo wandring, inconſtant, and contrary to themſelues, as it was a difficult thing ſometimes to beleeue that they proceeded from one ſpirit, for there is nothing equall [k] if it comes not from the ſame reſolution, wherefore in the Letters Pattents, which were granted at Charleiu the 28. of Iuly, 1440. the King reſerued not any other thing, but that he ſhould not diſplace thoſe Officers which were ſetled in their charges, and that the Chancellour of France ſhould keep the ſeale of Dauphine.

For the taking of poſſeſſion of this Prouince, he ſent *Iohn* Signior of Gamaches, a Knight, and *Gabriel* of Bernet Signior of Targey, a Squire, Steward of the Kings houſe to Grenoble, whom he termed his Embaſſadours; they preſented the Kings letters, and the Dauphins, to the Councell of Dauphine, in the preſence of *Iuuenal* of Vrſins a Knight, Lord of Treynell, Leiutenant of that Prouince, in the abſence of the Lord of Gaucourt, who was Gouernour, and of the chiefe Noblemen of the Prouince.

Stephen Guillon Preſident in that Councell made an Oration vpon this ſubiect, but after ſuch manner, as it diſcouered the rudeneſſe and ſimplicity of the matter, for who ſo ſhould diſcourſe now after that manner, they would wonder why the ſeete ſhould do the eares ſo much wrong as to ſuffer attention. [l] They found men

[h] *The Lady* Elenor *of Bourbon daughter to* Iames *of Bourbon Earle of March, was married to the Earle of Perdriac, ſonne to the Earle of Armagnac.*

[i] *They write that* Lewis *chaſed away the Earle of March, for that hee had aduertiſed King* Charles *that the Duke of Alençon was come to Niort to ſubborne him.*

[k] *Mens mindes change not according to the motions of reaſon but according to occaſions:* Nemo non quotidie conſilium mutat: *There is not any man but changeth his minde daily.*

[l] *A Babler demanding of* Ariſtotle *if his diſcourſe were not ſtrange; no, anſwered he, but yet a man hauing feet ſhould not giue himſelfe ſo long patience to beare thee.*

Griefe
K. *Char*
the 7.

men in thoſe times who knew how to ſpeake, but few were able to diſcourſe eloquently, It is eaſy to iudge of the beauty of the building by the fronteſpice: Behold the firſt periode of this Oration, *Seeing it is the pleaſure of my Lords the Embaſſadours to our moſt redoubted Lord and Prince my Lord the Dauphin* Lewis, *that I ſhould ſay ſome-thing vnto you concerning the matter of their Embaſſage, to obey them as I ought, I will ſpeake it as well as I can, with the help of our Lord & of his Mother, and alſo with the good ſupportation and correction of them and you my Maſters, and the better to relate it I take for my Theame: Filius datus eſt nobis dominator Dominus & in manu eius poteſtas & Imperium: Iſay* the third and the ninth chapter: [m] The whole Diſcourſe is of the like ſtraine, and extends it ſelfe vpon the Dauphins praiſes, being drowned, as it were, in the allegations of diuers paſſages of Diuinity and Law.

[m] *In thoſe times publicke actions were performed like Sermons, and alwaies they tooke ſome paſſage of Scripture for the ground of their diſcourſe.*

Simplicity of the eloquence in the old time.

I thinke in thoſe daies they had more regard to deeds then words, and that they had more care to do then to ſpeake, that their diſcourſes were without pompe or vanity, and did not ſauour of that bold babling which will make men beleeue, that he which is beaten ſhould make reparation, and that the vanquiſhed is victor. [n] But in this action there is neither choice of termes, nor choice of reaſon; and for that he would not haue it wholy without inuention, he ſtands vpon the letters of *Lewis* his name, and ſaith that that in this word *Ludouicus* there are nine letters, the firſt repreſents the *Liberallity* of this Prince, the ſecond that he was *Vertable*, the third that he ſhould *Domineere*, and be feared; the fourth that he was *Orthodoxall*, the fift *Vigilant*, the ſixt a *Iuſticer*, the ſeuenth *Charitable*, the eight *Vertuous*, and the ninth that he was filled with *Wiſedome:* Hauing ended the Dauphins Panegericke, he fell vpon that of his Embaſſadours, and ſaid that the Signior of Gamaſche, who was called *Iohn*, was a fore-runner to IESVS CHRIST, and the other the Angell which did fore-tell his Incarnation to the Virgin *MARY*, for that his name was *GABRIEL.*

[n] Thucydides and Pericles, *had charge of the gouernment of the Commonwealth of Athens, yet could neuer agree,* Archidamus *King of Lacedemonia, termed their contention a wraſtling, and asking* Thucydides *who was the ſtronger, he anſwered: When I haue throwne* Pericles *downe he makes them that ſee it beleeue that he is not vanquiſhed, but that hee ſtands ſtill.*

Such kind of writings are like vnto Medals, which men eſteeme more for their ſtamps, and for the teſtimony they giue of the doubts of Antiquitie, then for their proper beauty: neither doe wee ſee any but giue ſome light in the obſcureſt difficulties, and ſerue in the managing of great affaires. We ſee in the beginning of his diſcourſe, [o] how this Preſident labours to ſatisfie them who held, that Dauphiné ſhould acknowledge the Dauphin from the day of his birth: for he maintained, *That the eldeſt ſonne of France, could not bee acknowledged for Prince, and Lord of Dauphiné, vntill it ſhould pleaſe the King to giue him the prouiſions and command.*

[o] *The Dauphin is not acknowledged Prince of Dauphiné vntill the King hath giuen him the power.*

The Hiſtory ſets downe how he retired into Dauphiné, and from thence into Flanders: A wonderfull hearts griefe vnto the King, which did accompany him vnto his graue; In either of his vioages, he was alwaies accompanied by neceſſity: His ſeruants

Griefe of K. *Charles* the 7.

purſes being emptied in the voiage of Dauphiné, they borrowed a hundred Crownes of them of Romans. The Bill which hee made is carefully kept among the publicke writings of that Towne. It is true, that *Lewis* the eleuenth, was ſuch towards *Charles* the ſeuenth his father, as hee deſired not that *Charles* the eighth his ſonne, ſhould be like vnto him, and doubting that the diſpoſition of his nature might be helpt by his nouriſhment, hee did not care to breed him vp in thoſe vertues which are worthy of a Prince. Theſe defects proceeded not ſo much from the fathers fault as from the time, [p] where the old errour was ſworne by the greateſt Families, that the ſtudy of learning did daunt their courages: Hee would not haue him learne any more Lattine then theſe few words: *Qui neſcit diſſmulare neſcit regnare:* [q] A Prince leaues his ſonne learned enough, when he hath made him capable to force obedience: Obedience is the Science of Princes. [r]

Of his two daughters hee loued none but her whom hee gaue to the Duke of Bourbon, the eldeſt was a ſadde encounter to his eyes. Hee fayled alſo in the affection which hee ought vnto the mother, for hee gaue her not ſo good a ſhare of his heart as ſhee ought to haue had. CLAVDIVS of Seyſſell ſaith: *That whilſt hee was in the vigour of his age, hee was not loyall of his perſon, Hee alwaies kept her meanely attended, in ſome Caſtell for the moſt part, whether hee went ſome times to ſee her, more for a deſire to haue Iſſue, then for any delight hee tooke in her; and for the feare ſhee had of him, and his ſowre vſage of her, it is credible, that ſhee had no great delight nor pleaſure in his company: But that which is worſe, towards the end of his daies hee ſent her into Dauphiné, and did expreſſely command that ſhee ſhould not bee neere his ſonne when hee ſhould bee King.* Of all the contentments of life that of marriage is moſt to bee deſired: It is a rough paſſage, the waies are flanked with Buſhes and Thornes, it is impoſſible to go vnto the end of it, but ſome Brier or Bramble will catch hold of you: [s] And the great Prince, which did draw all ſorts of Sciences aboundantly out of the Treaſures of the Eternall Wiſedome, doth number the concord of Marriage among his chiefeſt felicities, holding him happy that hath a wiſe wife, and auowing that there is not any thing more pleaſing vnto God then Nuptiall Concord.

Lewis the 11. a bad Huſband.

That of brethren is no leſſe pleaſing vnto him, there was not any betwixt the King, and the Duke of Guienne his brother, and wee cannot ſay that of them which is written of the two Twinnes, [t] that the one had a feeling of anothers infirmity: There was no

Lewis bad to his brother.

[p] *In thoſe daies they held that learning did wrong to courage, and the moſt valiant of thoſe times were very groſſe and ignorant: They ſay alſo that Italy being giuen more to learning then Armes, had giuen a great aduantage to them that had conquered it.*

[q] *King* Lewis *the* 11. *would not haue his ſonne learne any other Art, but how to diſſemble, in the which he had paſt Maiſter; he alſo ſaid that in reading bookes he ſhould find ſo many accidents and perils, as he would become leſſe courragious.*

[r] *There is not any Science neceſſary for a Prince but to command well, and to bee well obeyed.*

[s] *Marriage is good of it ſelfe, but it is ſubiect to bad accidents: To explaine this truth,* Gregory *brings a compariſon of a way which is cleane and ſtraight, & yet hath on either ſide brambles which may catch hold:* In via quidem munda non offendimur, ſed à latere naſcitur quo pungamur. *We are not hurt in a cleane way, but it growes from the ſides wherewith we are prickt.* Greg. 12. Moral. [t] *Two brethren were held Twinnes, for that being toucht with the ſame Infirmity, the beginning, progreſſe, and declining was equall in either of them.* Auguſt. lib: 5. de Ciuit.

reſemblance

reſemblance of Complexions and Will betwixt them. The Duke of Guienne hauing ſeene that his preſumptions in the League of the Common-weale, and thoſe of the Dukes of Brittany, Bourgundy, Bourbon had beene recompenſed, and to draw fauours from the King, it was good to make himſelfe to bee feared, hee ſtill continued his practiſes with them that might terrifie him, and held his ſpirit in the apprehenſions of warre.

This great rigour, which the King vſed towards him, might well bee excuſed and maintained with this great reaſon, not to make the Princes of the bloud great in a time of trouble and liberty. If his brother had had a greater ſhare in the State, and if his portion had lyen neerer to his enemies, the League of the Common-weale had continued longer. In the beginning hee thought to content him, in giuing the Dutchy of Berry [u] to him, and to his Heires Male, then the Dutchy of Normandy, with power to impoſe all ſorts of Subſidies: But hee did all this onely for the neceſſity of his affaires, and to diſpierce, and cut aſſunder the ſtorme of the League: Soone after, hee draue him out of Normandy, and compelled him to retire, and with-draw, himſelfe into Brittany, as poore as euer.

This ſeuere courſe was approued and allowed by the three Eſtates, who held it not fit, nor conuenient, to pull ſo goodly a Flower from the Crowne, ſaying; that hee ſhould reſt himſelfe contented and ſatisfied with the offer which the King made him of twelue hundred pounds Sterling yearely rent, with the Title of a Dutchy, and foure thouſand eight hundred pounds Penſion: [x] In the end, hee gaue him the gouernement of Guienne, but hee commanded *Iohn* of Popincourt, Preſident of the Accounts at Paris, not to inueſt him with his Letters, before hee had deliuered, and reſigned vp the others, and made his renounciation: This was but a ſcantling of the whole peece, for of this great, ſpacious, and goodly Prouince of Guienne, hee had nothing but the Country of Bourdelois, Bazadois, and Landeſſe: Hee neither enioyed it long, nor yet poſſeſſed it quietly; for being there, hee preſently found great troubles for the limites, and bounds, which the Kings Officers ſtroue and contended for, and for the which the Duke of Bourgundy would haue taken Armes, but it was compounded and verefied by the Court of Parliament two yeares after. Death gaue him a more contented, quiet, and certaine Portion in the other world.

If death had not done the like grace to the Duke of Orleance, and drawne him out of the cares and afflictions of this life, hee had declared the cauſe of the ſame reſolution the which hee made knowne to King CHARLES the ſeuenth: The violent death of LEVVIS Duke of Orleance his

[u] *The Dutchy of Berry was giuen him for his portion in November 1461. & in the yeare, 1465. he entred into the Dutchy of Normandy, and the Lands which the Duke of Orleance held there, as the Counties of Mortaigne and Longueuille.*

[x] *This offer was made, according to the Ordonance of King* Charles *the fift, in October 1374. by the which he would that* Lewis *of France his ſecond ſon ſhould haue twelue hundred pound ſterling yearely rent, for his portion, and 4000. pounds giuen him to furniſh him.*

father, hauing inuited the Engliſh to mount vpon the Stage, and there to act the part of Kings of France for many yeares, made him to take Armes, and to ioyne the reuenge of this death to the defence of the Crowne: Hee was taken priſoner at the battell of Agincourt, and carried into England, where hee remained fiue and twenty yeares. His liberty and reſt came from thence, from whence proceeded the cauſes of the miſeries of his houſe, and of his captiuity. *Phillip* Duke of Bourgundy, paied two hundred thouſand Crownes for his ranſome, married him to *Mary* of Cleues his Neece, and gaue him the Order of the Golden Fleece, [y] Hee was not receiued by King *Charles* the ſeuenth, according to his hopes and the greatneſſe of his quality. This diſcontent made him to ioyne with the intentions of the Dukes of Bourgundy, Brittany, Alençon, and other Noble men, who aſſembled at Neuers, to make King *Charles* the 7. regard them better then he did, and to reforme the diſorders of the Realme. [z]

Aſſembly at Neuers in the yeare 1442.

This was preſently repaired, for the Engliſh made their profite, and the Duke of Orleance recouered the ranke, and authority which the dignity of his birth gaue him neere the King: Who employed him in the conference which was made at Tours, for a Truce betwixt France and England, vnder the fauour whereof hee vndertooke the conqueſt of Milan, after the death of PHILLIP MARIA. The ſucceſſe of this enterpriſe did ſhew that hee had beleeued them too lightly who had repreſented it ſo eaſy; as the firſt day hee ſhould arme, Lombardy would giue him the Caſtle of Milan. Hee paſt into Italy to take poſſeſſion of the Dutchy, [a] But as it hath beene alwaies reproached vnto the French, neuer to thinke of their returne when they paſſe the Mountaines, being there hee was preſently vnfurniſhed of all neceſſary meanes to worke any great effect, and was forced to end his enterpriſes as ſoone as they beganne. The conqueſt of the County of Aſt was the fruite of his voiage, the reſt remained to FRANCIS SFORCE. This County of Aſt ſerued him for a retreate for ſome time after, the greatneſſe of his courage not ſuffering him to remaine neere the King, for the ſmall eſteeme he made of him. A contempt which did wound his heart with ſo ſencible a griefe, as CLAVDIVS of Seyſſell finds no other cauſe of his death.

Cauſe of the Duke of Orleans death.

Lewis Duke of Orleance was ſucceſſour to this bad vſage, and to the end that this contempt might bee a counterpoiſe to the greatneſſe of his courage, hee would haue his breeding leſſe exquiſite then his generous diſpoſition could beare, and forced him to marry his daughter, who was weake and crooked, [b] giuing him a

[y] *The Duke of Orleance receiued the Order of the Duke of Bourgundy, after his returne out of England, in the yeare 1440.*

[z] *The diſcontented Princes aſſembled at Neuers, in the yeare 1442. The Archbiſhop of Rheims Chancellour of France, was ſent to moderate their choller, and to aſſure them of all they deſired.*

[a] *It is a great errour in a Prince to beleeue that lightly which is repreſented vnto him of the facility of a great deſigne, notwithſtanding that the moſt temperate are ſubiect to ſuffer themſelues to bee carried away with theſe goodly perſwaſions.* Credulitas error magiſeſt quam culpa & quidem in optimis cuiuſque mentem facillimè irripit. *Credulity is an errour rather then a fault, and it doth eaſily creepe into the beſt mens minds.* Cicero.

[b] *The Authour of the remembrances of the Royall Houſe of Bourbon ſaith, that* Lewis *the eleuenth, cauſed* Lewis *Duke of Orleance to bee bred vp as groſſely as he could, to abate that generous heart of the houſe of Orleance,* Claudius *of Seyſſel ſaith, that he vſed him very roughly, and ſought to kill him.*

bone

boane of griefe and repentance to gnawe for aboue twenty yeares.

According to the Maxime, to humble the Princes of his bloud, hee intreated the Earle of Angouleſme no better, and would not ſuffer him to thinke of marrying the Princeſſe of Bourgondy, deſiring rather that that great and mighty Eſtate ſhould be in the power of a forraigne Prince. Hee doubted the courage of them that were neereſt allied vnto him, and held them (as it were) ouerwhelmed vnder the rocke of contempt and neceſſity, and kept them from great charges. The ſprings of his bounty were drawne dry for them, for he vſed France like vnto an Orchard, where as they cut, pull vp, and tranſplant trees at their pleaſure.

That great and wonderfull houſe of Bourbon, which alone can reckon as many triumphes as France hath had enemies, and which before all others carried a Ducal Crowne, auoided theſe ſtormes. [c] He would haue vſed it with the like rigor, but hee found it more firme, forcing him to conuert his ſpleene and hatred into other effects of loue and affection. For he ~~he~~ gaue the firſt Coller of the Order to *Iohn* Duke of Bourbon, his brother, who had married the Lady *Ioane* of France, daughter to *Charles* the ſeuenth, and the Lady *Agnes* his daughter, to *Peter* of Bourbon, to whom he committed all his important affaires; hee gaue him the inheritance of the Earle of Armagnac, yet he would not haue him carry the Title of Earle.

Greatnes of the houſe of Bourbon.

[c] *This royall family of Bourbon hath bin ſo much eſteemed by our anciēt Monarks as it was the firſt among the Princes of bloud that was honoured with the Title of a Duke: for although the Dutchy of Bourgondy were long before the erection of the Dutchy of Bourbon, yet it was neuer comprehēded in the houſe of France, but ſince* Charles *the fift and the Dutchie of Bourbon was erected by* Philip *of Valois, Grand-father to* Charles *the 5.*

Maieſty. Next to the duties which binde a Prince to ſerue God, and to loue his Allies, there is not any thing which ſhould keepe his ſpirit more in action then the care of Maieſty: for it is ſo delicate a ſpring, as if it ſlip or breake, the whole frame of authority is in diſorder, and he becomes a king of a Tragedie. When I ſpeak of Maieſty, I meane not that, to maintaine that a Prince ſhould liue like vnto the Kings of Perſia, in a Caſtle with three Ditches, and as many Walles, [d] that they ſhould not ſpeake vnto him, but through a trauers, like vnto the Kings of Borney: that hee ſhould not ſee his ſubiects, but bare-headed, and couered with aſhes; or that hee ſhould not ſhew himſelfe but once a yeare, like to the firſt Kings of France: But my meaning is to ſpeake of that inuiolable and glorious reſpect which bindes a Prince not to ſay, do, or yeeld to any thing contrary to the dignity of his Crowne, which cannot endure to be forced, and doth neuer ſhew himſelfe in publicke actions, but with what is fit and neceſſary for his greatneſſe and power. [e] This Maieſty is like vnto *Moſes* Rod, the which being held in the hand, was the Inſtrument of admirable things; but creeping on the earth, there was nothing but horror and contempt.

Ridiculous grauitie of Princes.

Maieſty compared to *Moſes* rod.

[d] *The Kings of Perſia were rather worſhipped then reuerenced by their ſubiects. They remained in a Caſtle with three Ditches & three walles, ſpeaking to few, and yet had news daily from all parts of their Empire, from the ſtraight of Helleſpont to the Eaſt Indies, by Centinels which were ſet vpon the mountaines.* [e] *The words and actions of Princes are ſo conſidered, and the people iudge of them as they vnderſtand them; and therefore ſhould alwayes appeare Maieſticall, and (if it may bee) Diuine. And ancient Grecian ſaid, That a Prince ſhould not ſpeake before the people, but as if hee were vpon a ſtage in a Tragedy.*

Lewis the eleuenth was alwayes very carefull to maintaine this Maieſty, being wonderfull deſirous of reuerence, reſpect, and reputation, and yet his priuate and familiar actions were very contrary. This care was the laſt garment he put off; hee ſhewed it vpon the tippe of his lippes when as hee thruſt forth the laſt words of his life. He gaue it two ſupporters, Feare and Admiration,[f] another would haue maintained it with Loue and Authority; but hee miſt this firſt way at his comming to the Crowne, and could neuer after recouer it: hee found ſuch ſauadge humors, and ſo accuſtomed to liberty, that as the intemperance of the Patient iuſtifies the ſeuerity of the Phyſitian, he was forced to vſe fury to make mad men wiſe.

[f] *The ſouereigne authority of a Prince, is Maieſty, which is like vnto a liuely Image of that great God, who the Prince doth repreſent. It is the ſupport and protection of an eſtate, and cannot bee contemned nor wronged, but the whole body will be diſtempered.* Maieſtas Imperij ſalutis tutela. *Maieſty is the guardian of the Empires health.*

Thus his Maieſty was feared of the greateſt Princes of Europe, it was not contemned of any man without puniſhment, and it was reuerenced of all his ſubiects. This Maieſty was like vnto thoſe Pictures which ſeemed faireſt farre off. It was admired in forraine Prouinces, but it was ſomething blemiſhed by his careleſneſſe and facility, wherewith he did often wrong his greateſt actions.

The Caſtillians at the voyage of Bayone, ſcoffed at him, to ſee him with ſo little pompe and maieſty. Vpon dayes of great ſhew hee cauſed ſome one to bee attired like himſelfe.[g] And yet a Prince ſhould neuer doe any thing that ſhould cauſe him to bee ſought for among his ſubiects and ſeruants; the brightneſſe of his Maieſty muſt ſhine like vnto a Planet ouer the leſſer ſtarres.

Cuſtome of *Lewis* 11 at ceremonies.

[g] *At the enterview of King* Lewis *the eleuenth, and* Edward *the fourth at Piquigny,* Philip de Comines *was attired like the King.*

Great men which inuiron a Prince, giue a luſtre to the greatneſſe of Maieſty. The Offices of the Crowne are ordained to that end, and the great dignities which France doth impart to great merites, addes reuerence, and doth incite their mindes to merit them.

Offices of the crown

It is like vnto the Garden of *Pheaces*, which abounds with all ſorts of fruites. It is not vnfitting to ſet downe heere who taſted of them during this Reigne.[h] *Conſtable. Lewis* of Luxembourg, Earle of Saint *Paul*, no other carried the Sword during this Reigne. *Chancellour, Peter* of Moruilliers, Iuvenall of Vrſins, Lord of Treynell, and *Peter* of Oriole.

[h] *When as king* Lewis *the eleuenth, came vnto the Crowne, there was no Conſtable:* Arthur, *Duke of Brittanie, Earle of Richmond, was vnder the Reigne of* Charles *the ſeuenth.*

Lord Steward. The Lord of Nantoillet, IOHN of Croi, CHARLES of Melun, ANTHONY of Croi, ſonne to IOHN of Croi, and ANTHONY of Chabannes, Earle of Damartin. Chiefe *Chamberer*. IOHN the ſecond Duke of Bourbon.[i] *Lord Chamberlaine*. IOHN of Orleans, Earle of Dunois, ANTONY of Chaſteauneuf, Lord of Lau. *Marſhals of France*, ANDREVV of Lauall, Lord of Loheac, IOHN Baſtard of Armagnac, Earle of Comminges, *Ioachim Rouant* Lord of Gamaſche, of Boiſmenard, and

[i] *The Office of chiefe Chamberer, or Gentleman of the Chamber, continued long in the houſe of Bourbon. The King Saint* Lewis *gaue it to* Robert *of France his ſonne,* Lewis *the firſt, Duke of Bourbon,* Charles *the firſt,* Iohn *the ſecond,* Peter *the ſecond, Dukes of Bourbon.*

Peter

Peter of Rohan, Lord of Gye. There were but two vntill King *Francis* the firſt. *Admirall*, *Iohn* Lord of Montauban, *Lewis* Baſtard of Bourbon, Earle of Rouſillon; *Lewis*, Lord of Grauille. *Maiſter of the Croſſe-bowes*, [k]*Iohn* of Eſtouteuille, Lord of Torcy. *Great Butler*, the Lord of Lau.

[k] *The maiſter of the Ordinance of France, or the Co'oncll of the Infantery, haue ſucceeded in this charge.*

Wee finde not that hee had any Maiſter of his Horſe, or Maiſter of the Pantry. *Ioachim* of Rouant was Maiſter of the Horſe at his Coronation. *Yuon* of Fau his chiefe Huntſ-man, *Lewis* of Lauall, Lord of Chaſtillon, was maiſter of the Waters and Forreſts.

The ancient order of France was, that Knights Banneret, the Maiſter of the Pantrie, the chiefe Caruer, and the chiefe Cuppebearer ſhould ſerue the King at the foure Annall Feaſtes, and to either of them was giuen foure poundes ſterling: but when as *Lewis* the eleuenth neglected this Gratuity, they forgot the Dutie.

It is one of the precepts of Maieſty, that the markes of Soueraignty bee not imparted to any, [l]yet hee ſuffered the Prince of Orange to ſtile himſelfe *Prince by the grace of God*, and to *René* King of Sicile, to ſeale in yellow Waxe in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred ſixty nine, the which doth onely belong to the Kings of France, other Princes of Chriſtendome ſeale in waxe of diuers colours; and to *Charles* Earle of Angouleſme to releaſe priſoners, when hee made his firſt entry into any Towne where he commanded.[m]

Here *P. Mathew* is deceiued.

[l] *A prince ſhold not be more ſparing of any thing then of honours which depend of his maieſty.*

Hee was very ſtaied in giuing Titles of Honour and Dignity to great Families: a Prince cannot bee too warie therein: for it falles out often, that the conſiderations which fauour the priuate merite of any one, end with him when hee dies; but when the dignitie is tyed vnto the perſon, as the feodall titles of Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles and Barons bee, the Family for the which the gratification was made, is diſpoſſeſt thereof, when as the Landes goe away.[n] Hence it comes that in England ſuch dignities are not annexed to the Landes and Fees, but to the Bloud, and the Deſcendants of the Familie. The German doth not impart it to the whole poſterity, but onely to them which deſcend from the Males.

Policy in England for the titles of Houſes.

[m] *In this priuiledge, but for once to* Charles *Earle of Angouleſme, priſoners for high Treaſon were excepted. It was granted in the yeare* 1477.

[n] *Many diſallowed that the feodall Titles of Dukes, Marquiſes, &c. ſhould bee giuen in France to the Land, and not vnto the Bloud, for it happens that ſome one looſing the land, doth alſo looſe the meanes to maintaine the Title which remaines.*

There are two houſes which bee ſo great and famous of themſelues, as they honour the titles which are giuen them. King *Charles* the ſeuenth his Father, hauing made the Earledome of Foix a Pairie for *Gaſton* of Foix, hee confirmed this erection; but hee made not any new. This houſe of Foix was in thoſe times one of the moſt famous in Chriſtendome, and did compare with Soueraigne Princes[o]

[o] *We find that in great ceremonies the Earles of Foix are named before the Princes, and had precedence of the Earles of Vendoſme. There is no other reaſon but that the eldeſt of Princes houſes precede the yonger of other houſes, and therfore at the Eſtates held at Tours, the Earles of Neuers, Eu and Foix, had precedence of the Earle of Vendoſme.*

Gaſton

Gaſton of Foix, who liued in the time of King *Charles* the fifth, went equall with Kings: when as King *Charles* the ſixth was at Tholouſa, he ſent the Earle of Sancerre Marſhall of France; and the Signior of Riuiere, one of the chiefe of his Councell to the Earle of Foix, who was then at Mazere, to intreate him to come vnto him, or elſe he would goe to ſee him. He did not excuſe himſelfe vpon the Indiſpoſitions of his great Age, and being ſorry that hee had not preuented this ſummons, he parted from Mazere with ſix hundred horſe, and came to the King to Tholouſa. The Hiſtory ſaith, that preſenting himſelfe vnto the king, hee was followed by two hundred Gentlemen, all cloathed in ſilkes; among them there was noted the Vicount of Bruniquet and his brethren, *Roger* of Spaine, Lord of Monteſpan, iſſued from the bloud of Arragon, and head of the houſe of Monteſpan, [p] and the Lord of Corras, who firſt raiſed the honour of the Earles of Caramain, a great and rich family, allied to that of Foix, and who (ſeeing that Houſes and Families haue their periods like to all other worldly things) could not deſire a more glorious fall, then into the houſe of Monluc, where it begins to reuiue. King *Charles* the ſixth requited this viſite at New-yeares-tide in the yeare 1390. [q]

Traine of the Earle of Foix.

Beginning of the houſes of Mõteſpan & Caramain

[p] Eſpagnol *et of Spaine, ſonne to* Roger *of Spaine, ſonne to* Leon *of Spaine.*

He fauoured the houſe of Lauall with the like declarations of honour, the which was long before held for one of the worthieſt of France, hauing neuer wanted children, nor the firſt dignities and alliances of France, hauing for their ſtemme the Houſe of Montmorency, [r] the firſt Chriſtian of France; and there is no difference in their Armes, but fiue Cockle-ſhels *Argent* to the Croſſe. Wherefore he would that *Francis* of Lauall, Lord of Gaure, ſonne of a daughter of king *Charles* the ſeuenths ſiſter, ſhould go in rank with the Earles of Vendoſme, as well in Councell as in Parliament, and in all other publike actions; and cauſed his letters to be diſpatcht at Mans the nine and twentith day of Nouember 1467. to ſerue for a ſpeciall and perpetuall priuiledge to his poſteritie.

Houſe of Lauall.

[q] *At this voyage the Earle did inſtitute King* Charles *the ſixth his heire, the which hee would not accept, for that he would not defraud the Vicount of Chaſtellan his lawfull Heire.*

[r] *They drawe the beginning of the firſt houſe of Montmorency, to the time of Saint* Denis, *by whom the firſt that was conuerted among the French Knights, was a Lord of Montmorency, and therefore the ancient Deuice of this houſe is,* God helpe the firſt Chriſtians.

He had much contemned the glorious and honourable markes of Maieſty. [s] *Bodin* writes, that hauing chaſed away almoſt all the Gentlemen of his houſe, hee imployed his Taylor for a Herald at Armes, and his Barber for an Embaſſador, and his Phyſitian for a Chancellor, as an ancient king of Syria did *Apolophanes* his Phyſitian, whom he made the preſident of his Councell. *Philip de Commines* obſerues it, when hee ſhewes how much hee was troubled to furniſh out a Herald which he ſent to the King of England. Heralds were neceſſary for the Maieſty of a Prince, in actions of war, and in the moſt ſolemne dayes of peace.

[s] *Princes had alwayes men appointed to ſerue in time of peace and warre for the ornament of their maieſty, and royall greatneſſe. Heralds were inſtituted in France for that reſpect, in time of peace they carried mayles vpon their breaſts, and in times of warre their Coat of Armes powdred with Flowers* de Luce. *I haue obſerued in the Church and Cloiſter of* Saint Catherine du Val *of the Schollers, twenty of their Tombes which ſhew the forme of their Maces and Scutchions.*

They

They had diuers names, and diuers charges, and they either carried the Titles of the Soueraignes, Prouinces, or of ſome other famous occaſion, as in France the Heralds are diuerſly named, and wee finde often in the Hiſtory of France, theſe names giuen to Heralds: *Monjoye Saint Denis*, *Mont Saint Michel*,[t] wherein a great man of Italy hath erred, and moues them that obſerue it, to laugh; for hauing found in our Hiſtories that King *Lewis* the eleuenth had ſent two Heralds to *Bajazeth* to complaine that hee had broken the peace with the Venetians: hee ſets downe their names after this manner: *Monſieur Gaudio de Saint Denis*, *Monſieur de Saint Michel*, whereas hee ſhould haue ſaide, The Herald *Monjoy Saint Denis*, *and Mont Saint Michel.*

Boſios error in the Hiſtory of Malta.

They were created at great and ſolemne Feaſts, and when they preſented Wine vnto the Prince, hauing drunke, he gaue the cup to him whom he made Herald, wherwith he ſhould make his Scutchion. *Oliuer* of *la Marche* ſaith, that *Philip* Duke of Bourgondy did ſomtimes giue them the name of that Countty whereas the Wine which hee then dranke, did grow: which done, the other Heralds gaue him the Coate of Armes, charged with the Princes Armes.

There were more Ceremonies at the Creation of a King at Armes: for his ſufficiency was to bee teſtified by all the Kings at Armes, and Heralds that might bee found, and they were diſtinguiſhed from others by a Crowne croſlet, which they carried on their heads. Their chiefe charge was to make a diſtinction of the Armes of Families, to preſerue the ancient, and preuent the vſurpation of new. They might forbid them that were no Gentlemen to carry Armes which were not fit for their profeſſion, or for Gentlemen to carry any other Creſts then their Fathers had done, or to open the Helmet, or to crowne them without permiſſion.

Creation of Heralds

It was alſo their duty to keepe the Blaſon of Armes of Houſes,[u] to haue recourſe vnto them vpon any diſpute that might growe vpon differences and conformities. They kept a Regiſter of the Deuices and Colours of Soueraigne Houſes, as White for *France*, Blacke for *England*, Red for *Bourgondy*, Blewe for *Savoy*, Yellow for *Lorraine*, and Greene for *Anjou*. The King at Armes in the houſe of Bourgondy had a care that ſuch as were made noble, ſhould not carry a field gueles, for that it was the colour reſerued for the Prince.

Office of Heralds at Armes.

This houſe did greatly obſerue the Reſpects and Ceremonies of a Soueraigne pompe. When the Duke did eate at any ſolemne Feaſt, beſides all the ordinary ſtate of Kings, he had behinde him the Kings at Armes, and Heralds with their Coates and

Magnificence of the houſe of Bourgondy.

[t] *This word of* Monjoy Saint Denis *was ſometimes the warlicke cry of the French. They ſay it grew vpon that which* Clouis *ſaid in the battell neere to Colleyn, when as fearing to looſe it, hee promiſed to beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt, worſhipped by* Clotilde *his wife, and to hold him for his* Ioue. *Since that time they cryed in their battels,* Monjoye Saint Denis, *as if they would ſay, Chriſt whom Saint* Denis *hath preached in Gaule, is my* Ioue, *that is to ſay, my* Iupiter. *The word of* Ioue *beeing turned into that of* Ioye. The Antiquities of Gaule wri ten by the Preſident Fauchet.

[u] *There were great conſiderations in the forme of Scutchions, and in the Creſts of Armes. A Knights Scutchion might bee cut ſquare, or voided at his pleaſure, whereunto a Creſt was added, taken out of part of the Armes, and the Helmet ſhut, and ſtanding ſtraight. A Squires Scutchion was round, like vnto a Rondache, and had had no Creſt, but his* Helmet *onely ſhut, turned on the one ſide.*

Crownes, and before him were set, at a low Table, two Vshers, and two Sergeants with their Maces, who had alwayes their eyes vpon his, to execute his commandements vpon the least signe he should make; yea, to take the greatest prisoners which could not be taken else-where.

These Charges haue beene contemned by the contempt of persons which haue not desired them, but to couer the indignity of their birth. In former times they were not held but by Gentlemen, whose honour carried them vnto dangers with the same courage that they which are lesse generous flye from them. They had the guard of the Kings Chamber, and had that charge which since the Archers of the Guard haue.[x] They shewed good proofe of their valour at the battell of Bouuines, vnder *Philip Augustus*, by reason whereof Saint *Lewis* did build the Church of Saint *Katherine du Val des Escoliers*, and King *Charles* the fifth appointed the brotherhood there, whereas at this day many Tombes are to bee seene, which haue preserued the ancient forme of their habit and Armes.

[x] *The Sergeants at Armes, by day, carried a Mace before the King, and guarded his Chamber by night, and therfore du Tillet thinkes, that they held the place of the Archers of the guard.*

That which *Philip de Commines* obserues of a Gascon which came into the place where as the King was at the stoole with three or foure, confirmes this opinion of the small care hee had of the formes befitting Maiesty; for although there were no Vshers at the doores, yet this facility to enter euen into the Cabinet, was dangerous. His Predecessors had prouided for it, and the Chamberlaines were bound[y] by the duty of this charge, not to suffer it: but hee contemned it all the time of his reigne, vntill the end, when hee was more carefull of it then was needfull, passing from a great facility and confidence, to a rigorous seuerity and distrust to keepe his gates shut: wee finde these words very remarkeable in the Ordonance of King *Philip* the long: *After the care of the soule, they must not bee so negligent of the body, as through negligence, or bad guard any perils arriue, especially when for one person many troubles may happen. Wee therefore ordaine, and doe therewith especially charge our Chamberlaine, that no vnknowne person nor boy of poore estate enter into our Wardrope, nor lay their hand, nor bee at our bed making, and that they suffer not any strange sheetes to bee layd on. And wee command the Steward of our house, that our Pantrie or Kitchin, and all other Offices of our house bee so well and carefully kept, as no danger may arriue, and these things wee will haue obserued in the houses of our Company, and of our Children.*

Duty of Chamberlaines.

[y] *The first care of the kings person belongs to the Lord Chamberlaine, he was bound to lye at the Kings feete, whe the Queen was not present, and so* Peter, *Lord Chamberlaine to the king* S. Lewis, *was buried at Saint* Denis, *at his maisters feet, as hee serued him liuing. And at this day in the Assembly of the Estates, & when as the King sits in Iustice, the Lord Chamberlaine sits at his feet.*

The other precept of Maiesty, is not to continue great Offices in one Family, and to make them hereditary. The Order and iustice of the state, will that a distribution be made of those

Great Offices shold not be hereditary.

[z] *The perpetuity of great charges is dangerous. They that haue commaunded long, are loath to obey.* Antiquitas voluit Prouinciarum dignitatem amica successione reparari ne diutina potestate vnus insolesceret. *Antiquity would that the Gouernments of Prouinces should be supplyed yearely, least that any one by a continuall command, should grow insolent.*

who

who by the quality of their birth, or the greatneſſe of their merite, are capable.

The perpetuall Dictatorſhip did ouerthrow the ſtate of Rome, the great authority giuen to the Mayors of the Palace, did ruine the firſt Family of our Kings. To thoſe that are ambitious of the ſame Offices their Predeceſſors enioyed, wee ſhould wiſh the like moderation and integretie that *Quintus Fabius Maximus* had, who hauing beene fiue times Conſull, and vndergone many great charges, intreated the Senate not to conferre that Honour vnto his ſonne; not that hee thought him vnworthie, but that hee knewe well, that the Common-weale ſhould receiue preiudice by the perpetuity of great Offices in one Family. [a] This was to loue the State more then himſelfe. *Lewis* the eleuenth tooke more delight then hee receiued content or profite to change his Officers often. When as a place is executed worthily and profitably by any one, his diſmiſſion is vniuſt, and the Princes ſeruice is wronged: for if the place bee not ſupplyed by a man of the like experience and ſufficientie, the Common-weale is damnified: [b] thoſe that are new come, beeing greedy of gaine, preferre their owne priuate Intereſt before all publicke conſideration. The ſoundeſt Eſtates haue alwayes ſome vlcers: to change the remedy, and to change the Phyſition is one thing. Wounds haue no time to cloſe vp, when they doe often change plaiſters.

Offices are to bee maintained if they be good.

Changes in diuers Charges.

Hee diſmiſt the Duke of Bourbon from the gouernement of Guienne, and gaue it to the Baſtard of Armagnac: [c] Hee tooke from the Lord of Bueil the Office of Admirall of France, and gaue it to the ſame Baſtard, and afterwardes to the Baſtard of Bourbon his Sonne-in-lawe, who did him great ſeruices; yet hauing no conſideration thereof, hee tooke from him the Gouernement of Picardie, to giue it to PHILIP of Creuecœur, Lord of Cordes. Hee would haue the Lieutenants in the Gouernement of Bourgondy to hold their places as the Wolfe by the eare: Hee tooke it from *Des Cordes*, and gaue it to *Chaumont*, who died in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred eighty one. [d]

Hee tooke the Seales from PETER of Moruillier, and gaue them to IUVENEL of Vrſins, from whom hee had taken them when he came to the Crowne, then hee gaue them to *Peter* of Oriole: Hee tooke the Office of Marſhall of France from the Lord of Loheac, and to reſtore it to him againe hee tooke it from the Earle of Comminges, baſtard of Armagnac. *Charles* of Melun was his Lieuetenant in the Citty of Paris, hee diſpoſſeſt him of that charge to giue it the Earle of Eu, and made him Lord Steward of his houſe.

Entring into Paris hee made *Iames* of Villiers Lord of *Liſle-*

[a] *In an other occaſion* Quintus Fabius Maximus *did ſhewe, that in the election of great charges there ſhould be no reſpect had but of the publicke good, hee would not conſent that* T. Octacilius, *who had married his wiues daughter, ſhould bee Conſull, for that hee held him not capable of that charge, nor of courage to make head againſt* Hannibal. T. Liu. lib.24.

[b] *As the ruine of Families comes commonly from new ſeruants, ſo the fall of Eſtates proceedes from new magiſtrates which enter into Offices without experience.*

[c] IOHN *of Andie, Lord of Leſcun, baſtard of Armagnac, Earle of Comminges, head of the houſe of Riberac.*

[d] *King* Lewis *the eleuenth being diſcontented that the Lord of Tremouille had not taken* Dole, *hee tooke from him the Gouernment, and gaue it to* Charles *of Ambois, who was gouernor of Champagne.*

Adam Prouoſt of Paris. After the Warre of the Commonweale hee diſmiſt him from that Charge, and gaue it to ROBERT of Eſtoteuille. His whole Chronicle is full of theſe changes in all ſorts of dignities and Offices.

Magnificence of *Lewis* 11.

Magnificence. The Maieſty of a Prince is followed by his Magnificence, which is one of the Flowers of his Crowne; It is a Foile which giues luſtre to this Dyamond, [c] it ſhewes it ſelfe in many places, and vpon many occaſions; but her Theater is in his Houſe, and at his Court, ſhee preſides in his expences, and appeares in the priuate Ornament of his perſon.

[c] Iamblicus cals Magnificence, the crown of the Empire of princes, & ſaith, that it is chiefly admired among the principall actions of a Prince.

Habit of *Lewis* 11.

Lewis the eleuenth did reſpect it ſo little, as to ſee his Apparrell you would haue ſaid, that he deſired to liue poore, and to dye rich. Hee attired himſelfe plainly in courſe Cloath, and tooke no delight to ſee ſumptuous Apparrell. His Chronicle ſaith, That hee ware Doublets of Fuſtian. Whether hee did it to make his Faſhion more popular; or (by his example) to cut off vaine and vn-neceſſary expences, thinking that a King, who ſhould carry nothing that doth ſauour of a Woman, is more adorned by the Ornaments of the minde, then by thoſe of the body. [f] It neuer repreſents him well apparrelled but once. This was when to conclude the Treaty of Conflans, hee went to the Mercers Grange with a ſmall Traine, and little brute, *Attired in a long Roabe, looſe, furred with Ermines, the which was much more ſeemely then the other garments which hee was accuſtomed to weare.*

[f] *A Princes habit ſhould not be too ſtately, & ful of pompe.* Romulus *attiring himſelfe in ſcarlet, or purple, loſt the loue of his people, nor laſcitious and diſſolute, like to* Nero, Calligula, Commodus *and* Heliogabalus, *nor of a ſtrange faſhion, for the which* Hieron *of Syracuſa was odious vnto his ſubiects.*

Bed of *Lewis* 11.

There is to bee ſeene at this day in the houſe of a Councellor of State, the bed wherein hee lay, the which wee cannot behold without admiring the exceſſe of this Age, and the ſimplicitie of that. It is of Yellow and Carnation Damaske, without any Lace, and the Fringe without faſhion. *Bodin* ſaith, That in ſcorne hee ware a greaſie Hat, and the courſeſt Cloath. In the Chamber of Accounts there was an Article found of his Expences, making mention of two ſhillings for a newe paire of Sleeues to an old Doublet; and another Article of three halfe-pence for a Boxe of greaſe for his Bootes, and yet hee raiſed yearely three millions more then his predeceſſors had done, and did alienate a great part of the Crowne lands.

300000 *l* ſterling.

The expence of his houſe was much leſſe then that of many Noble men of that time. All things were very exact there, frugality was recommended in ſuch ſort, and ſuperfluity ſo odious, as they needed not to paſſe out of *Sclauonia* [g] into *Affrick* to eate creuiſes. By the accounts we find that they increaſed according to the years voyages and affaires. It did not exceed three thouſand ſix hundred pounds ſtarling vntil the yeare 1480, when it amounted to foure thouſand,

[g] *Diſſolution hath been great in priuate perſons by the examples which Athens doth produce, and among others, of Æſope, a player of Tragedies, who being come into Sclauonia to eate Creuices, which were much eſteemed in that Prouince, when as they told that thoſe of Affricke were better, he ſailed into Affricke.*

three

three hundred threescore and one pounds, eight shillings Sterling: In the yeare 1481. it came to sixe thousand sixe hundred sixty and eight pounds Sterling: [h] And yet hee went not from Plessis, from the eight of Nouember vntill the seuenth of September, the yeare following; that he was carried to be buried at our Lady of Clery.

The number of Seruants for the ordinary seruice of this expence was not great, their wages small in comparison of these times. They serued the whole yeare, and it beganne in October. There are none but these set downe in the rowle of his voluntary pensions. Two Chaplins, and to either of them twenty shillings a month, and to a Clarke of the Chappell tenne shillings: A Groome of the Kings Chamber nine pound a yeare; Fowre Squires of the Kitchin to either twelue pounds a yeare: One Hastler, one maker of Brothes, a Sauce-maker, a Head-cooke, a Butler, and two Groomes of the Carriages, to either of them twenty shillings a month: Two Vnder-Cookes of the Kitchin at sixeteene shillings a month; a Porter, a Pastry man, a Baker, two Carters, to either of them sixe pounds a yeare: To a Groome of the Stable, and two to assist him, eight and forty shillings a month: A Farrier twelue pounds: The Maister of the Chamber of the Kings Treasor had sixe score pounds, and the Comptrouler fifty: [i] They gaue but fiue shillings for the Groomes Liuery, and foure and twenty shillings for Cloakes for the Clarkes, Notaries, and Secretaries of the house and Crowne of France.

Lewis remained little at Paris but most at Plessis.

His expence was not all in one place, many did profite by it, and did draw their commodities out of the liuely Springs of the Princes Magnificence: I haue obserued in the Accomps of the Chamber of the Treasure, [k] that there past not any yeare but hee made many voiages, and that Paris saw him but seldome: In the meane time he kept not his Chamber to liue at his ease, neither did hee imitate the first Kings, who did not shew themselues vnto their subiects but like the Images of the Gods, which they drew once a yeare out of their gilded boxes: He did visite his Prouinces, hee spent not the twelue monthes in one sole lodging of the Zodiake: Neither did hee send his affaires to the Maior of the Pallace. [l]

Magnificence how farre it extends.

Magnificence doth not alwaies consist in the priuate expences of a Princes house, in numbers of Horses and Dogs, nor in the shew of Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, or Elephants; it should appeare in Receiuing, Lodging, Feasting, and defraying forraine Princes and their Embassadours: This Prince in such occasions made it knowne that Magnificence doth not dwell but in Kings houses, and that France was the Theater: Hee receiued in this manner the King of Portugall, the Queene of England, and the Prince of Wales her sonne, *René* of Aniou King of Sicile, the

[h] *The expence of the Kings house for that which concerned the mouth onely, was in the yeare* 1471. *two thousand* 800. *and three pounds two shillings Sterling: In the yeare* 1472. 2900. *pounds: The yere* 1473, 3280. *pounds: In the yeare* 1474. 2520. *pounds Sterling. The yeare* 1475. 3020. *pounds. In the yeare* 1476. 3040. *pounds. in the yeare one thousand,* 4. *hundred seuenty and seuen, three thousand* 600. *and foure score pounds: In the yeare* 1478. 3480. *pounds, and in the yeare* 1479, 3700. *pounds sterling.*

[i] *King* Lewis *the* 11. *gaue thirty pounds of increase to* Martin Barthelot, *Maister of the Chamber of his Treasure, but the chamber of Accompts would not allow of it without a speciall command, the which was dispatched at Paray le Moinat the sixt of Aprill* 1481.

[k] *By the Accompts of the Kings house which were made monthly, we find that in twelue yeares they were made.*

[l] Clouis *the* 2. *They were seene but twice at Paris, the one in the Kings house, and the other in that of Maister* Iohn *of Popincourt. the* 12. *King of France beganne to giue to his successours, vntill* Charlemaigne, *the name of idle, but once a yeare.*

Duke of Sauoy, and the Princeſſes of Sauoy, *Anne*, *Loüyſe*, and *Mary*.[m]

By the ſame reſpects of Magnificence, which will that a Prince labour to content the eyes, and minds of others, as himſelfe, [n] hee made many other expences, which were eſteemed and commended both by his Subiects and Strangers: He did often, and for many daies, feaſt and defray the Embaſſadours of England, Hungary, Arragon, and Naples. In the yeare 1477. in March, the king of England ſent the Lord *Howard* to viſite him, being followed by three ſcore and tenne perſons, whom he defrayed all the time of his abode in France. The good cheere hee made vnto the Engliſh at Amiens, after the Treaty of Pyquigny, and the twelue pipes of wine, of the growth of *Fay Monjan* which hee cauſed to be conueyed to Deipe to giue to *Edward* King of England, bound the Engliſh to thoſe cries of ioy which were heard in their Army, and at their departure: *A largeſſe for the Noble King of France.*

But as there is one kind of Magnificence which is all in ſhew, and doth purchaſe great applauſe among the people, ſo there is another which is not ſo glorious and hath much fruite: It is that which giues penſions to ſtrangers, and doth bind them to ſerue the Prince, [o] which doth nouriſh, aduance, and recompence good wits, entertaines excellent Artiſts, fauours good inuentions, and all thoſe that haue any credite with poſterity.

There is alſo an other which is Religious, and which hath not beene knowne but by the moſt Chriſtian Kings, who without wronging the greatneſſe of their Maieſty made their houſes a refuge for the miſerable: *Robert* ſonne to *Hugh Capet* had commonly a thouſand poore men in his traine, hee gaue them horſes to follow him, and to pray for him: [p] *Lewis* the eleuenth had ordinarily ſixe ſcore, and in Lent two hundred and forty, whom he fed with meate from his Table. Religious Magnificence.

And yet this is not the whole extent of Magnificence, it goes farther, and will be ſeene in Plaies, Shewes, and Iouſts, and in things which are rare, and not common; [q] when as the people did vow Hecatombes of a hundred Oxen, and a hundred Sheepe, the Emperours did offer a hundred Eagles, and a hundred Lions: But the expence which is wholy employed for ſight, entertaines the people but till they thinke of the belly A remembrance which diſpenceth with all other things, and hath no ſhare in publicke cares, but that which doth prouide meanes to content it, [r] when it endures any want, all Sights, all Plaies, all Sports are tedious, and makes them ſay that the Feaſt is made at their charge.

The Princes Magnificence muſt therefore ſhew her effects in things whereas the pleaſure incounters with profite, and which paſſe not with the contentment which the ſpirit takes in admiring them,

[m] *The expence of theſe three Princeſſes came to forty two pounds eleuen ſhillings and a peny, from the 28 of October to the 24 of Nouember.*

[n] *A Prince doth many things wherewith hee might diſpeace if hee had none to content but his owne ſelf*: Magnum eſt perſonam in Repub. tueri principis qui non animis ſolum, ſed oculis ciuiũ ſeruire debet. *It is a great matter to maintaine the perſon of Prince in a ſtate, who is not onely bound to ſerue the Citizens minds but alſo their eyes.* Cic.

[o] *He doth gratifie his memory in binding learned men vnto him who haue credit with poſterity.* Senec.

[p] Lewis *the 9. was founder of 28. Colledges in France, who dying commanded his ſonne to bee deuout to God, and charitable to the poore.*

[q] *In publicke calamities, the Greeks and the Romanes did vow Hecatombs, they did ſacrifice a hundred beaſtes vpon ſo many piles of wood*: Si verò Imperatorum votum eſſet, centũ Leones, centumq; Aquilæ vnà mactabantur. *If it were the Emperours vow then were there a hundred Lyons, and a hundred Eagles, ſlaine together.*

[r] *The multitude cares not for the conduct and good ſucceſſe of affaires, ſo they find corne at Market*: Vulgo vna ex republica Annonæ curæ. *The common people haue no care of the Common-weale, but for Corne.*

them, like vnto the daughter of *Maruell* which inamels her halfe circle vnprofitably in the Aire. The Prince muſt not imitate the pride of the *Pharaohs* of Egypt, who employed the ſweate of their Subiects, and the treaſure of their Cofers in workes of Oſtentation, [f] and ſtudied more for vanity then profite: Wherefore Princes haue cauſed their Magnificence to be renowned in publicke works, and in the beautifying of Townes, which ſeemed not to haue bene ruined but to be re-edified more ſtately, and which haue purchaſed the honour to haue left them to their Succeſſours much fairer then they had receiued them from their Predeceſſours. [t]

Workes of vanity and oſtentation.

Wee do not ſee that he did any great workes in Buildings, for it is a hard matter for a Prince to hold a Sword in one hand, and a Trowell in another. Hee cauſed the Church of our Lady of Clery to be built, and repaired that of Victory neere to Senlis, he did enrich and beautify by his bounty the High Altar, with 16. Lampes of Siluer: His Statue ſtands on the right hand, wee ſee it alſo on the Portall with that of Queene *Charlot*, and their Armes round about, with thoſe of the Dauphin. *Phillip Auguſtus* had cauſed this Church to be built in remembrance of the happy victory which he had againſt the Flemmings: [u] There remaines nothing of the ancient building but the Body and the Cloiſter, the Incloſure of the Church, all the Quire and the Portall are new, and carry a remarkable difference of the Architecture of theſe two raignes: The firſt is plaine and low, the other is ſtately and more rayſed then thoſe times did beare.

He hath not left in France any other marke of this publicke care, and although that *Phillip de Commines* giues him the honour to haue done more then his Predeceſſours, in the fortification of his Realme, yet it was ſo little as neither the memory nor the fruite hath remained to his ſucceſſours. [x] This glory which hath beautified the Bayes of victorious Princes, and which hath giuen a dumbe eloquence to Marbles to eterniſe their names, did belong to *Henry* the fourth, the reſtorer of ruines, whereof France imputed the cauſe as well to the liberty of the French, and carleſſenes of her Kings, as to the iniury of times & the deſignes of her enemies. As wee may giue him the glory to haue reſtored life, order, & liberty to France, ſo we may ſay that he hath giuen her a new face, new force, and new beauty: The Fortreſſes of France, which did tremble and humble themſelues at the firſt approach of any enemy, are become inexpugnable. The Kings houſes which ſeemed deſart, & had felt, with the reſt, the fury and liberty of troubles, do now cary vpon their Fronteſpice, the glorious markes of the felicity of his Raigne: Barren and inhabitable places are become ferrile and frequented, Townes are added to Townes, and Riuers ioyned vnto Riuers for the facillity of the Commerce.

All Bridges, Ports, Paſſages and High-waies are honoured with the eternall Monuments of this Princes care for the greatneſſe of his eſtate, and the neceſſities of his people, who beſides his part of

[f] *They ſay that the Piramides were vnprofitable workes, but the ſtructure was profitable for the Prince, who by this meanes made his ſubiects to labor, whom idleneſſe had corrupted and drawne to reuolt and ſedition.*

[t] *The Citty of Rome was bound to the Emperor* Auguſtus *for her decoration, and moſt glorious ornaments, therfore he ſaid:* Romam lateritiam accepi, marmoreã relinquo: *I receiued Rome built of Brick, I leaue it of Marble.*

[u] *The battell of Bouines in Italy,* 1214. *wonne by* Phillip Auguſtus *againſt* Otho *of Saxony, and* Iohn *King of England:* Ferdinand *Earle of Flanders was take priſoner there and carried to the ture, and the Earle of Saliſbury an Engliſhman to Saint* Quentin.

[x] *The Romane Emperours haue preſerued their memory by the reparatioof publicke ruines.* Auguſtus *reſtored the Theater of* P. Emilius: Tiberius *that of* Pompey: Caligula *the walles of Syracuſa.* Veſpaſian *the Capitoll.* Titus *the Theaters:* Antonyn *that of* Adrian, *and* Alexander Seuerus *Traians Bridges.*

of theſe publicke workes, retires with one hand for the reward of his toyles, that which he paies with the other for the tribute of his duty; for the Treaſury of France which hath a continuall ebbing of that which it receiues, doth not reſemble that of ſome Emperours, which neuer reſtores any thing of that which it takes, and therefore it hath beene compared to Charibdis, [y] but with this difference that this Gulph caſts to ſhore whatſoeuer it hath deuoured, but nothing comes out of that bottomeleſſe pit. Thus the profite made the toyle pleaſing, and they which labour ſo profitably complaine during the Solſtice of Summer that the day paſſeth away too faſt: Thus the poore cannot excuſe their miſery whilſt they haue armes left them: [z] Thus idleneſſe, the plague of States, is baniſht, and finds no retreat but among idle hands which ſteales the fruits from them which labour.

The ſtructure of theſe great and incomparable workes, whereas we ſee the marueiles of the induſtry of *Mirons*, of *Phidies*, *Appelles*, and *Lyſippus*, and which are worthy to be accounted the eighth wonder of the world (if it bee true that there were ſeuen) could not be effected but by that great *Auguſtus* and moſt victorious Prince, the beſt of the Kings of France and Nauarre: [a] None but the Duke of Suilly, great Surueiour of France, could execute his Commandements with more order, courage, and care. France is bound vnto him for her decoration, the enriching of her Crowne, the reſtoring of her rights, and the recouery of her firſt beauty and felicity. For her he hath firſt put in practiſe that great Maxime of polliticke knowledge: *To maintaine fertile places by commerce, and barren by handy Trades:* This Eloge is not mine owne, I receiued it from the Kings owne mouth.

Clemency: This goodly Pearle is not ſeene in his Crowne; [b] this great and royall vertue which pardons the afflicted, rayſeth vp them that are deiected, and breakes the current of choller, was vnknowne vnto him: Yet neuer Prince found more occaſion to winne himſelfe honour, but that deceitfull Maxime, that a Princes iuſtice may alwaies and in all caſes diſſemble, [c] and ſow the Foxes skinne vnto the Lyons, fil'd his raigne with tragicall examples of ſeuerity, and gaue him in dying that contentment not to haue left any offence vnpuniſhed.

Clemency

Lewis the 11. knew not how to pardon.

[y] *The treaſure of a couetous Prince is compared by* Latinus Pacatius, *to the Gulph of Charybdis.* Noſter ille pirata quicquid vndecunque cõuenerat, id nobis ſibique perituram in illã ſpecus ſuæ Caribdim congerebat. Bona noſtra ad ærarium, vna & perpetua via ibãt, nullas eorum reliquias, nulla fragmenta, vel ſero victa faſtidio, illa cõmunis vorago reuomebat. *That our Pirate whatſoeuer came from any place, that did hee thruſt into his Carybdis to periſh both for vs and himſelfe: Our goods went one way continually to his treaſure, and that common Gulphe: and being glutted did not vomite forth againe any reliques or fragments.*

[z] *A Prince ſhould entertain publicke workes leaſt that idleneſſe bred ſedition, and that the poore may haue no excuſe that they want meanes to get their liuings, for where there is idleneſſe they alwaies find Mutines and Theeues.* [a] *The moſt glorious Title of a Prince is that which the Senate ordained for* Traiane. Nec videri poteſt optimis in ſua cuiuſque laude præſtantior. Minus eſt enim Imperatorem & *Cæſarem* & *Auguſtum* quam omnibus Imperatoribus, & *Cæſaribus* & *Auguſtis* eſſe meliorem. *Hee cannot ſeeme the beſt that doth not excel them all in their own vertues: It is leſſe to be an Emperour, a* Cæſar, *and an* Auguſtus *then to be better then all Emperours* Cæſars *and* Auguſtus: Plin. Panegeric. [b] *The vertue which rayſeth Kings to heauen is Clemency:*

Conſulere patriæ, parcere afflictis, fera,
Cæde abſtinere, tempus atque ira, dare
Orbi quietem, ſæculo pacem ſuo,
Hæc ſumma virtus, petitur hac cœlum via. *Sen. in Octau.*

[c] *A Prince may mingle prudence with Iuſtice, he may bee a Doue and a Serpent, with theſe three conditions, that it be for the neceſſary, apparant, and important good of the State, that it be with meaſure and diſcretion, and that it be for an offence, and not to offend.*

Phillip

Phillip de Commines being to liue vnder the ſonnes raigne, hath not written all he knew, and could haue ſpoken, vpon the fathers, and yet he ſaies but too much to ſhew his rigour. *Hee was* (theſe are his words) *ſuſpitious, as all Princes bee which haue many enemies, and which haue offended many, as he had done: Hee was not beloued of great men, nor of many of the meaner ſort, and had charged his Subiects more then euer King had done.*

If *Commines* would haue painted out a cruell Prince, hee could not haue imployed other coulours then thoſe wherewith hee ſets forth his rigorous priſons, his Cages of Iron, and his fetters: [d] Hee ſaith, *That they were of wood couered with plates of Iron, that he had cauſed Germanes to make moſt heauy and terrible fetters for mens feete, and there was a ring to put vpon the legge, very hard to open like vnto a choller, the chaine was great and waighty, with a great bullet of Iron at the end, much more weighty then was fit, and they were called the Kings Snares.*

Rigorous priſons of *Lewis* the eleuenth.

Although that puniſhments be the effects of Iuſtice, and very neceſſary, for that hee hurts the good which pardons the wicked, yet it caries ſome ſhew of cruelty, when as the Prince himſelfe ſeemes more carefull thereof then he ought, and that hee doth employ them as well againſt innocents as thoſe that are guilty: [e] *I haue ſeene* (ſaith *Phillip de Commines*) *good men priſoners with fetters on their feete, who afterwards came forth with great honour, and receiued great fauours from him, amongſt others, a ſonne to the Lord of Gruture of Flanders, taken in battell, whom the King married and made his Chamberlaine, and Seneſchall of Anjou, and gaue him a hundred Lances: Alſo the Lord of Piennes, a priſoner in the warre, and the Lord of Vergy:* For hee found in the end that vigour doth but diſtract mens minds, the violent guſt of the Northen wind cannot make a paſſenger to abandon his Cloake, whereas the Sunne caſting his beames by little and little, doth heate him in ſuch ſort as hee will bee ready to ſtrip himſelfe into his ſhirit: Generous horſes obey the ſhaddow of a ſmall Wand, whereas Aſſes tell their paces by the number of their blowes.

The raigne of this Prince was wonderfull ſtormy, they could not ſay of him as of *Antonyn*, that hee had ſhedde no bloud. [f] *Triſtan* his great Prouoſt, who for his barbarous and ſeuere behauiour, did as iuſtly as *Maximin* deſerue the name of Sowre, was ſo ready in the execution of his rigorous commandements, as hee hath ſometimes cauſed the innocent to bee ruined for the offendor: Hee alwaies diſpoſed this Prince rather to vſe a ſword to puniſh faults, then a Bridle to keepe them from falling.

A more temperate Spirit would haue ſtaid him, and Princes in theſe ſtormes doe but what pleaſeth them which guide the effects of their Wils. A Prince is no leſſe diſhonoured by the multitude of executions, [g] then a Phyſitian receiues

[d] Cardinall Balue *inuentor of theſe Cages of Iron, was lodged there with the firſt, and continued* 14. *yeares.* Lacum fodit & operuit eum & incidit in foueã quam fecit. *He digged a pit and opened it, and fell into the Ditch whic' hee had made.*

[e] *The more rare executions bee, the more profitable is the example. Remedies which cure mildly, are to be preferred before thẽ which burne & mutulate: To affect new puniſhments, and againſt accuſtomed manners of the Country are markes of cruelty.*

[f] *The raigne of the Emperour* Antonyn *was ſo good as* Herodian *called it* ἀναίμακτον, *that is to ſay without bloud.*

[g] *A multitude of executions, ſaith* Seneca, *breeds as bad a reputation to the Prince, as a multitude of Burials to a Phyſitian, too great rigours makes the paines contemptible, augments the number of offendours, and makes them to become wicked through deſpight.*

blame by the death of his Patient: *Claud* of Seyſſell could not ſay any thing more bitter to the memory of this Prince then that which hee writes: *That there were ſeene about the places of his abode many men hanged vpon Trees, and the priſons, and other houſes neere, full of priſoners, who were often heard day and night, crying out for the torments which they endured, beſides others which were caſt into the Riuer.*

Many great Princes haue felt the ſeuerity of his humours: *Iohn* Duke of Alençon had in the end as much cauſe to murmurre againſt his iuſtice, as hee had to commend his Clemency in the beginning of his Raigne. Hee had beene condemned to looſe his head vnder *Charles* the ſeuenth: The King reſtored him to his liberty and honour, to make him ſome yeares after vndergoe the like cenſure: [h] Hee cauſed him to bee apprehended and carried to the Towre at the Louure; His Proceſſe was made in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and foureteene, and a Sentence pronounc't the eighteenth of Iuly in theſe termes: *The Court hauing ſeeene the Charges, Informations and Confrontations of witneſſes againſt* Iohn *of* Alençon, *his voluntary confeſſions, the Proceſſe and other things which were to bee ſeene touching the great and heynous crimes committed by him, by the conſpiracies, practiſes, and treaties which hee hath many and ſundry times had, and made, with the Engliſh, the ancient enemies and aduerſaries of this Realme, and other Rebels diſobedient to the King, and to the great preiudice of the King, and ſubuerſion of the publique good of the Realme, forgetting, through ingratitude, the great grace that the King had done him,* [i] *infringing the conditions for the which the King had pardoned him, and likewiſe the quality of other crimes which hee had committed: Hauing alſo ſeene and conſidered all that was to bee ſeene in this party, with mature deliberation, It hath beene ſaid that the Court declares the ſaid* Iohn *of* Alençon *guilty of High Treaſon, and Murther, and to haue cauſed counterfeit Money to bee quoined with the Kings ſtampe and Armes,* [k] *and as ſuch a one, the ſaid Court hath condemned him to receiue death, and to bee executed by Iuſtice, and with all hath declared all and euery his goods forfeited to the King, the execution notwithſtanding of the ſaid* Iohn *of* Alençon, *reſerued vnto the Kings good pleaſure.* The King freed him from the paine, but hee left him one more tedious then that of death, Ignominy and Impriſonment.

Hee did not alſo ſuffer *René* King of Sicile his Vnkle by the mothers ſide to liue in peace: Hee commanded his Court of Parliament to make his Proceſſe, But it made him anſwere that hee could not bee iudged of Treaſon but in the Kings preſence. [l] Hee had the courage to withſtand this brunt, and as wee haue

[h] *The Duke of Alençon being priſoner in the Caſtle of Loches was led to Paris the ſixt of Iune,* 1473. *by the Lord of* Gaucort, *&* Chaletiere *Steward of the Kings houſe, with* 24. *Gentlemen and* 50. *Archers.*

Sentence againſt the Duke of Alençon.

Crimes wherewith the Duke of Alençon was accuſed.

[i] *The King going into Touraine about the end of the firſt yeare of his raigne, found* Iohn *Duke of Alençon priſoner at Loches, and ſet him at liberty.*

[k] *Coyning of money is one of the rights of Soueraignety: It is treaſon to make any be it good or bad; Many Noblemẽ in France had the priuiledge to coine, but they were reuoked by an Edict made by King* Francis *the firſt.*

[l] Bodin *in the fourth booke of his Common-weale, the ſixt Chapter, ſaith, that the Court of Parliament made this anſwere the twenty ſixth of April one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and fifteene: It had done the like in the Duke of Alençons Proceſſe in the time of King* Charles *the ſeuenth, In the yeare* 1458.

ſeene,

ſeene, attended vntill that time had cured the vlcer of the Kings hatred againſt him.

The Duke of Nemours could not eſcape the ſeuerity of his Iuſtice, the which hee had contemned by great relapſes into the ſame faults. If the Duke of Bourgundy had returned a Conquerour from the Suiſſes and Lorraines, the King would haue beene no leſſe troubled to put him to death, then to ſet him at liberty: [m] The tediouſneſſe of his priſon had diſpoſed his ſoule to leaue that of the body without griefe, to contemne death and to hate life.

[m] *Captiuity is a meanes to free the ſoule from the tyranny of the body: It is an act of Generoſity to contemne death more then to hate life.* Fortium virorum eſt magis mortem contemnere quam odiſſe vitam. *Q. Cur. lib. 5.*

Relapſes of the Duke of Nemours.

Princes finde the offences of them they haue bound vnto them more ſencible and leſſe pardonable: The King had erected the County of Nemours into a Dutchy, he had pardoned him his felony of the League of the Common-weale, and yet forgetting the effects of ſuch a bond, and his oath of fealty, preſently after the Duke of Guienne was retired into Brittany hee ſent a man vnto him, diſguiſed like a Frier, to offer him both his body and goods, proteſting to ſerue (as hee did) againſt the King his Soueraigne Lord. The Duke of Guiennes death forced the Duke of Nemours to flye the ſecond time to the Kings mercy, for a ſecond pardon, which the King granted him vpon an oath which hee tooke neuer to conſpire againſt his Prince: [n] ſoone after hee aſſiſted the Earle of Armagnac, and renewed the practiſes and intelligences which he had with the Duke of Bourgundy: All theſe inconſtant actions weere degenerated into ſo many crimes, which might not remaine vnpuniſhed, and which did aſſure him that death could not ſurpriſe him. His ſoule was bound to reſolue the ſame day that hee entred into reſolutions, which could not be otherwiſe expiated.

[n] *The extract of the Proceſſe ſent to the Prouinces and Parliaments, ſhewes that this oath was taken in the preſence of ſixe Apoſtolike Notaries, and ſixe Royall Notaries, and vpon the Croſſe and Crowne of our Sauiour.*

[o] The King cauſed him to bee taken at Carlat, and ſent him priſoner to the Caſtle of Pierreſciſe, which was then without the walles of Lyon. A while after hee cauſed him to bee conducted to Paris, where his Proceſſe was made by the Court of Parliament. [p] The Lord of Beaujeu Earle of Clermont was Preſident by the Kings Commiſſion: Hee confeſt all that hath beene formerly ſpoken, and moreouer that hee had had intelligence with the Conſtable of Saint *Paul* to ſeaze vpon the King and Dauphin: That the Duke of Bourgundy had ſent him word if hee could take them hee ſhould haue the Citty of Paris and the Ile of France for his part: That the Dauphin ſhould be deliuered into the hands of Monſr *de Breſſe*, and the King tranſported out of the Realme of France: [q] Vpon theſe occaſions he was condemned to looſe his head at the Hales in Paris, the

[o] *Innocency may bee ſurprized, crimes cannot, for the offence and the puniſhment are Twinnes: it is alſo a kinde of content to foreſee which way wee muſt paſſe.* Iulian *dying did thanke the Gods for that they had not kild him by ſurprize.*

Confeſſions of the Duke of Nemours.

[p] *By an accord made betwixt King* Lewis *the eleuenth, and* Iames *of Armagnac Duke of Nemours, the 17. of Ianuary, in the yeare 1469. the ſaid Duke did renounce his place of Peere, being content to be tryed as a priuate perſon, if hee did faile in his obedience to the ſaid King, who did not ſhew that rigour, but did furniſh his Court with Peeres for his iudgement, made at Noion the fourth of Auguſt 1477.* Du Tillet. [q] *The Duke of Nemours confeſſed more that hee had conſulted and giuen credit to a Frier a Doctor of Diuinity, whoſe bookes had beene burnt in the Biſhops Hall at Paris.*

fourth of Auguſt, one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and ſeuenteene: Hee was a Peere of France, but this quallity was omitted in his Sentence, for that by an accord made the ſeuenteenth of Ianuary, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and nine, hee had renounced his place of Peere, and was content to bee tryed as a priuate perſon, in caſe of relapſe.

The ſentence of death was pronounced vnto him by *Peter* of Oriole Chancellour of France: [r] Hee had no refuge to his innocency, for it appeared not, nor to the Kings Clemency, which was tyred with releeuing him, hee appealed to Faith, which is the firſt vertue of a Prince, ſaying: *That hee had not yeelded but vpon aſſurance of a pardon, which was promiſed him.* The King proteſted that he had not promiſed him any thing, and that he would rather haue forced him in the Caſtle of Carlat, then receiue him to ſaue his life, hauing ſo often deſerued death. Hee therefore would haue the chiefe points, whereof he was conuicted, drawne out of his proceſſe, and ſent to other Parliaments throughout the Prouinces, to the end they might know what had incenſed the ſeuerity of his Iuſtice.

Hee neuer pardoned any that had beene ingaged in the league of the Common-wealth, nor thoſe which had banded themſelues againſt him to follow his brothers deſſignes. His hatred againſt the Biſhop of Paris appeared moſt after the death of this Prelate, for being aduertiſed that hee was lamented by all the Orders of Paris, hee commanded the Prouoſt and Aldermen of Paris to make him an Epitaph, which ſhewed the bad ſeruices hee had done his Maieſty, by his intelligences with the Princes of the League. As they that were neereſt vnto his bloud haue felt the effects of his wrath, ſo they which thought themſelues to be neereſt vnto his heart haue not beene freed, [f] and haue not growne old before they haue tryed the truth of this old Maxime: *That Princes fauours ſoone grow old:* For a Prince is weary of giuing; or hee that is fauoured being full of fauours doth not care to husband the continuance: They make mention of the feare hee put the Lord of Ludé, and the Earle of Sancerre in. *Antony* of Chaſteauneuf Lord of *Lau*, may well be produced for an example, both of his fauours and of the miſeries which doe accompany fauorites: The Chronicle ſaith that hee was chiefe Butler of France, Seneſchall of Guienne, Lord Chamberlaine to the King, and more beloued of him then euer any one had beene, hauing had in leſſe then fiue yeares, three or foure hundred thouſand Crownes in reward from the King: But we muſt attend the end, and not iudge of the building before it bee finiſht; [t] behold the backeſide of the Medal. At his returne from the voyage of Peronne he cauſed him to bee put in priſon in the Caſtle of Suilly vpon Loire: He commanded *Triſtan* to draw him from thence and to leade him to Vſſon in Auuergne, but he eſcaped.

Fauours of Princes laſt not.

Many

[r] *A Prince ſhold alwaies keepe his word inuiolably, and hold faith the foundation of Iuſtice. It is a great glory for a Prince when his tongue and heart agrees.* Mira eſt in principe noſtro mētis linguęq; concordia, nō modò humilis & pauli animi ſed ſeruile vitium ſcit eſſe mendacium: *The vnion of minde & tongue is admirable in our Prince: hee knowes that lying is not onely the ſigne of a baſe and abiect mind, but that it is a ſeruile vice.*

[f] *Princes fauors are not immortall.* Fato potentiæ (*ſaith* Tacitus *ſpeaking of* Mæcenas) raro ſempiternæ, an ſatias cupit, aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut his cum iā nihil reliquum eſt quod cupiant.

[t] Aluaro de Luna *whō* Iohn *King of Caſtile aduanced and loued aboue all men of his Realme, ſaid to them that admired his fortune: Iudge not of the building before it be finiſht. He dyed by the hands of Iuſtice.*

Many were puniſhed for this euaſion, *Charles* of Melun, a man at Armes of the Admirals company, and Captaine of Vſſon loſt his head at Loches, his wiues ſonne called *Remonet*, and the Kings Atturney at Vſſon.

This *Charles* of Melun muſt not bee taken for *Charles* of Melun who commanded in the Baſtille, when as Paris was beſieged by the Army of the league, and who could not auoyd it, but his fidelitie was otherwiſe cenſured by his King then it appeared in the proofes of his ſeruice. He felt the ſtormes of fortune in the diſgrace which hee receiued when as the king tooke from him the Office of Lord Steward of France, to giue it to the Lord of Craon.

The ordinary examples of new puniſhments for old faults made repentance vaine: his ſearches being feared of Innocents, did forbid them that were guilty to truſt vnto the aſſurances of his clemency. All were in feare, and ſtood vpon their guard, not ſo much for him as againſt him. They knew well, that he had his eyes blindfold, to ſtrike of euery ſide, according to his choler, and the ſuddenneſſe of *Triſtan*, who had reduced the markes of Maieſty to the Sword and Halter. If hee had ſworne by as many Gods as the Aegyptians, Aſſyrians, Perſians and Grecians did worſhip, [u] no man would haue truſted him; wherefore they that followed his brother conſidering that hee knew not how to forget iniuries, and that hee made a ieſt of that royall precept: *A Prince that will ſaue much, muſt pardon much*, they went to ſerue them whom they held to bee leaſt reconcileable with him.

Seuerity of *Triſtan* the Hermit.

Claude de la Chaſtre, who had left him, vpon ſome diſcontentment, to ſerue the Duke of Guienne, who honoured him with many charges, and among others, with the guard of his perſon, had retired himſelfe vnto his houſe at Nancy after the death of this Prince: [x] and the King, who had both his choler ſudden, and his hatred long againſt offences of this kinde, and who neuer held the ſmalleſt that were committed againſt him, to be light, ſent to take him priſoner by his Goſſip *Triſtan*, and held him about a moneth in ſuſpence what he ſhould doe with him: for hee had committed no fault, but in ſeruing the Duke of Guienne loyally, preſeruing his faith vnſtained amidſt great temptations, and ſeeing himſelfe a priſoner, hee did more glory to bee an Innocent in priſon, then guilty at liberty: [y] hee cauſed him to come before him, and demanded of him, if he had a will to ſerue him as faithfully as he had done his brother. He anſwered, that he could neuer do ſo great ſeruice vnto his Maieſty; but his affection would be greater; and that the ſeruice which he had done vnto the Duke of Guienne, was a proofe of the fidelity which he would alwayes ſhew to him that ſhould be his Maiſter. The King told him, that hee would vſe his ſeruice, and hauing an intent to make his guard, as well of his owne ſubiects, as of ſtrangers, [z] hee ſent him with a Commiſſion to raiſe a Company of an hundred Gentlemen for the guard of his perſon: then remembring that his wife had beene much altered and diſtempered

[u] *The Egiptians did worſhip as many Gods as the Earth brought them forth fruits, the Aſſyrtãs as many as they had Town: the Perſians as many as they ſaw ſtars, or fires the Gretians as many as they had fountaines.*

[x] *If a Prince hath any ſubiect of choller, it ſhould bee open, and ſoone gone, it is not generous to conuert it into hatred.*

[y] *Admirable is t at faith which amidſt great accidents and vehement purſutes remains vntainted.*

[z] *The Infidelity of ſubiects forceth Princes to imploy ſtrangers for their guards.* Alex. Seuerus *was the firſt which tooke ſouldiers of a rough aſpect terrible & fearfull, and therefore* Dyon *ſaith that his entry into Rome was odious. The Emperours did ordinarily imploy Gaules, Italians Spaniards, Germans, or Macedonians. The Emperour of Conſtantinople was guarded by Engliſhmen,* Tiberius *by Germans,* Nero *had Hollanders, or Friſons,* & Herod *of Iudea Germans.*

with his impriſonment; and that the weakeſt are ſtrong enough to doe miſchiefe, hee ſaid vnto him; *Hearken Captaine* Claude, *women are bad when they will do a miſchiefe; behold a paire of perfumed gloues which thou ſhalt carry to thy wife from me, with fiue hundred Crownes which are in them: I know that ſhe was much afraid when as my Goſſip* Triſtan *went to take thee, bid her that ſhee ſhould not wiſh mee ill, and come againe to mee three Moneths hence with thy Companie. I giue thee one of my beſt Mules to carry thee more eaſily.*

Lewis fears the reuẽge of women.

This was the firſt French Company, there hauing beene none before but that of Scottiſhmen,[a] and it is called at this day, *The ancient French Guard. Claude* of *la Chaſtre*, who was the firſt Captaine, dyed at the age of 81 years, vnder the reigne of *Lewis* the twelfth. After his death, fiue of his ſucceſſors and heires of the ſame Armes commanded ſucceſſiuely in this charge. It is at this day commanded by Monſieur *de Pralins*.

[a] *The firſt guard of the body was Scottiſhmen, & therefore the Captaine of the Scottiſh guard carries the Title of the firſt Captaine of the Guardes of the Kings perſon: he begins the yeare, and ſerues the firſt quarter.*

Offences grew not old in his memory, and the ſecret wounds which his Conſcience[b] gaue him in reproach of ſo many men which had beene beaten and ruined by the lightning of his Iuſtice, made him not more tractable to pardon. Hee did neuer forget the diſpleaſure which he receiued during the wrath and indignation of King *Charles* his Father. Three great perſonages of the Parliament of Grenoble; *Iohn Bayle*, the Kings Atturney, then a Councellor, and afterwards a Preſident. *Guy Pape*, a Councellor in the ſame Parliament, and held by the ſoueraigne Courts and Vniuerſities of all Europe, the Oracle of the Law, and *René* of Tomaſſin, a Councellor alſo, felt in their Age, the rough blowes of this Princes remembrance. They had all three declared themſelues for the Father againſt the ſonne, and not willing, in this diuiſion, to wauer betwixt Iuſtice and Diſcretion, reſiſted his deſignes, and diuerted all thoſe which ſtrayed from their duety to follow this Prince.

Hee purſues old offences.

[b] *A Conſcience toucht with remorſe for his cruelties and inhumanities, ſuffereth terrible torments without dying. Such was that of* Herod, *and of* Catullus, *who were terrified euery night with the ſights of ſuch as they had put to death, & had daily their complaints & ſighes in their eares.*

As ſoone as *Lewis* came to the Crowne, hee remembred all this,[c] not to make vſe of it to the glory of Clemency, and to the content of a good Conſcience, which takes delight to pardon euen them which deſerue it not, and remits the reuenge to God, but to giue new puniſhments to old offences; and as his nature was more prompt to reuenge an offence, then to reward a good ſeruice, and more eaſie to hate then to loue,[d] hee cauſed a Commiſſion to bee diſpatched the two and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1462. and ſent it to the Preſident of the Chamber of Accounts, and to one of the Stewards of his houſe, to make the Proceſſe for theſe three good ſeruants to king *Charles* the ſeuenth.

[c] *A Prince which pardons offences, giues a great peace vnto his conſcience. The Panegerick of* Conſtantine *hath this goodly paſſage:* Sibi imputet quiſquis vti noluit beneficio tuo, nec ſe dignum vita iudicauit quum per te liceret vt viueret: tu quod ſufficit conſcientiæ tuæ etiam non merentibus pepercisti. Sed ignoſce dicto non omnia potes, dij te vindicant & inuitant. *Let him impute it to himſelfe that would not make vſe of thy bounty, neither did he thinke himſelfe worthy of life, when he might haue liued by it: thou to ſatisfie thine owne conſcience, haſt ſpared euen them that deſerued it not. But pardon me, thou canſt not doe all, the Gods reuenge thee, and inuite thee.*

[d] *They are very naturall paſſions to be ſenſible of iniuries. It is a dulneſſe and baſeneſſe to haue no feeling of an iniury, and it is folly to hold that for an iniury which is not.* Iraſci in quibus non oportet, inſipiens eſt: non iraſci in quibus oportet, inſipientis eſt. *Ariſt. in 3. Eth.*

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The chiefe points of the Accuſation were, *That they had aſſiſted and ſeconded King* Charles *in the detention of Dauphinè (for ſo they ſpake) from the Dauphin* Lewis, *the true and onely Lord of that Prouince: That they had croſt the deſignes of their Soueraigne Lord, and that the generall Eſtate of the Prouince, aſſembled at Grenoble, did not grant him a ſumme of money to ſupply his wants when as hee was in Flanders. That* Baylé *had impriſoned all his ſeruants which came about his affaires, and depended wholly of king* Charles; *from whom hee had obtained, for one of his ſonnes, the Archbiſhoppricke of Ambrun; and for another, the place of Atturney Generall.*

The accuſed were heard, and the Innocency which they felt in their Soules, did put ſuch generous words into their mouthes, as the Iudges hearing them, did not diſtinguiſh good men but by the hatred of their Prince, and their hard Fortunes, holding them more worthy of the Recompence of *Prytaneus*,[c] then of the Seuerity of *Areopage:* Yet they were forced vpon theſe Accuſations, to pronounce a ſentence the ſecond of Iune following, by the which they were declared, *conuicted of Felonie, Ingratitude and Treaſon committed againſt the Dauphin, depriued of their Offices, Charges and Dignities, and condemned to reſtore the Feees receiued by them ſince the Dauphins departure into Flanders, their Fees, Landes, Signiories, Iuriſdictions, and other goods depending of the Dauphin confiſcate, and themſelues baniſhed for euer out of Dauphiné, with defence neuer to returne againe vpon paine of death.*

A ſentence very rigorous.

They ended the remainder of their dayes vnder the rigour of this Iudgment, ~~and~~ and left nothing to their Children, but the hope of a milder Reigne, hauing not taſted any vnder this Prince.[f] After his death, King *Charles* the eighth, by his letters dated the three and twentieth day of March, in the yeare 1483. reſtored them to their Honours, Fame and Reputation, and would that all their goods ſhould bee reſtored vnto them, notwithſtanding any oppoſition which was made by them that held them as confiſcate.

The examples of this ſeuerity ſhewes the reaſon of the feare and diſtruſt which troubled his minde, and kept him ſhut vp like the veſtall fire, and ſet Care and Silence in guard about him, being reaſonable that hee ſhould feare thoſe which hee had hurt: for neither great nor ſmall can loue them that haue wronged them. Herewith accords that which *Claudius* of Seyſſell hath written.[g] He openly diſcouers the feare which he had of his ſubiects when as

[c] *The Iudges conſulted after what manner they ſhould put* Socrates *to death:* Cicero *ſaith, that vpon the diuerſity of their opinions, hee ſpake after this manner:* Ego ob ea quæ feci dignũ me cenſeo qui publicitus alar in Prytaneo.

[f] *Thoſe which had beene Donotaries of theſe goods, would not leaue them, and oppoſed to the Letters of* CHARLES *the eighth, that of* LEVVIS *the eleuenth, by a Sentence ſolemnly giuen by the Commiſſioners in the preſence of the Kings Lieutenant, dated the eight and twentith day of Iune, in the yeare 1484. It was ſaid,* Priorem ſententiam minus debitè fuiſſe latam nec talem eos pati debuiſſe, ſed potius abſoluendos. *The firſt ſentence was not duly had, neither ſhould they haue ſuffered it, but were rather to bee abſolued.* M. de Franc, *Treaſurer of France at Grenoble inſtructed mee herewith.*

[g] *The feare which growes from rigour and ſeuerity doth neuer purchaſe the peoples loue.* Oderunt quem metuunt. *And it is hard long to reſiſt the publicke hatred.* Plebi multæ manus, principi vna ceruix. *A multitude hath many hands, and a Prince but one necke.*

he

hee heard ſay, that Duke *Galeas Sforce* had been ſlaine by certaine Millanois in the Citty of Millan vpon a feſtiuall day, and in the Church: for he augmented his guards about his perſon, and forbad them to ſuffer any man to approach neere him; and if any one did ſtriue, hee commanded them to kill him. And moreouer hee cauſed a page to carry a Pertuiſan after him, to defend himſelfe if any ſhould offer to outrage him; the which (beeing come into his Chamber) was ſet at his beddes head: And truly it appeared plainly at his death, whether he were beloued or hated: for then all ſorts of people reioyced, few were ſorry for it; no not his very ſeruants, and they to whom hee had done moſt good. But if nothing but the diſlike of the people had blemiſhed the memory of this great Prince, it had not beene leſſe glorious; the Iudgements of the multitude are Iudgements of folly, and the affections of the people are alwayes indiſcreet, they reiect that which is good, and approue that which is bad; what they ſay is falſe, what they commend is infamous, what they vndertake is fury, and they make things greater then they are.[h]

Galeas D. of Millan brother in law to the King.

[h] *They that haue well known the people, haue compared their iudgements to a tempeſt.* In Imperita multitudine eſt varietas & inconſtantia & crebra tanquam procella, ſic ſententiarum commutatio. *In the vnskilful multitude there is variety & inconſtancy, and often like vnto a tempeſt, ſo often they change their mindes.* Cic. pro domo ſua.

His Iuſtice. They cannot depriue him of the honour of the erection of two parliaments, to doe iuſtice to them of Guienne, and of Bourgondy. He inſtituted that of Bourdeaux in the beginning of his Reigne, and that of Dijon preſently after the death of *Charles* the Terrible. We haue ſhewed before how much he was grieued for that hee had not reformed many things that were deformed vnder his reigne, and eſpecially the adminiſtration of Iuſtice. He had beene bred vp in an Age ſo full of liberty, that as he had beene forced to ſee and ſuffer many iniuſtices,[i] ſo hee did not care but to doe iuſtice himſelfe, according to the lawes of his will, thinking that his duty was contained within the limits of his pleaſure, and reaſon within thoſe of his will.

Iuſtice.

But admit his life were ſo pure and ſincere, as the moſt ſeuere *Cato* could finde no cauſe of reprehenſion, yet would it bee hard to excuſe that which *Philip de Commines* ſaith, *That hee hated the Parliament of Paris*, and that hee had reſolued to bridle it. This is not like a little flye vpon the face of his reputation to beautifie it, but a malitious vlcer to disfigure it. It is the duty of a good Prince to giue authority to the adminiſtration of his ſoueraigne Iuſtice, to maintaine thoſe venerable heads which conceiue the Oracles, and preſerue the rules of ſtate, who are alwaies laden with mortar to repaire the ruines, and are the Miniſters and Interpreters of the law,[k] which is the rareſt inuention, and the moſt excellent gift that Heauen hath giuen to men.

Hatred of *Lewis* 11. againſt the parliamẽt.

The rootes of this hatred were very deepe, and the firſt effects did appeare in the yeare 1442. when as K. *Charles* the 7. his father

[i] *A Prince ſhold neuer diſpence with the lawes of reaſon. Thoſe words are flatteringly tyrannicall,* Licet ſi libet, in ſumma fortuna id equius quod validius, nihil iniuſta quo I fructuo ſunt; ſanctitas, pietas, fides priuata bona ſunt, qui iuvat Reges eant. *That is lawfull that they liſt; in a great fortune that is iuſteſt that is of moſt force, there is nothing vniuſt that brings profite; ſanctity, Piety and Faith are priuate vertues: Kings may go which way they pleaſe.* *The Law is the Prince which wee muſt obey, the head which wee muſt follow, and the rule wherevnto we muſt apply all our actions.* Ariſt. 3. Polit. *It is the inuention and the gift of the Gods.* Demoſt. in Ariſtog.

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left him at Paris, to command there in his abſence. The Earle of Maine ſought to make vſe of this occaſion, and of his fauour to haue certaine priuiledges verified. The Court of Parliament being preſt, and in a manner forſt, put this clauſe in the verification; *By the expreſſe commandement*, to ſhew that if their ſuffrages had been free, it had not been done: [l] he ſent for the Preſidents of the Court, and commanded them to put out that clauſe, elſe hee would leaue all, and would not go out of Paris vntill it was done. The wiſdome of the Court contented him, the clauſe was put out of the Decree, and retained vpon the Regiſter.

The change which he made in the Parliament preſently after his Coronation, was a branch of this root; [m] and I thinke that it ſerues for a reaſon, for that vpon the execution of the Treaty of Conflans, the letters were directed to the Chancellour and Priuy-Councell before the Parliament. It is alſo true, that hee would often haue had the willes of the Court liable to his; and that hauing threatned it vpon the refuſall it made to verifie ſome Edicts which it had found vniuſt, [n] the Preſident *la Vacquery* (whom hee had drawne from the ſeruice of the Princeſſe of Flanders) came vnto him with a good number of other Preſidents and Councellors in their ſcarlet roabes. The King being amazed to ſee this red proceſſion, demanded wherefore they came. *Sir*, (anſwered *la Vacquerie*) *we come to reſigne vp our places into your hands, and to endure whatſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe you, rather then to wrong our conſciences in verifying the Edicts which you haue ſent vs.* Hee was very ſenſible of theſe words of Conſcience, and did not willingly like of any thing that was ſpoken to charge it: he preſently called them backe, and promiſed neuer to doe any thing but what ſhould bee iuſt and reaſonable: yet this courſe was not commended by them who compare a Magiſtrate leauing his charge (for that he cannot allow of the Princes will) to a Marriner which abandons the Helme during a Tempeſt, or to a Phyſitian, who iudging the Diſeaſe incurable, doth not vouchſafe to apply Remedies to aſſwage the paine when as hee ſees thoſe that may cure it are in vaine.

A Magiſtrate ſhould not quit his charge for any reſpect.

In theſe occſions the examples of good men, whom wee muſt imitate, and the aduice of wiſe men whom wee muſt honour, ſhould carry a light before iudgement. Hee who firſt (in France) had the keeping of the ſacred Seales of two Crownes, ſeeing himſelfe ſometimes forced to haue the conſtancy of his duety ſtriue with the abſolute commandements of the King, ſhewes how others, ouer whom the dignity of his Office, his vertues, experience and merits giue preheminence, ſhould compoſe and gouerne their Actions.

When as the King, to free himſelfe from the Importunity of ſome Spirites which are hard to content, and who abuſing diſcretion in demanding, grow diſcontented when they vſe liberty in refuſing, commandes him to paſſe the Seale for things which

[l] *We finde often in the Regiſters of Souerayne Courts theſe words*, De expreſſo mandato: *and* De expreſſiſſimo mãdato, *and ſometimes*, Multis vicibus reiterato.

[m] Iohn of la Vacquery *was Recorder of the Town of Arras, when as after the death of Duke* Charles *the King did ſend to ſummon it to yeeld.* La Vacquerie *ſaid that it might not be, for it was of the ancient patrimony of the Earles of Flanders, & deſcended to the daughters for want of heires male.*

[n] *Whether a Magiſtrate bee allowed to quit his Office rather then to verifie an Edict, is a queſtion treated by* Bodin *in the ſecond booke & fourth chapter of his* Common-weale, *but very ſuperfluous, for there is not any one but knowes therein what he ſhould doe.*

exceede the ordinary formes of Iuſtice, and are both without Preſident and Reaſon. ° Hee hath beene heard to ſay, that hee ſhould hold himſelfe inexcuſable, vnworthy of his charge, and to carry the Title, of the firſt Miniſter of the Kings Soueraigne Iuſtice, if hee did repreſent vnto him the wrongs which it receiued in commaunding him things forbidden by the lawes, and which ſhould bee odious to his owne iudgement, if importunity had not rather wreſted then obtained them from his bounty; they haue ſeene how diſcreetly to his Admonitions hee added moſt humble prayers not to wrong the moſt ſacred thing which the wiſedome of God hath left to Princes for the felicity of their eſtates.

Iuſtice is the felicity of Empires.

And when theſe Admonitions haue not preuailed, that his Maieſtie hath had other motions, and that the effects which ſeemed contrary to Iuſtice, haue made him ſee cauſes which Time, the Men, and the Affaires haue made lawfull and neceſſary, hee hath alwayes conuerted his Reaſon into Obedience, contenting himſelfe to haue ſhewed the integrity of his minde, without oppoſition againſt the will of his Prince, which is aboue the Lawes, and doth declare all that iuſt which doth accomodate his Affaires: for there is no Lawe which commaundes a Magiſtrate to ruine himſelfe in maintaining Iuſtice againſt the power of his Prince; and Wiſedome, which carries a light before all other vertues, will that a man faile in any thing rather then himſelfe. ᵖ

When as the Princes will ſtrayes from reaſon, it muſt bee reclaimed mildly by diſcretion; wee muſt thinke that hee can doe nothing without the aduice of his Parliaments: ᵍ The King ſhould bee no King if there were (in his Realme) an Authority aboue his. Great reſolutions, which concerne the ſafety of the State, are not treated of in great Aſſemblies, where as the ſecret, which is as the ſoule, cannot bee long kept in, but doth euaporate. ʳ

Monarkes haue alwayes had a Councell ſeparated from the Senate, which is otherwiſe buſied enough with the flowing and ebbing of Sutes, and they haue not onely reſerued great affaires to their Councell, but they would haue choſen perſons confidently to impart vnto them their moſt important affaires. This is not without Preſident: for the greateſt and moſt happy Founders of the Roman Empire, had (beſides the Senate) a Priuie Councell of few perſons. ᶠ

° *Example is a cleere light in doubtful things: for thoſe which are not grounded vpon example, cannot bee maintained by reaſon.* Quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant. *That which is done by example, that they thinke lawfully done.* Cic. ad Sulpitium.

ᵖ *Among the Precepts which* Polybius *ſent to* Demetrius, *to draw him out of the danger into which youth and indiſcretion had ingaged him, this is remarkable.* Quit all rather then thy ſelfe.

ᵍ *Kings haue alwayes had a Councell a part, to conſult & reſolue vpon the great affaires of their eſtate. The peeres of France did not enter into the Kings Councel, & their quality did not priuiledge them, if they did not pleaſe the King. It is alſo obſerued in the Ordonances for the gouernment of the realme, and for the Regency in the abſence and minority of Kings, they doe not in any ſort ſpeake of the Peeres of France.*

ʳ *Matters are neuer kept ſecret in great Aſſemblies: whatſoeuer was done in the Senat of Rome, was blowne abroad, the Senators Children told newes to their Mothers; and* Titus Liuius *wonders that the Embaſſadors of Greece and Aſia had diſcouered nothing of the ſpeech which King* Eumenes *had vſed in open Senat againſt King* Perſeus.

ᶠ Iulius Cæſar *had for his priuy Councellors,* Q. Pædius, *and* Corn. Balbus: Auguſtus *had* Mæcenas *and* Agrippa, *with whom hee treated his greateſt, and moſt important Affaires.*

The

The Parliaments haue the care of the execution of the Kings Edicts, they publish them, and cause them to bee obserued: they keepe the Registers, that at neede they may haue recourse to them. It is true that Princes haue sometimes shewed themselues so absolute in their willes, as the wise men of their Councell, not beeing able to restraine or moderate them, haue often allowed the oppositions which the Parliaments haue made to their Edicts, and fauoured them for that they were conformable to reason, and agreeing with the publicke good. For although the Soueraigne bee aboue the Lawes, and that hee may derogate from Right and Law, wherein Soueraignty doth properly consist, yet it is necessary that the absolute power bee restrained by the Ciuill, and that he consider, that in destroying the Law, and offending Iustice, he is like vnto the Iuy, which puls downe the wall that beares it vp.

Words of K. *Charles* to the parliament.

I leaue it vnto the wise to consider, if they did well to put into the mouth of King *Charles* the ninth, (the thirteenth yeare of his Age, and the second of his Reigne) these wordes: [t] *I will not that you deale with any other thing but to doe good and speedy Iustice: for the Kings my Predecessors haue not set you in the place where you are, but to that effect, and not to make you my Tutors, nor protectors of the Realme, nor preseruers of my Citty of Paris: And when I shall commaund you any thing, if you finde any difficulty, I shall bee content you acquaint me with it; which done, without any further reply I will bee obeyed.*

The Authority of the king is an Ocean.

But when the State is gouerned by a wise Prince, whose reputation is grounded vpon great and eminent vertues, they haue no other part in the Estate, but the Honour and the Obedience. [u] A Regall power is an Ocean, into the which all others, like vnto Riuers, loose their name: They bee as Starres, which borrow their light from the Sunne, and haue none in his presence.

It is sometimes necessary that they resist those commandements which haue beene rather extorted by importunity, then obtained by reason from the Princes motion; and the admonitions which they make in such occasions, should bee alwayes considered. But if the Prince haue other Reasons, and other respects, and that his thoughts go not the common way, it is not for them to shew themselues difficult, neither must they attend a third command; and it were better to dissemble and support some things extraordinary to the Princes will, then to incense him. It is well knowne, that the obstinacy and resistance of PAPINIAN to the will of CARACALLA, made him more cruell and violent. [x] Wise men thinke one thing, but they do not vtter it: They al-

[t] *These wordes are reported by* Bodin *in the 3d book of his Common weale, the first chapter, and hee addes, that the Parliament made other admonitions, for that there was a diuision vpon the publication of his Letters, which gaue occasion of the Decree of the Priuy Councell the 24 of September following, by the which the diuision was declared void, & the Parliament forbidden to put into deliberation the Ordonances proceeding from the King concerning affaires of State; the which was also done by letter patents in the yeare 1528.*

[u] *The duety of a soueraine Magistrate is to obey the Prince, to bend vnder his obedience, to cõmand his subiects, to defend the warlicke, to resist the mighty, and to do Iustice to all.*

[x] Caracalla *hauing put his brother* Geta *to death, he commanded* Papinian *to make his excuse vnto the Senat.* Papinian *answered suddenly*, That he would not do it, and that it was not so easie to excuse, as to commit a parricide. Caracalla *incensed with this answere, put him to death, and continued his cruelties, which a more discreet proceeding had restrained.* Spartian.

wayes goe one way, but they goe not ſtill the ſame pace. If a ſtorme hinders them from comming into the hauen, it is wiſedome to obey the Winde, and not to bandy againſt the Tempeſt.[y]

Lewis the eleuenth ſtrained his abſolute power vnto the height: His Prouoſt went and tooke priſoners out of the Conſergerie of the Pallace, and cauſed them to bee drowned right againſt the Mercers Grange. Towardes the end of his dayes, hee found his Conſcience much oppreſt with the contempt of Iuſtice: hee would haue repaired it, but he was come to the Sabaoth of the weeke, when it was no longer lawfull to labour.

In Aprill 1482. hee ſent vnto the Court of Parliament an Act of the Oath which hee tooke at his Coronation,[z] to exhort them to doe good Iuſtice, and to free him from that bond. It is that wherein the condition of Princes is to bee lamented: They are laden with the very weight of their Conſciences, and with the exceſſe which hath beene committed throught all the Orders of the Realme, for that they haue neglected the remedies. What peace can a ſoule haue which labours to fight againſt his owne faults and other mens?[a]

Hee that ſhall conſider how eaſily hee did communicate with all ſorts of perſons, and how willingly hee did heare them, he will thinke that if hee had not a care of Iuſtice in generall, hee had done it to all men in particular: But hee erred as well in this, as in any other thing. But it is equally bad to giue eare to all the World, and not to any man, and hee made it knowne, that in matters which are held perfect among men, there is alwayes ſome thing to bee taken away, or added, and that is onely perfect, where there is nothing wanting, nor any thing that exceeds it.[b]

PHILIP DE COMMINES hath obſerued in two places of his Hiſtory, that his eare was open to euery man. In the firſt hee ſaith; *Neuer any man did lend ſo much eare to men, nor did enquire of ſo many things as hee did, nor that deſired to knowe ſo many men.* In the ſecond: *Hee medled with many meane things of his Realme, which hee might well haue forborne, but his humour was ſuch, and ſo hee liued. And his memory was ſo great, as hee remembred all things, and knew all the world, both in all Countries, and about him.*

It is the office of a King to heare the complaints of his ſubiects with mildeneſſe and gentleneſſe, which doth not blemiſh Maieſty. God who hath conſtituted them Iudges ouer their Subiects, will

[y] *The Office of a Wiſe man is comprehended by* Cicero *in theſe words:* Vt in nauigando tempeſtati obſequi artis eſt, ſic omnibus nobis in adminiſtranda Repub. propoſitum eſſe debet. Non idem ſemper dicere ſed idem ſemper ſpectare. *As in ſailing it is Art to obey the Tempeſt, ſo ſhould all wee doe in the gouernment of the Common-weale. Not alwayes to ſpeake the ſame thing, but to look to the ſame end.*

[z] *The King in his Oath at his Coronation, doth promiſe to defend his ſubiects from all violence & wrong, and that in all iudgements hee will commaund equity and mercy, to the end that God, who is mercifull, may grant it to him and his ſubiects.*

[a] *It is a troubleſome enterpriſe to correct his owne vices, and to ſtriue againſt other mens.* Neque enim multum prodeſt vitia ſua projeciſſe ſi cum alienis rix indum eſt. *Neither hath hee profited much that hath caſt away his owne faults, if hee muſt contend with other mens.* SENEC.

[b] *There is nothing perfect in the vertues of men: Nothing can come from man that is in euery degree perfect.* Nunquam è mortali ſemine naſcetur qui ſit omnibus bonitatis numeris abſolutus. *Hee ſhall neuer bee borne of mortall ſeede that ſhall bee abſolute in all goodneſſe,* DIONYS. HALIC. lib. 8.

require

require reaſon of the Iuſtice which hath bene demanded and not done, [c] To demaund Iuſtice of a King is to do him a kind of homage which doth not belong to any other, and to confeſſe that he holds the ranke ouer men that God doth ouer Kings: But for that they cannot participate with euery thing, ſee all, heare all, not bee euery where, they relye vpon the dilligence and fidelity of their ſeruants, whereof ſome aſſiſt them with their wits, counſell, and tongues, and others with their hands, ſwords, and fortune. France hath alwaies beene ſeconded by men of this quality, it brings more forth daily, and is not weary of ſo many Childe-birthes. Princes are like worke-men, their Officers are the Inſtruments with the which they may cut and faſhion as they pleaſe: And although all charges bee diſtinguiſhed and haue their bounds, that the Trowell may not do the office of the Hammer, yet they tend all to one end, the ſeruice of the Prince, whereon depends the publick ſafety, which is the perfection of the worke.

Princes relye vpō their Miniſters.

The Princes eare is like vnto the Temple of the Goddeſſe *Horta*, which was alwaies open, but the prayers muſt be ſhort and guided by reuerence and humility, for *Iupiter* of Crete hath eares at his feete: Thoſe which are vniuſt, are dead towards the King, and mortall towards God for him that makes them: Wee muſt ſpeake vnto the King as if God vnderſtood it, and none muſt ſpeake vnto God as if we were vnderſtood by men. There are ſome which demand things of Kings which they would not giue to them that aske them, and others that would bluſh if the prayers which they make vnto God were knowne: Wherefore a Prince ſends ſuch petitions to whom hee pleaſeth to ſee if they bee iuſt and ciuill; It were impoſſible for him to heare them and determine them, without doing wrong to thoſe affaires which require no delay to reſolue on. The greatneſſe of his Maieſty is wronged when as they make him diſcend into the care of baſe things: [d] Wiſedome, which is the light of his actions, and the Serpent which ſhadowes his fore-head, [e] forbids them to trouble their heads for all ſorts of affaires, the which are often repreſented by men, which neither ſee farre off nor much behind them, who confounds their diſcourſes in the beginning, and ſpeaking without reaſon would be heard with patience.

Wee muſt beautify this diſcourſe with the ſame authority which gaue luſtre vnto the precedent. The diſcourſes which are held at the Table of the Chancellours of France are alwaies vpon ſome goodly Subiect, pleaſing to learne, and profitable and neceſſary to vnderſtand, and wee may ſay, that delicacy of wits findes that there which exceſſe did furniſh to the appetite of

[c] *Kings ſhould giue an account of the adminiſtration of Iuſtice ouer their people*: Wiſd. 6. Audite Reges terræ & intelligite, diſcite iudices finium terræ, præbete aures vos, qui continetis multitudines, & placetis vobis in turbis nationū, quoniam data eſt à Domino poteſtas vobis & virtus ab Altiſſimo, qui interrogabit opera veſtra, & cogitationes: quoniam cum eſſetis Miniſtri regni illius nō recte iudicaſtis nec cuſtodiſtis legem Iuſtitiæ, neq; ſecum dū voluntatē Dei ambulaſtis: *Heare ô yee Iudges of the earth, vnderſtand, &c.*

[d] *It is importunity to a Prince to giue him an account of baſe things. When as* Pliny *wrote to* Traian, De ſeruis damnatis quiſe Miniſterijs publicis immiſcuerunt. *Of ſlaues condemned who had wrought in the publike workes: Hee addes this Preface to his Letter*: Salua magnitudine tua, Domine, deſcendas oportet ad meas curas cùm ius mihi dederis referendi ad te de quibus dubito. *My Lord, ſauing your Greatneſſe, you muſt deſcend vnto my cares, hauing giuen me leaue to impart my doubts vnto you.*

[e] Bochoris *King of Egipt being by nature rough, ſowre, and violent, the Goddeſſe* Iſis *ſent him a Serpent, which wrething about his head did make a ſhadow, to the end his iudgement ſhould bee ſeaſoned with Prudence and Iuſtice.*

ſome Emperours,[f] Birds of a ſtrange Aire, Fiſhes from a farre fetcht Coaſt, Ice in Summer, and Flowers in Winter. At ſuch time as I writ this, and in the beginning of this yeare, I did learne at that Table, that which I could not haue found elſe-where, for the ornament of this obſeruation. A Maiſter of Requeſts ſpeaking how the Lawes of France had prouided for all things, and that they had bound the Chancellours of France to giue publicke Audience, another commended the cuſtome of the deceaſed King, who gaue Audience certaine daies in the weeke to all men that preſented themſelues, and that the Portraite of a King ſet vnder a Pauilion, as we ſee in the Seale, is an ancient marke of that which was done in former times. The end of dinner ended this diſcourſe, and the Chancellor who had iudiciouſly obſerued all the parts, anſwered in more graue and eloquent tearmes then I can deliuer them, but in a manner in the ſame ſence.

It is true that a Prince ſhould haue a care to heare the complaints of them that preſent themſelues, and if it bee poſſible not to ſuffer any man to depart diſcontented with his anſwere. But we muſt diſtinguiſh the time and affaires:[g] *To accommodate ancient examples to things which are done at this day, wee muſt alſo make the ſeaſons and occaſions alike: Wee are not now in thoſe times when as a poore woman ſtaide* Phillip *of Macedon, or the Emperour* Adrian *to heare her.*

The Realme of France hath beene in former times in ſuch great tranquility, as wee needе not wonder at that which the Signior of Ioinuille writes, that Saint Lewis *gaue Audience vnder an Oake neere vnto Bois de Vincennes, to all them that preſented themſelues. There were ſo few matters as the King, being aſſiſted by ſome, might without any great paine, detetrmine them in a morning. They that were appointed to diſpatch them at the Barre did often preſent themſelues in vaine.*[h]

But ſince the thoughts of Kings haue beene ouerflowed with affaires, as by ſo many Channels, and Ditches as there are Prouinces, and that they haue beene forced to prouide both within and without, they haue beene conſtrained to reſerue their Spirits for matters that were moſt important, and referre the care of priuate buſineſſes vnto their ſeruants. It is the wiſe aduice of Iethro, *who ſeeing how his ſonne-in-law* Moſes, *toiled himſelfe with all ſorts of affaires, told him plainely that hee vnderſtood nothing, and that hee ruined his body and minde to do nothing; wherefore hee aduiſed him to chooſe capable men to eaſe him: The King doth the like, hee hath men vpon whom, according to their Vocation, hee diſchargeth himſelfe from the care of affaires: But yet hee doth not forbeare to heare them which preſent themſelues: His principall ſeruants ſpeake vnto him at all times, and in all places; others*[i] *when hee walkes, at his meate,*

Counſell of *Iethro.*

[f] *Exceſſe eſteemes nothing but what is rare and chargeable.* Quæſitiſſimæ dapes, non guſtu, ſed difficultatibus æſtimabantur, miracula auium longinqui maris piſces, alieni temporis poma, æſtiuæ niues, hybernę roſæ. *Exquiſite meates were not eſteemed for the taſte, but for the difficulty: ſtrange Birds, Fiſh from a farre Sea, Apples of another Seaſon, Snow in Summer, and Roſes in Winter.* Mam. Paneg. Iul.

[g] *The mildenes of a Prince ſhold appeare in his anſweres. They diſlike it that* Veſpaſian *entertained them that ſpake vnto him with good but vnprofitable words, hee anſwered;* No man muſt departdiſcontented from the Emperour.

[h] *In thoſe daies there were three Maiſters of Requeſts which did leane vpon the Barre at the gate of the Kings lodging, to receiue the petitions and complaints of parties, and to iudge ſummarily of cõtrouerſies, and they were called the Iudges of the Port.*

[i] *An eaſy acceſſe makes a part of the mildeneſſe and duty of a Prince.* Lat, Pac. *ſpeakes this of the Emperour* Theodoſius. Creber egreſſu expectantibus populis te fateris, nec videri modo patiens ſed facilis adiri, è proximo recipis vota hominum tuorum. *Thou doſt confeſſe thy ſelfe by thy often going forth vnto the people that expect thee, not onely to be patient to be ſeene, but eaſy to be come vnto, in the next roome thou receiueſt the vowes of thy ſeruants.*

at

at his comming out of his Cabinet, and in all publicke places: Hee shewes himselfe to those that attend him, his accesse is easy, hee heares them that speake vnto him patiently, and sends them to whom he pleaseth to dispatch them. And in truth wee may wonder that a Prince, which hath so many great obiects, whereof some hold his Iustice and Wisedome in perpetuall action, others his Piety and Clemency, and many his Power and Courage, hath alwaies his Spirit present to that which is desired, and suffreth himselfe to bee importuned in so many sorts.

Audiences of *Henry* the 3. at his returne frō Polonia.

As for Audiences which were sometimes giuen on certaine daies, they did not yeeld the hoped fruites that were expected. I can speake thereof, for that I was in those times: I know also that many will say that Audiences giuen after dinner are fruitlesse, [k] *for that they cause no resolution of affaires, they must take them else-where, those that are importune abuse them, they loose much time, and the spirit toiles it selfe with diuersity and confusion: But I haue alwaies held that it made a part of his charge, and that it is an act of Iustice to heare the complaint of a poore man, to giue him directions what he shold do, to shew him what he hath not done, to comfort him in the long expectation of a iust hope, to stay the course of a rash and vnprofitable pursuit, to make some know what may and ought to bee done, and others that which is neither possible nor reasonable: It is no small thing to giue this content to them that desire to bee heard, and it would make their complaints to bee more pitied, if they should adde that they found not any man to heare them.* Behold the *Mercury* of that Table.[l]

By this Discourse wee may gather that good seruants ease their Maisters of many importunities which will go directly to them. Princes should not be importuned with all matters; *Tiberius* grew into choller for that the Senate referred that vnto him which they might resolue without him. Princes spirits should bee reserued like vnto the Ship of Salamina or Athens, or the Bucentaure of Venice, for great and important occasions. Whilst the Prince labours about great affaires the lesser go their ordinary course: Great wheeles makes the lesser moue, but when hee busyeth himselfe about small things the great receiue preiudice. There are persons and affaires which may not bee put off till to morrow: Embassadours will bee heard, they are not contented with delaies, the Princes indisposition doth not excuse the Audience.[m]

A Prince should reserue his spirit for great affaires.

Besides the examples of the contempt of Iustice which are not thin sowne in many parts of the History of *Lewis* the 11. wheras we see the Processe begun by the execution, and the executions without example: [n] It saith that in many proceedings hee would haue Iustice done after his owne will, and did not trust them that had the charge. They shew also, at Plessis by Tours, the place whereas hee stood to see, and not be seene, when as his Prouost did examine prisoners, and by this meanes knew if that which they confest of the manner and crime was written, the which notwithstanding

[k] *By an Ordonance made by the Estates at Bloise vnder king* Henry *the 3. the Chancellor shold giue Audience euery day at the end of his dinner, and the Maisters of Request are bound to be there to receiue the petitions of such as present them.*

[l] *The last cup the Grecians dranke at their feast was dedicated to* Mercury, *wherfore* Pollux *in* Atheneus *calleth it:* ἱερὸν τὸν τῆς λαυτίας πόσιν.

[m] *The Embassadors of Lacedemonia being come to King* Lygdamus, *hee made difficulty to heare them, and fayned himselfe sicke. Then the Embassadors said, we are not come to wrastle with him, but to speake with him.*

[n] *They tell strange tales of his executions. The Chronicle saith that on Thursday the 8. of October, hee caused one named* Siluester *the Monke, borne at Auxerre to be drowned in the Riuer of Seine.*

ding is not to be blamed, but for the great diſtruſt hee had of all things: For an Officer which ſees himſelfe obſerued by the eye and preſence of his Prince doth not ſo ſoone erre.°

This paſſion, to do Iuſtice after his owne fancy, gaue grieuous wounds vnto his conſcience: *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, that remembring two great perſonages whom hee had put to death, the Duke of Nemours, and the Conſtable of Saint *Pol: For the one hee made a conſcience at his deceaſe, but not for the other:* Whereupon they haue written that this repentance was for the Duke of Nemours, hee ſhould alſo haue had for the other, hauing cauſed his Proceſſe to be made with much heate and precipitation: At the Eſtates, which were held preſently after his death, they repreſented diuers kinds of Iniuſtices, which during his raigne did afflict the people, euery man complaining that hee had no care to maintaine Iuſtice a Virgin. P

They ſaid in this Aſſembly, that the King had preferred men without ſufficiency and experience, and that they made letters with Blankes to put in their names that offered moſt: That they gaue them to Souldiers, Huntſmen, Strangers vnknowne, and to vnlearned men, who did execute them by others and reapt the profite: That the Secretaries of the Chancery demanded exceſſiue fees at their owne diſcretion, and that for the Seale of a confirmation of the priuiledge of a Towne they had exacted foure hundred Crownes of Gold: ᵠ That Letters of appeale had beene denied in the Chancery and Parliament, to them that fled to the Kings Soueraigne Iuſtice, againſt the iniuſtice and oppreſſions of inferiour Iudges: ʳ That they which ſate in Iuſtice in Parliaments did exact great and exceſſiue Spices to recouer the money againe which they had paid for their Offices: That many had beene accuſed of crimes whereof they were inocent, of whom the Accuſers had the confiſcation, and ſometimes the commiſſion to make their Proceſſe, or to conduct the Commiſſioners: That the number of Sergeants was ſo encreaſt as in Baliwickes, where vſually there had beene but twenty or thirty, there were now one or two hundred. Many Lords, and others, preſented themſelues at this Aſſembly to haue the Goods, Lands, and Offices, whereof they had beene diſpoſſeſt.

Prudence: If Iuſtice had not that ranke which ſhe ſhould haue had in the heart of this Prince, Prudence cannot complaine but ſhee had her part in his head. Prudence, which is gotten by a long and daily obſeruation of cauſes, actions, and euents. Shee bound him according to occaſions, ᵗ to feigne one thing and to execute another, to lay his hand vnto the Oare when as the winde would not ſerue. Shee drew counſels from his ſpirit which Iuſtice would haue blamed, if the neceſſity of the time had not al-

Prudence.

Lewis the 11. one of the wiſeſt Princes of his age.

° *The Princes preſence profites euery where, it makes that which goes well to goe better. There is in the Diuan at Conſtantinople, a window whereas the great Turke may ſee, and not be ſeen, how Iuſtice is adminiſtred to his Subiects.*

P *For that there is great integrity required in the adminiſtration of Iuſtice,* Proclus *ſaith that Iuſtice is a Virgin: The Egyptians did repreſent it with an open eye: The eye cannot endure any thing that is ſoule; But if Iuſtice may haue three hundred diſeaſes like vnto the eye, the compariſon is good.*

ᵠ *This exaction, compared to the times wherein wee liue, was extreme, for the price of euery thing is rayſed twenty fold, and they did that for a Crowne which cannot bee now done for twenty. See the Apology of* Bodin.

ʳ *The Prince cannot take frō his ſubiects the way of appeale of Ciuill requeſt and of reſtitution.* Caligula *did much augment the publicke hatred whē as he gaue power to all Magiſtrates to iudge without appeale.*

ᵗ *The Phyloſophers teach, and experience doth aſſure that Prudence is gottten by obſeruation, and that whoſoeuer is curious to obſerue will gow wiſe.* — grow

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lowed them. All the complaints of polliticke wiſedome are nice againſt his actions, hauing neuer done any thing but his Lampe ſtill marcht before : Yet they wonder that hee ſo indiſcreetly neglected an opportunity to aduance his affaires in England, and afterwards in Flanders : For the firſt it was thrice in his power to haue his reuenge, and to make his profite of their diuiſions: His hands were as continent in this remedy, as the eyes of *Antigonus* of *Dianaes* Nun.[t] *Iohn Du Tillet* who hath obſerued this, giues no other reaſon but that this Prince was more Iudicious then Hardy.

[t] *When there is queſtion to increaſe an Eſtate the Prince ſhold not bee ſcrupulous to embrace the occaſiō which is offred, like to* Antigonus *King of Macedon, who meeting with* Dianaes *Nunne at Epheſus went out of the Town for that he wold not bee in loue with her.*

For the ſecond, in affaires of Eſtate, as well as in Warre, no man can erre twice. The people weepe for the faults of their Prince : Hee committed one which doth yet wound France to the heart; They that haue obſerued this errour ſay that therein hee wanted iudgement. The houſe of Bourgundy, after the loſſe of three Battels, and the death of her Prince, was quite deiected. The Heire was in a pittifull Eſtate and as it were expoſed to the contempt of her owne Subiects, her courage was tryed euen vnto ſweate and bloud : It was a body which hauing eſcaped an Apoplexy was fallen into a dead Palſie: She had not learned to hold the Helme in a calme, tempeſts and ſtormes ſurpriſed her the firſt day ſhe ſet her hand to it; ſhee had nothing remaining but the hope of heauen, and in this confidence ſhe aſſured her ſelfe that although truth were wronged and perſecuted by all meanes, yet ſhe ſhould remaine victorious.[u]

Deſolation of the houſe of Bourgundy.

[u] *Truth in the end preuailes ouer all croſſes.* Ad extremum ſuapte vi ipſa obtinet, & ipſum vincit mēdacium. *In the end ſhe preuailes by her own force and doth vanquiſh Lying it ſelfe.* Polib. l. 13.

Her deſire was to ſhroud her ſelfe vnder the protection of France, if the inequallity of her age had ſuffered the marriage betwixt her and the Dauphin of France. The King might haue married her to the Earle of Angoleſme, father to King *Francis* the firſt, but he feared to make a Prince of the bloud great, and to erre in like ſort as King *Charles* the fifth had done: He had this deſigne in his minde but he did not continue it, hee paſſed it ouer like a flaſh of lightning, and his Hiſtoriographer ſaith, that God did not ſuffer him to embrace this buſineſſe (which was ſo great for him) rightly as it was neceſſary: hee did like vnto thoſe, who through too great heat and impatiencie lay hold of a fire-brand where it burnes moſt. [x] Hee followed the counſell of violence, and therefore would bee aſſiſted by them that might not hinder him, and made them ſharers in immagination of that, it may be, he would not haue giuen them if fortune had left him the diſpoſition. Hee propounded to leaue the Countries of Brabant and Holland to certaine Noblemen of Germany, whoſe Neighbour-hood ſhould breed him neither Iealouſy nor Suſpicion. Hee had made himſelfe ſo powerfull in the beleefe of the king of England, and held him bound to his will by ſuch ſtrange bonds, as hee not onely diuerted him from ſuccoring the Princeſſe of Bourgundy, but alſo bound him to make warre againſt her, vpon the offers which he made to entertaine him ten thouſand Engliſh

[x] *Humane wiſedome doth often ſeeme witty in her elections to chooſe the worſer part: The Archer which paſſeth the white is as well in fault as he that ſhootes ſhort.*

men for foure monthes, to deliuer into his hands the foure chiefe Townes of Brabant, Bruſſels, Antwerpe, Macklin, and Louan, and to leaue him the Country of Flanders in Soueraignety without homage if he could conquer it. Theſe offers proceeding rather from the neceſſity of affaires, then from the Kings intention, who deſired nothing but to aduance his affaires in Bourgundy and Artois, and to diuide and weaken his enemies forces, were well and wiſely weyed by the King of England, [y] who anſwered that if the King were ſo well minded to make him a ſharer of his conqueſt, he had rather haue ſome of thoſe which were already conquered in Picardy, and that in deliuering him Bulloine hee would declare himſelfe for him againſt the Princeſſe of Bourgundy.

The King then hauing contemned the way of mildeneſſe and reaſon to follow that of force and fortune, neglected alſo the occaſion which this firſt amazement of the Princeſſe and her people put into his hands, and leauing her the liberty to marry her ſelfe, and to carry thoſe goodly Prouinces to a ſtrange houſe, all things became impoſſible: *Maximilian*, hauing married the Princeſſe, rayſed with great ſolemnity the order of the Golden Fleece, [z] to ſhew that he would alſo reſtore the affaires of that houſe.

Yet for all this they do not leaue to giue him the honour of the wiſeſt of his age: He made his wiſedome appeare in that he could conſult and deliberate well, he could iudge and reſolue well, and he could leade and execute wel; This wiſedome was wholy his, and depended not of the motion or diſcourſe of any other: Wherefore when as he demanded of *Brezay*, Seneſchall of Normandy, the reaſon why he ſaid that his horſe was great and ſtrong, being but little and of a weake ſtature: *For that* (anſwered *Brezay*) *hee carries you and all your Counſell.* It is a very ſingular grace of heauen when as the actions of Princes, vnfurniſhed of Councell, ſucceede happily: For as a Prince hath need of a ſoule to liue by, ſo is it neceſſary for him to haue counſell to raigne: [a] It is weake councell which conſiſts onely of yong heads: Yong men may well haue ſome good points, but they are like vnto thoſe of the eares of corne: The force of councell conſiſts in wiſedome which is not gotten but by experience, and experience comes not but with time: A man may be borne capable of wiſedome, but onely time makes the wiſe; Yong Vines carry Grapes aboundantly, but the old make the good wine: In all that he vndertooke hee ſhewed the force of his ſpirit; ſpeaking of Armes hee ſeemed neuer to haue done any other thing but fight with men and beſiege places, and diſcourſing of affaires of Eſtate he ſeemed to haue paſt his whole life in Councell. [b]

Partes of wiſedome.

Hee informed himſelfe curiouſly and exactly of all things, and of all perſons whom he knew not to be capable to ſhew any arte or diſguiſing: A Prince addes much eſteeme and reſpect vnto his reputation when as he beleeues that he knowes all. *Phillip de Commines*

[y] *The leſſe which is profitable and certaine is to be preferred before the more which is vnprofitable and vncertaine. The King of England deſires rather the Countries of Bullen in effect, then Brabant & Flanders in hope: neither could the Engliſh conſent vnto a warre which did interrupt their Traffick with the Low Countries.*

[z] *Oliuer de la-March, reports the ceremony which was made at the raiſing of this Order, and ſaith that they wondered the King had not preuented the Arch-Duke.*

[a] *Euery Prince hath two Councels, one interior and the other exterior: The interior is that which growes in his head from his owne knowledge and vnderſtanding: The exterior is of thoſe that aſſiſt him in the managing of affaires.*

[b] *Great Spirits are alwaies entire in any thing they deale in. When as Cato had Armes in hand hee ſeemed neuer to haue practiſed any other thing: When as hee ſpake of Sciences a man would haue ſaid hee had neuer gone out of the Vniuerſity.*

Commines obſerues an effect of his wiſedome to ſow diſcord and diuiſion among thoſe that would agree againſt his ſeruice: *King* Lewis *our Maiſter vnderſtood that Art better, to diuide men, then any other Prince that I euer knew; and hee ſpared neither his Siluer, Goods, nor Paines, not onely towards the Maiſters, but alſo to the ſeruants.*[c]

Another act of his wiſedome to haue kindled, and entertained the fire which did conſume the forces and burnt to aſhes the ambition of his enemie; In cauſing the inſtruments of the warre of Germany, Swiſſerland, and Lorraine to moue, he remained at peace: Hee had meanes to diſcharge his Realme of the vnprofitable burthen of men which cannot liue but in trouble: As the flowing and ebbing is neceſſary for the Sea, to diſcharge it of the great ſcumme and filth which a calme gathers together, ſo a great Empire muſt purge it ſelfe and caſt forth the bad humours which a dead and idle life drawes together.

Although his promptneſſe in ſpeaking hath oftentimes hurt him, yet would hee haue it knowne that his very Hat had no part of his ſecrets. Silence is the Pole and Axletree of enterpriſes, the which muſt not onely be in words, but alſo in geſture and countenance, for the eyes and the face are the dumbe interpreters of the mind: [d] They cannot be executed but at certaine times, vpon certaine places, with certaine men, and by certaine meanes; if the one or the other be neglected or diſcouerd, all muſt go to ſmoake. The concurrence of many things is neceſſary for the execution of a deſigne, the failing of one is able to ruine it, but there is neuer enough when they talke too much.

Silence a ſoule of great actions.

Wiſedome hath alſo cauſe to complaine of his tongue: Hee hath often paid for the liberty of his ſpeech: But who can impoſe ſilence to Princes? The liberty of Speech is a marke of their authority, it is the point and ſeaſoning of diſcourſe, but the diuerſity of occaſion makes it perilous: It ſometimes offends the moſt mild and patient ſpirits, and as euery wound hath his griefe, ſo there is not any wound that ſeemes light to him that feeles it, and oftentimes they fall into incurable vlcers: [e] *There are houres when wee may not ſpeake any thing, others when we may ſpeake ſome thing, but none when wee may ſpeake all.*

A rule how to ſpeake.

Beſides the exact intelligence of his affaires, he had a great iudgement in the choice of men, and an admirable wiſedome to entertaine them and keepe them. He eſteemed them, bound them vnto him, and did not ſuffer them to languiſh in any diſcontent, nor to attend the fruits of their ſeruice: He knew how to lay the ſtone-worke, to enrich the Iewell, and to beautefie it with Amaile, gold, and ornament: Hee not onely knew them of his Realme that were moſt capable to be imployed in diuers functions for his ſeruice, but alſo who were the moſt worthy Miniſters with Neighbour Princes: Hee knew in what heads did reſide the ſufficiency of England, Spaine, and Portugall, and did not ceaſe

[c] *They muſt heare all things to draw profite from them:* Valerius Publicola *is prayſed by* Plutarch *for the liberty hee gaue euery man to enforme him of that which concerned him. And* Iſocrates *doth therefore commend* Euagoras *King of Cypres: But there muſt bee great diſcretion in that which is ſpoken with and againſt priuate men.*

[d] *He that doth manage a great deſigne muſt know how to gouern his tongue, but much more his minde, for* Polybius *ſaith that many haue diſcouered by their faces the deſignes which they haue kept in their hearts.*

[e] *Nothing can happen more troubleſome to free men then to bee debarred of the liberty of free ſpeech. The liberty of free Diſcourſe (ſaith* Democrates*) is a ſigne of courage and generoſity.*

vntill he had ſetled ſome good conceipt to make vſe of them. [f] When he encountred any firme ſpirit, which reiected his purſuites, and refuſed his offers, yet he gaue it not ouer, thinking that he could not employ too much time to winne a man that might hurt or ſerue him. Princes pierce through all things, whereas they make the Sunne paſſe vnto the Center: Whilſt they haue ſhowers of Gold they ſhall alwaies finde *Danaes*. Hee did not remember bad Offices, which they had done him, but to bind them to do him better, and did not apprehend the danger there is in ſuch reconciliations.

He ſought the friendſhip of Princes of whom he might haue moſt need. *Francis Sforce* [g] was one of his beſt friends, he tooke the Towne of Sauonne from *René* King of Sicile and gaue it vnto him to binde him to his intentions: It is from him that he receiued ſuccours in the warre of the Common-weale, and it is to him hee would haue gone if neceſſity had forced him.

It was an act of great wiſedome to binde thoſe Princes to his deuotion whoſe Eſtates did frontier vpon France. The Duke of Brittany durſt no more looke towards England: The Earle of Foix, and the Realme of Nauarre were vnder his protection. The Duke of Anjou, King of Sicile, had diſpoſed of the County of Prouence according to his deſire. The Duke of Lorraine ſmothered in his ſoule his complaints and murmurres and receiued a Law from his will, and although he were bound vnto him, hauing freed him from an irreconciliable enemy, and that his Scepter was maintained by the ſword wherewith this Prince did fight at the Battell of Nancy, and the which is yet to be ſeene in the Pallace of Guiſe at Paris; yet as Princes do not willingly loue them to whom they are beholding, [h] he recompenced him with diſcontents which haue beene repreſented heretofore, for the which hee left the Court, and in the end France.

The houſe of Sauoy, although it was much affected to that of Bourgundy, yet it depended wholly vpon the motions of this Prince He had in his power the Duke, the Dutches, and the Princes their children: It was at ſuch time when as Sauoy did not hold it ſelfe happy but in louing France and France it: This amity was long entertained by the marriages and alliances of theſe two houſes. France hath giuen wiues to the Princes of Sauoy, and Sauoy hath found husbands in France. The Hiſtory of Sauoy is beautified with the Flowers de Luce: [i] *Bonne* of Bourbon married *Amé* the 6. *Amé* of Berry *Amé* the 7. *Mary* of Bourgundy *Amé* the 8. *Yoland* of Valois *Amé* the 9. *Margaret* of Bourbon *Phillip* the 1. *Margaret* of Valois *Philebert* the 2. all Dukes of Sauoy: Time hath ſhewed that the lines, which were ioyned in the center of this

Marriages of France & Sauoy.

[f] *The true ſcience of a Prince is to know men: Not onely they whom hee commanded, but thoſe by whom he might be well ſerued to command. To the knowledge of mē they muſt adde that of their owne affaires:* Auguſtus *excelled therein, and made a booke wherein were coteined:* Opes publicæ quantum ciuium ſociorumq; in armis quot claſſes, regna, prouinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, & neceſſitates ac largitiones. *The publicke treaſure, how many Citizens and Allies were able to beare Armes, what ſhipping, how many Realmes, and Prouinces, what Tributes or Reuenues, & what wants and rewards.* Tacit

[g] Fra. Sforce *was the firſt Gentleman of his Race, hee had beene a Shooemaker, His courage thruſt him on to the tirannie of Milan, hauing married the baſe daughter of* Phillip Maria *the laſt Duke.*

[h] *A great Prince willl neuer owe any thing: There is none but* Traian *to whom* Pliny *may ſay:* Debes Cæſari & ſoluis; Cæſar *thou oweſt and doſt pay: Princes neuer hold themſelues beholding.* In principe rarum ac prope inſolitum eſt, vt ſe putet obligatum, aut ſi putet amat: *It is a rare, and almoſt vnuſuall thing in a Prince to thinke himſelfe bound, or if he do to loue it.*

[i] Amé *the 8. the firſt Duke of Sauoy lying in his cradle was married to* Mary *daughter to* Phillip *the Hardy Duke of Bourgundy, vncle to* Charles *the 6. and at the age of twenty yeares did conſummate the Marriage.*

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amity, haue beene found much diuided in the Circumference of their designes.

Philip, Earle of Bresse.

Lewis the eleuenth laboured long to win *Philip*, sonne to *Lewis* the second, and to make him forget the feeling he had of his imprisonment in the Castle of Loches, where hee remained two yeares; and knowing the greatnesse of his courage, and with what resolution he had serued the Duke of Bourgondy against him, hee neuer ceased vntill he had made him his creature. He made him a knight of his Order, Captaine of fifty men at Armes, Chamberlaine, and in the end Lord high Steward of France, and gaue him great entertainments; but the seruices hee did the King, were of no lesse consideration, hauing beene the meanes that Prouence was not made subiect to the Duke of Bourgondy, and had treated the marriage of the Lady *Margaret* of Austria with the Dauphin; who notwithstanding was married to his sonne *Philebert*. Men make Contracts, and God Marriages: When he came to the Scepter of Sauoy he was fifty fiue yeares old. The indisposition, not so much of yeares, as of the cares and toyles of Age, had reduced him to that estate, as hee had no need, neither of the fauours of Fortune; nor of the pleasures of Voluptuousnesse:[k] and hee was like vnto a ruinous building, which is not discouered before it falles: for hee continued but 18. moneths.

[k] *Age hath that voluptousnesse, or at least, that good in steed of it, that it hath no need of it.*

His marriages.

He was twice married: first to the Lady *Margeret* of Bourbon, daughter to *Charles* the first of that name, Duke of Bourbon, and *Anne* of Bourgondy, who died of a Consumption at Pont d'Ains, and was buried at Brou, in the yeare 1483. By this *Margaret* he had *Philebert*, called the *Faire*, who succeeded him in the Dutchy of Sauoy; and one daughter, named *Lowyse*, married to *Charles* Earle of Angoulesme, and mother to King *Francis* the first; and another daughter called *Philebert*,[l] who was wife to the magnificent *Laurence de Medicis*, whom *Vanderburch* calles *Iulian*, brother to Pope *Leo* the tenth. Hee had to his second wife, *Claude* of Ponthieure, daughter to the Earle of Ponthieure, of the house of Brittanie; by whom he had two sonnes, the first was *Charles*, who after the death of his brother *Philibert*, was Duke of Sauoy, Father to *Philibert Emanuel*, the wisest Prince of his Age, who liued so gloriously in all the parts of his life, as in what point soeuer death cut him off,[m] he had still glory sufficient remaining for an immortall reputation. *Charles Emanuel* his sonne hath purchased the Title of a *Valiant, Liberall, and Worthy Prince*: Eagles flye lower then his courage. The second was *Philip* Duke of Nemours, and Earle of Geneua, Father to *Iames*, Grand-father to *Charles*, who dyed at Annecy, and to *Henry* Duke of Nemours, who remaines at this day the sole Prince of that generous branch: hee had also a base sonne, called *René*, who for his vertues was Lord Steward of France; from whom are descended the Earles of Tende, and Villars, and two daughters, the one Counteffe of Brienne, and the other wife to *Anne* of Montmorency, Constable of France.

His Children.

[l] Pingon *makes no mention of* Philebert, *born of the first bed, & he giues these vnto the second*, Charles, Lewis Philip, Philebert, Absalom, & Iohn Amé. Vanderburch *names them*, Charles, Philip, Philebert, Iohn, Absalom.

[m] *It is all one where wee end our liues, let vs cut it off where we will, so as we make a good conclusion.*

This great and profitable skill to diuide their minds, that might hurt him, did not onely ſtetch to the ſeruants and miniſters of the ſame Prince, but he knew how to diuide Princes of one bloud and family. He did gouerne the affections of *Sigiſmond* at his pleaſure,[n] and turned him ſometimes againſt the Archduke *Maximilian*, his perſwaſion being of ſuch force with this Prince, (who was good and tractable) as he made him beleeue that *Maximilian* had deſignes againſt his life, the ſooner to get poſſeſſion of his Eſtates, which were aſſured him after his death. *Sigiſmond* in the end diſcouered this fraud, and found that the ruine of the Archduke his Nephew, toucht him ſo neere, as the Franch-County could not bee loſt, but the County of Feret would be alſo expoſed to great danger, and had great ſubiect to apprehend the increaſe of greatneſſe of ſo mighty a neighbour; and therefore hee yeelded to a leuie of ſome troopes in his Eſtates of Elſaſſe and Ferret, which were imployed to relieue and defend Dole, the chiefe Town of the Franch County, which was beſieged by the Lord of Chaumont, of Ambois.

[n] *The Archduke Sigiſmond of Auſtria was wonne by the King, whoſe party hee followed both againſt the Duke of Bourgondy, and the Archduke Maximilian. Hee reuoked the adoption which hee had made in his fauour, beleeuing them that ſayd, that to ſhorten his hopes, hee would ſhorten his life.*

The King found meanes in looſing *Sigiſmond*, to winne the Captaines that led the Troopes, ſo as they ſuffered a great number of Franke Archers of the Kings Campe to ſlippe into the Towne with their Troopes, who ſeizing vpon the Gates, gaue entry to the reſt of the Armie. The Towne was expoſed to ſacke and pillage, both of the enemies and of ſtrangers, and fire made an end to ruine that which the Souldiers could not ſpoyle or carry away, neither was there any houſe exempt, but whereas the Generall was lodged.[o]

Sacke and deſolation of Dole.

[o] *A lamentable example of the miſery of thoſe Townes which are relieued by forraigne forces, whoſe fidelity being gotten & maintained by money, depends alwayes of him that offers moſt. From that time Dole was called the Dolorous.*

By the ſame skill of winning men, and knowing how to vnknit knots without cutting the Corde, hee had at his deuotion the moſt confident Miniſters of England. *Philip de Commines* ſaith, that he was imployed to win the Lord *Haſtings*, as the Duke of Bourgondy had formerly done to haue him his friend at a thouſand Crownes penſion. Hee was very difficult to reſolue; but as Siluer is like vnto *Cephalus* Arrow, which is neuer ſhot in vaine, that a long purſute ſhakes the moſt conſtant reſolutions, hee ſuffered himſelfe to be wonne for two thouſand Crownes penſion.

[p] *Mony doth all, it winnes men, and bindes them to forget their firſt duties. Will and Duty haue a combate with Money.*

The King ſent *Peter Cleret*, one of the Stewards of his Houſe, vnto him, to carry him this Money, and to bring backe a quittance to bee put with the reſt, and to iuſtifie hereafter, that not onely *Haſtings* Lord Chamberlaine, but alſo the Lord *Howard* high Admirall, the Lord *Chainey*, Maiſter of the Horſe, and *Thomas* of Montgomery had beene Penſioners to the French King. This was ſaid to make a gaine in giuing, and to make a Trade of liberality.[q] *Philip de Commines* doth plainly ſet downe what paſt betwixt them. *Cleret* demanded a quittance, and *Haſtings* was not ſo ill aduiſed as to giue him any: *Cleret* let him vnderſtand that hee had to doe with a Maiſter who was very diſtruſtfull, and if he did not make it appeare how he had deliuered this ſumme vnto him, he might

[q] *To hope for profite of that which is giuen, is to traffick, and to put money to vſury, it is to thinke to hold in letting goe, and to receiue in giuing.*

ſay

say he had stolne it; and therefore he desired onely a letter of three lines vnto the King.

Wisedome of the *Lord Hastings.*

Hastings seeing that there was some colour in his reasons, but much more in those which did not allow him to write, gaue him to vnderstand, that they should trust his Faith and Word,[r] which hee esteemed more then an hundred bondes in writing. Hee therefore answered after this manner; *Sir, that which you say is reasonable, but this gift comes voluntarily from the King your Maister, and not at my suite; if you will haue mee take it, you shall put it into my sleeue, and you shall haue no other letter nor testimony: I will not that it shall bee said by me, that the Chamberlaine of England hath beene a Pensioner to the French King, nor that my quittances bee found in his chamber of accounts.* [r] *The said* Cleret *rested satisfied, left him the money, and came and made this report vnto the king, who was much offended that he had not brought him a quittance; but he commended the said Chamberlaine more then all the other seruants of the King of England, and he was euer after paid without giuing quittance.*

[r] *There is nothing that doth binde more then the assurance which wee take of the fidelity & conscience of any one. It is easier to breake ciuill bonds then them of honour.*

[t] *It is iniustice to cause a benefit to be hurtfull & infamous to him that receiues it.*

He was so great an Architect, as he imployed all sorts of spirits, fortunes and conditions in the building of his designes. Hee did not only seeke to haue at his deuotion the chiefe Ministers of kings, but hee also drew them vnto him, that had credit and authority in free Townes and Common-weales, therefore he loued great *Cosmo de Meditis*, and was grieued for his death, which happened in the first yeares of his reigne. The lawes of wisedome did binde him to enter frendship with a house, whose great felicity drew the greatest of Europe to admiration. Vertue doth force euen Enuy it selfe to suffer this Palme to grow, which sprung vp the higher, the more they sought to depresse it, [t] and made it knowne that it is no lesse indiscretion to maligne the glory and prosperity of merit, as to bee angry when the sun shines, which *Iupiter* commandes, and *Apollo* pronounceth his Oracles. In those dayes to enuy the glory of the greatnesse of the house of *Medicis*, was to depriue the *Colossus* of vertue of his shadow, which is glory.

Commendation of the house of *Medicis.*

[t] *When as Enuy hath stormed & striuen against the growing glory of a house, in the end shee is forced to yeeld, her eyes can no more endure such a glistering light.*

Est aliquod meriti spatium quod nulla furentis
Inuidiæ mensura capit. *Claud. in laud. Stiliconis.*

Lewis 11. had great reasons to esteeme him, knowing that great *Cosmo de Medicis* had made *Francis Sforce* Duke of Millan, that the wealth of his seruants had raised the hopes of many great Princes, which were in a manet deiected, [u] that without him *Edward* 4. had not returned into his Realme, and the Duke of Bourgondy had lost his credit in Italy. In those times they did not speake but of the Pietty and Magnificence of great *Cosmo de Medicis*, who had opened the barre to his posterity to attaine vnto the soueraigne command of Tuscanie. Hee liued as a Cittizen, commanded as a Prince, and his Countrey gaue him the Title of *Father*: His vertue was a Rampart to good Men, [x] his House a refuge to good Wittes out-raged by Fortune, and a Port to the Muses chased out of Greece. His bounty appeared in foure Millions of Gold,

Riches of the house of *Medicis.*

[u] *A seruant vnto* Peter de Medicis *lent vnto* Edward *the fourth, an hundreth and twenty thousand Crownes, and another* 50000 *to the Duke of Bourgondy at one time, and* 80000. *at another.*

[x] *A good man is a great Rampart to good men against a powerfull Citizen that persecutes them. Such was* Nicias *at Athens against the insolency and rashnesse of* Cleon. Plut. in Nicias.

which

which hee imployed in the building of Churches and Palaces. There was not any one in Florence which had not done ſacrifice to his liberality. He relieued the miſeries of the poore with a Million of gold, and the publicke neceſſities with all his goods. Vertue gaue him more then fortune took frõ him, he purchaſed that which few men could get, and loſt that which many great perſonages had loſt in trouble and confuſions. Great men haue more feeling of the ill which they haue done, then of that which they ſuffer innocently. His fortune had no greater enemy then his vertue. [y] Enuy, which is the fruit of Felicity, conſpired ſo mightily againſt him, as his innocency being reputed but deceit, his zeale counterfet, his generoſity ambition: he was baniſhed to Venice, where they receiued him with honour, blaming the vnnaturall rigor of ſo bad a mother againſt her children.

[y] *No accidents trouble a wiſe man, who enioyes his conſcience in peace.* Homines ſapientes turpitudine non caſu & delicto ſuo, non aliorum iniuria commouẽtur. *Where men are moued with ſhame, and not by chance, with their own faults and not with other mens iniuries.* Cic.

There was an alteration of Affaires, they that had condemned and expelled him, were baniſhed from Florence. The people, who haue acclamations to raiſe and exalt what they pleaſe, [z] and to deiect whom they pleaſe, gaue him, at his returne, incredible applauſes, calling him their Protector and Father: he liued there as a Dictator, and commanded as a Prince, equally beloued of the good, and feared of the bad. The Helme of the Eſtate was thirty yeares in his hand, with ſõ great Wiſedome and Moderation, as liberty could not preuent the yoake which ſhe embraced. He did iuditiouſly imploy ſeuerity in matters where as mildneſſe was dangerous, and ſaid ſometimes, that it were better to haue a Countrey ruined then loſt; and that the gouernement of a Common-weale was not managed with Beads in ones hand. His Counſels were reſpected as Oracles, and his Experience as Maximes: his preſence pacified the ciuill diuiſions, gaue reputation to the enterpriſes, and executions of the Warre of Piſa and Luques, [a] and augmented that of Florence in ſuch tearmes, as his enemies knew, that whilſt *Coſmo* liued, the Eſtate had no need of a Prince, the Senate of Councell, nor the people of a Support. He came into the world on Saint *Coſmos* and Saint *Damians* day, in the yeare 1389. and departed in the yeare 1464.

Exile and returne of *Coſmo.*

[z] *A multitude is inconſtant, flattering and raſh, they cryed 60 times to the Emperor* Claudius Auguſtus: Claudi Dij te nobis præſtent. Trebel. Pol. *To* Alexander Seuerus Auguſte Innocens Dij te ſeruent. *Lamp. To* Anthonine the Meek, Antonine Pie Dij te ſeruent, Antonine Clemens Dij te ſeruent. *Vulcat. Gal. Behold their flattering and fauouring Acclamations. The Emperour* Commodus *tried the others.* Hoſti patriæ honores detrahantur, Patricidæ honores detrahantur, Parricida tractetur. LAMPRID.

The King continued this loue vnto his Children, and for a teſtimony gaue vnto *Peter de Medicis* three Flowers de Luce, which doe at this day grace the Armes of that Houſe. Hee called *Laurence de Medicis* his Couſen, who was eſteemed in Italy, the vnrecuſable Arbitrator of his reſt.

Scepters and Crownes come from Heauen, Men carry them, but God giues them: His eternall prouidence, which diſpoſeth of Eſtates as hee pleaſeth, hath changed the Gonfalon of Florence

[a] *A great man is euery thing in an Eſtate: When as* CICERO *did write to* BRVTVS, *he ſaid, That although that* Anthony *could repaire his Troopes and his Armie,* Sentiet nec Senatui conſilium nec populo Romano virtutem, nec Repub. te viuo Imperatorem; *He ſhall finde that whilſt thou liueſt, the Senate wants no Counſell, the Roman people vertue, nor the Common-weale a Commander.*

into

into a Scepter, and the popular liberty into the iustest kinde of soueraigne power, and hath made it hereditary to the house of *Medicis*, to recompence the great vertues which haue come out of it to the publicke good: the valour of *Everard*, the integrity of *Silvester*, the piety of great *Cosmo*, the magnanimity of *Peter*, the magnificence of *Laurence*, the generosity of *Iulio*, the iustice of *Cosmo*, the constancy of *Francis*, and the wisedome of *Ferdinand*.

This house hath been honoured with Aliances of the first Crowns of Christendome: It hath giuen three Popes to the Church, and two Queenes to France, [b] *Katherine* who saued the ship when as the windes both within and without had conspired to sinke it; *Mary*, whom heauen hath caused to be borne for the glory, comfort, and ornament of the French Empire, and would that she should refuse the Emperiall Crowne for the most Christian. It is the branch of Bayes which the Eagle of the eternall prouidence did let fall into the bosome of our *Augustus*. It is the starre vnder whose sweet Influences France breathes and hopes: It is the worthy and most happy Mother of three great Princes, and three firme pillars of this Estate, all three capable to inherit the Club of that great *Hercules* their father. Mother also to three Princesses, three Pearles brought forth vnder the fauours of a most cleare and fauourable heauen.

[b] Iohn de Medicis *had two sonnes*, Cosmo *surnamed the* Great, *whose branch ended with* Katherine *Queene of France: and* Laurence, *father to* Peter, *father to* Iohn, *father to* Iohn *the second, father to* Cosmo, *the first great Duke of Florence, father to* Francis, *father to* Mary, *Queen of France and Navarre*.

The wisedome then of *Lewis* the eleuenth most famous in so many kindes, hath also giuen light vnto France in the institution of many things. They make him author of the erection of the posts. I could not recouer any Edict nor Decree of his time, nor of this Institution. The vse was much more ancient, but it was not setled but vnder his reigne. The successe of the Duke of Bourgondies warre without the Realme, held his minde continually in suspence, and news came not to him speedily enough; wherfore he ordaind posts by certaine Stages of horses from houre to houre. The Antients haue had posts which made admirable speed both on foote and horse-backe. [c] *Cyrus* to bee speedily aduertised of all things that were done within the compasse of his Empire, considered how farre a horse might go in a day; and did settle, according to this distance, men and horses, to conuey his packets. It is not credible, that before *Lewis* the eleuenth, the Kings of France had not means to giue wings to affaires of importance, being most certaine, that Princes haue alwayes vsed the addresse of men, and the swiftnesse of beasts to that end, and *Cæsar* saith, that the Gaules sent their commandements into the remotest Prouinces by cries, which being receiued in one place, was carried to another, with such speed and disposition, as he obserues, that what was done at Geneua at the Sunne rising, was knowne at night in Auvergne.

Stablishment of Posts.

[c] Philides *being sent by the Athenians to Lacedemonia for aid, went in two dayes, 1260 stades.* Euchidas *beeing sent also from them to Delphos, to demand the holy fire, went in one day 1000 stades. The Grecians did account by stades, which was six hundred feet: The Romans by miles, euery one being a thousand paces, and* Plutarch *saith, that eight stades might make a mile.*

[d] *The diligence the Gaules did vse to send newes, is obserued by* Cæsar *in the seuenth booke of the Gaules Warre.* Vbi maior atque illustrior res incidit clamore per agros regionesque significant: hunc alij deinceps, excipiunt & proximis tradunt, vt tunc accidit, nam quæ Genabi oriente sole erant gesta ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Aruernorum sunt audita.

The Kings of Perou haue their newes carried after this manner, They haue, vpon the high wayes, poſts, or Cabanes, appointed at euery mile, the firſt Carrier cries vnto the ſecond what is commanded him, the ſecond carries it vnto the third with the like ſpeede, and ſo vntill it comes vnto the place appointed. [e] The Emperour *Auguſtus* ordained Coaches in certaine places, to conduct them that carried his commandements through the Prouinces, or that brought him any newes, before time they did hire them, and *Cæſar* did vſe them when as he went in ſo ſhort a time from Rome to the bankes of Roſne.

Paris, the Rome of France, the miracle of the Citties of Europe, whereof it ſhould be the Dyamond if it were a Ring, owes vnto this Prince the moſt fauourable conceſſion and confirmation of the priuiledge which it enioyeth, and wherewith Kings haue alwayes gratified it, holding it reaſonable that it ſhould beare the markes of their fauour; and the profit which it feeles by the ordinary preſence of their Maieſties, he gaue leaue to euery Burgeſſe to take yearely a certaine meaſure of ſalt for their prouiſion, paying the Marchants right onely, and to be freed of the forraigne impoſition, paying ſix deniers vpon the Liuer in Paris, and twelue vpon the furtheſt parts of the Realme, not being bound to giue caution for the ſale of it: That they ſhould not bee forced by any harbinger to lodge the kings Officers, nor any Souldiers, but at their owne pleaſures. [f] Not to be bound to plead any where but in Paris, for what cauſe ſoeuer. To be freed from all duties and ſeruices for the fees they held, yet vpon condition to haue ſufficient and defencible Armes, according to the value of their fees, for the guard and defence of the Citty. Priuiledges of the Pariſians.

In like manner the Citty of Lyon (that mighty Bulwarke of the State) is bound vnto him for the eſtabliſhment of the Faires. Commerce is a great meanes to drawe forraigne commodities into a State, but it may cauſe a dangerous tranſport of gold and ſiluer, if it bee not entertained by the exchange of Wares. And as it ſhould not bee lawfull to tranſport thoſe that bee neceſſary, and whereof the Subiects may haue need, [g] neither thoſe which are vn-wrought, ſo the permiſſion ſhould be eaſie and free for thoſe which are needfull for ſtrangers; that the ſubiects may thereby gaine the profit of their hands. This Prince being giuen to vnderſtand, that the Faires at Geneua did draw a great quantitie of Money out of France, he erected foure Faires at Lyon, [h] and gaue them his letters patents at Saint *Michael* vpon Loire, the 20th of October 1462.

Trafficke cannot receiue a more ſencible iniury then by the calling downe, or raiſing of Money, which wrongs the Law of Nations. If there bee any thing in an eſtate which ſhould bee immu-

[e] *Augustus, as* Suetonius *reports,* Iuuenes primo modicis interuallis per militaris vias dehinc vehicula diſpoſuit. *He firſt ſet young men by ſmall diſtances vpon the high wayes, and then hee appointed Coches. Hee ſpeakes alſo of* Cæſars *diligence by Coches.* Longiſſimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus meritoria rheda, centena paſſuum millia in dies ſingulos. *Hee went long iourneyes with incredible ſpeed, a hundred miles euery day, being ſet in a hired Coch.*

[f] *Theſe priuiledges were amplified and confirmed during the warre of the Common-weale, and for that the people did apprehend that they might bee reuoked when it did ceaſe, the Chronicle ſaith, that he declared in a great Aſſembly, that hee deſired rather to augment them, then to cut off any thing.*

[g] *One of the iuſteſt, and moſt ancient meanes to augment a kings tributes, is vpon the entry, going forth, and paſſage of Merchandiſe. It is the forraigne Impoſition, an ancient right to Soueraignes, and it is called,* Portorium quod mercium quæ importantur exportanturve nomine penditur.

[h] *The Eſtates of Tours after the death of King* Lewis *the eleuenth, required to haue theſe Faires kept but twice a yeare, at Eaſter, and at the Feaſt of All-Saints, and in ſome other Towne then Lyon, for that it was too neere the bounds of the Realme.*

table,

table, it is the certainty of their valour. Wisedome is not commended but for the constancy of that which she resolues: [1] she learnes to fit accidents which are mutable and immutable to reason, which is constant and one, and not reason to accidents. When as the course of Money is disordered and vncertaine, all is in confusion. *Lewis* the eleuenth changed the course of coins in the yeare 1473. hee ordained that the great Blankes should goe currant for eleuen Deniers Turnois, which before were worth but ten; he reduced another coine called Targes, to eleuen Deniers, which past for twelue. The Crowne at thirty Souls, three Deniers Turnois, and after this proportion all other peeces. Then considering that one of the causes of the weakning of Coines grew for that the Officers tooke their Fees and entertainements from the rights *of the Mint*, which should bee vnknowne in great Estates, [k] and are not seemely but in petty ones, where they draw profite from euery thing, and augment their Reuenues by the coining of money. In the yeare 1475. he displaced the Generals and Maisters of the Mint, and set foure Commissioners in their places, *Germaine de Merle*, *Nicholas Potier*, *Denis* the *Britton*, and *Simon Ausorran*, and ordained that the Kings crownes of Gold which before had course for foure and twenty Souls Parisis, and three Turnois, should goe for fiue and thirty peeces of eleuen, being worth fiue and twenty Souls, eight Deniers Parisis, and they should make other Crowns, which should haue a Halfe-moone in stead of a Crowne, which was on the rest, and should be worth thirty six peeces of eleuen of the value of twenty six Souls, six Deniers, and new Dozains, at 12 Turnois a peece.

Orders for Coins.

Liberality. Wee should lye in calling this Prince couetous, as well as in saying he was liberall: he neuer knew what it was to spare, no not in his age, when as couetousnesse doth most trouble the mind when it hath least need of it. [l] he knew not what it was to giue with reason and discretion, to whom, how much, and when. Hee gaue not with a refusing countenance, but cheerefully and freely. No man holds himselfe bound for that which is giuen by importunity, and which is rather wrested away then receiued. Slow graces are as troublesome as the swift are sweete. Bounty should preuent demands, sometimes hopes, and neuer merit. Shee doth not consider who receiues, how farre the greatnesse of his courage and fortune goes that giues, and doth fore-warne him, that there are some that deserue to bee refused when they demand, and others which demand not, deserue to haue giuen them. [m]

Liberality

Hee gaue good Words, but his Promises were so sure, as hee seemed to bee bound to the day hee promised. A Man might hold that receiued which hee offered. There is nothing so great,

[1] *A Prince who is the warrant of publicke Iustice, & subiect to the Law of Nations, should not suffer the course of Money to bee variable & vncertaine, to the preiudice of his subiects & strangers, which treat & traffick with them. Wherfore the Kings of Arragon comming to the Crowne, tooke an Oath, not to alter the Coines which were allowed.*

[k] *The Ancients knew not what the right of Minting meant, and the Coines were not imparted for the fees of officers, which were taken frō other kindes of mony, to the end that the coyning of money should be free from all suspition of deceit, it was done in publicke places, as at Rome in* Iuno's *Temple; and* Charlemain *did forbid any to bee coined but in his Palace.*

[l] *Couetousnesse, which comes in the end of mans life, is inexcusable. What auails it to prouide so many things for so smal a iourny?* Auaritia senilis maxime est vituperanda. Potest enim quicquã esse absurdius, quam quo minus viæ restat eo plus viatici quærere? *Couetousnesse in age is much to be blamed. Can there bee any thing more absurd then when there is least way to go, to make most prouision?* Cat. Mai. *One thinking that there was nothing so honest, as to demand and receiue, demanded of King* Archelaus, *being at supper, a cup of gold, wherein he dranke. The King commanded his Page to go and giue it to* Euripides, *who was at the table, and turning towards him that had beg'd it, he said; As for thee, thou art worthy to demand, and to be refused, for that thou dost begge; but* Euripides *is worthy to be rewarded, although he demands not.*

nor so pleasing, but it looseth much grace when as in the expectation they sometimes consume both patience and meanes. Many, to giue more taste to their good Offices, adde delayes and difficulty; but in the end, hope being tired, thinkes it selfe not beholding: they that are delayed grow discontented, and that are deceiued, despaire.[n]

[n] *True bountie knowes not,* vota hominum fatigare, nec adhibere muneribus artem difficultatis, *to tire mens vows, nor to adde the Art of difficulty to rewards.* Paneg. Theod.

Hee was liberall to them that brought him any great newes,[o] and fed himselfe (many times) with the end of affaires, before hee was aduertised. Hee gaue to the Lord of Bouchages, and *Philip de Commines* foure hundred Markes of siluer, for that they brought him the first newes of the battell of Morat. The Lord of Chaumont brought that of the defeat of Nancy, so pleasing to this Prince, as hee was out of countenance: But hee became prodigall to please his Physitian. The feare of his infidelitie, made him to giue him in lesse then fiue moneths, foure and fifty thousand Crownes in ready money.

[o] Phil. de Comines *reports, that this Prince said sometimes, I wil giue so much to any one that shall bring mee such newes.*

Hee did not onely recompence Actions of desert, the which he desired to haue published, and that all the world should bee as a Sunne to see them, [p] but also he did not suffer generous words, and which proceeded from a free and hardy resolution, remaine vnprofitable to them that had spoken them. *Iames* of Luxemburg, brother to the Earle of Saint Poll, being taken prisoner before Arras, hee informed himselfe particularly from him of all that had past when as hee presented himselfe for the Duke of Bourgondy to enter into Saint *Quintin*, and how many men he had with him to enter: Hee answered that at the third time hee had three thousand men. The King demaunded, if you had entred the stronger, for whom would you haue held it? [q] *It is true* (said hee) *that at the two first voyages I came onely to comfort my brother; but at the third, seeing he had deceiued both my Maister and me twice, if I had found my selfe the stronger, I would haue kept that place for my Maister, yet would I not haue offered any violence to my brother, onely I would not haue departed at his pleasure.*

[p] *Darkenesse should fauour vices, but it were to be desired for goodly actions, that all the world were a Sunne.*

Generous answere of *Iames* of Luxemburg.

[q] Phil. de Comines *saith, that the King demanded of him, if hee had found himselfe the stronger, whether hee would haue held it for the King, or for the Constable.*

This answere was so pleasing vnto the King, as hee gaue him his liberty, a company of men at Armes, and great Offices. Hee had many Pensioners in his Court. The number may bee esteemed by that which *Philip de Commines* saith, That he was appointed their leader in the warre of Bourgondy, when as the Prince of Orange had caused it to reuolt.[r]

[r] *The King, saith* Phil. de Commines, *sent me into Bourgondy with the pensioners of his house and it was the first time that he gaue a Commander vnto the said Pensioners, the which he afterwards continued vnto his end.*

There is no liberality more iniurious then that which doth forcibly dispose of the goods and will of another man, and especially in matters which are out of the commerce of men, and in those which are not lawfull if they bee not free, and whose being and forme depends not of the authority of him that commands, but of him that executes.

Claude of Seyssell, alwayes dipping his Pen in the gall of his passion, hath (in this place) much blemisht the memory of this Prince, in that he makes him to dispose of his absolute authority of

of those things which should depend vpon the authority of the Lawes. *He would that all Benefices, not onely Bishoprickes, Abbies, and Dignities should bee conferd at his pleasure, sometimes to Souldiers, or to such as hee made choise of; and those that did contradict him hee entreated in such sort as there were few found that durst disobey him for any thing that hee required: And moreouer hee often, for other causes, made the Popes Legates, Cardinals, Prelates, and other Church-men, to be arrested, banished, imprisoned, ill intreated and spoiled of their Benefices; And in like manner Marriages, which the holy Cannons will aboue all things haue contracted with a free will, and without constraint, hee caused often to be made at his pleasure, to enrich his seruants in despight of the Parents and Kinsfolkes of the women, especially if they had great portions or successions.*

For the first, the tale which *Corozet* reports of the Priest whom he found sleeping in a Church, and to whom he gaue a Benefice, to the end he might say that wealth came to him sleeping, shewes that he had more care to giue Benefices to men then men to Benefices.

For the second, although that of things which depends most of the election of man, there is not any that requires more liberty then marriage, for her forme consists onely in consent, the which cannot be free when as the Prince either emploies his entreaties, [f] which are commandements, or his commandements which carry force and constraint; yet it is very necessary that Princes deale in marriages, which are the Foundations and Seminaries of Citties and Commonalties, and especially of great Families, in the continuance and concord whereof the State is interressed. [t] Also it is euer good that his authority, by a harmoniacall proportion, accord many things with the equality of a Geometricall Iustice, that accommodates euery thing to it's like, cannot reconcile, especially in marriages, which in all the pollicies of the world are not contracted according to the seuerity of the twelue Tables, [u] for the poore make their fortunes with the rich, and the houses of ancient Nobility refuse not to allye themselues with those that are but newly sprung vp, *Lewis* the eluenth, did not sleepe in such occasions, desiring to haue the marriages of great houses to be made at his discretion: Wherefore *Anne* of Bourgundy, wife to *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, fearing to be forced drew from him a promise, signed with his owne hand, bearing date the last of March, 1467. that he should not force her to marry her daughter *Margaret* of Bourbon to the Earle of Armagnac, for shee had a desire to giue her to the Earle of Bresse.

The proofe of the marriages which this Prince affected most, is drawne out of three Letters, whereof I haue seene the Originals, the first was of *Lewis* of Ioyeuse with *Ioane* of Bourbon daughter to *John* of Bourbon Earle of Vendosme, and sister to *Francis* of Bourbon, and to *Lewis* of Bourbon Earle of Roche-sur-yon: [x] The first letter is to the Lady of Lude in these tearmes.

[f] *The requests of Kings are commandements,* Armata sunt preces Regum: *The prayers of Princes are armed.*

[t] *Mariage is the spring of Humane Societies:* Prima societas in cōiugio est, principium vrbis seminarium reipublicæ? *The first Society is marriage, the chiefe Seminary of a Commonweale.*

[u] *The Law of the twelue Tables would that Nobility should marry with the Nobility, and the ignoble with the ignoble, Princes with Princes, and rich with the rich, the which was the cause of many seditions, to pacifie the which* Canuleius *a Tribun of the people, caused it to bee disanulled.*

[x] Margaret *of Bourbon daughter to* Charles *Duke of Bourbō, and the Lady of Bourgundy, was married to* Phllip *of Sauoy Earle of Baugy, and Bresse, in the yeare* 1471. *and dyed in April,* 1483.

[y] *The Earledome of Roche-sur-yon was purchased by* Iohn *Earle of Vendosme, of* René *King of Sicile, & the purchase was ratefied by K.* Lewis *at the marriage of the Earle of Ioyeuse with the Lady* Ioane *of Burbō,*

My Lady of Lude, my friend, I commend mee vnto you, you know what I haue written vnto you, and how I am now buſied for the warre, conſidering the Country where I am, ſo as I cannot attend the marriage of the yong Lady of Vendoſme, and of my Nephew Lewis *of Ioyeuſe, as if I were in thoſe parts, and therefore, for that I relye as much vpon you as I would do vpon my owne perſon, I pray you, for all the ſeruices that you will do me, that preſently, vpon ſight hereof, you do ſo much for me, as take the paines to go vnto her, to entertaine her ſome fiue or ſixe daies, and know of her when ſhee will accompliſh that which hath beene accorded, and ſend me word, and notwithſtanding any warre whatſoeuer, I will ſend my Nephew vnto you furniſhed, with that aſſurance which I haue promiſed, then when it ſhall be done, you ſhall returne him backe vnto mee againe, and will her not to take care for the Earledome, for I will do both him and her more good then I haue promiſed, and before that euer I ſpake, I was reſolued to deale bountifully with him. I pray you, my good friend, deale for him as for one of your owne children, for I am of opinion where you are nothing can go amiſſe, and therefore I recommend mee moſt heartily vnto you. I haue giuen charge vnto my Lord Gouernour, your huſband, to write more at large vnto you, and I haue written a Letter of credit vnto the yong Lady of Vendoſme for you, you ſhall acquaint her with my intentions: And God keepe you Madam. Written at Arras the 22. of Aprill, Signed V.* Lewis *and vnderneath Heſſorie.*

Lewis the 11. Letter to the Lord of Lude.

The ſecond is to the Lord of Lude: *My Lord Gouernour, I haue euen now receiued a letter from Monſieur* de Ceriay, *ſo as I wiſh my ſelfe to bee at the feaſt of Saint* Croix *at Montarges. I attend nothing but the yong Lady of Vendoſme, I pray you, all things layd aſide, bring her vnto me to Vendoſme, to the end that I may go on my iourney, and bring with her the Lady Marqueſſe, and take no care, for after the celebration of the marriage I will giue you good leaſure to viſite my Lady of Lude: I pray you make haſt, to the end that I may ſee your goodly houſe in recompence of Pleſſis: Adieu my Lord Gouernour, my friend: Written at Breſſeau nere to Chaſteau-Renault, the 22. of April, Signed V.* Lewis,[z] *and vnderneath N. the Marſhall.*

[z] *At the lower end of the Letter theſe words are writtē with the Kingsown hand.* To Mr. Iohn, *in a very bad Character, like vnto them that learne to write.*

Theſe two letters being of one date, and the ſame ſubiect, to diuers perſons, and in two ſeuerall places, ſhewes that they were ſent in diuers yeares, and conſequently that the purſuite of this marriage was long and difficult.

The ſecond Marriage whic hee did affect was that of the Marqueſſe of Lauall, and the Lord of Thorigny: The Letter for that effect is written vnto the ſame Lady of Lude: *Madam I writ vnto Monſieur de Lous, for the Marriage of the yong Marqueſſe of Lauall and the Lord of Thorigny, and therefore I pray you that it may bee concluded, aſſuring you that it is for her great good, for I will do ſo much for them as they ſhall reſt contented, and if I had not knowne it would haue beene for her preferment, I would not haue ſought it: I refer it to Monſieur de Lous, and you, to make the concluſion, and that it may be diſpatcht, wherefore I pray you work ſo as there may be no breach:*

Adieu

Adieu Madam de Lude: Written at Noyers, the 21. of July, Signed L. Lewis, *and vnderneath* N. *the Marſhall.*

If *Lewis* the eleuenth, then was not ſparing of that which his conſcience did forbid him to giue, [a] we muſt not thinke it ſtrange, if hee were liberall of that which is not his owne, and finding no more in his purſe to continue his bounty, he laid hold of others. Liberallity is a Lampe which conſumes in burning; to make it laſt long the oile muſt not bee wanting, they muſt giue and not caſt away: [b] Who ſo will haue this great and royall vertue to ſhine alwaies, muſt not ſuffer prodigallity to quench it, and cut off the functions, and make it like vnto the Seaſons of the yeare, which through too much humidity, or drought, cauſe ſterrillity. A Prince that wil giue to many, and oft, cannot giue much, but in the end the ſpring will grow dry: For there is none but God whoſe treaſures cannot be exhauſted: To giue to all and alwaies a Prince ſhould haue euer a ſhowre of gold from heauen.

His liberallity was not onely diſordered but vniuſt: Hee gaue without any other conſideration but his pleaſure, euen ſo there was not any one that grew ſooner rich by the benefites of Princes, then they that ſerued their pleaſures, or gouerned their Treaſures: [c] *Monſtrelet* ſaith, that he gaue bountifully to them that ſerued his pleaſures, and gaue little, or nothing at all, to others: His liberallity therein was iniurious, his hand had a nummed Palſie to pay the fees of his Houſhold ſeruants. I haue obſerued by the accompts of the expence of his houſe, that from the yeare 1471, vntill his death, they neuer receiued any mony, but for two yeares and a halfe, and yet their wages were very ſmall in compariſon of theſe times.

I do ſometimes finde this Prince reduced vnto thoſe termes, as he borrowes of his ſeruants, not thouſands of Crownes to giue them vnto Ieſters, [d] but ſmall ſummes, which ſhewes that vpon occaſion he could not haue furniſht greater: I haue ſeene in the accompts of the Treaſury, that being in the voyage of Arras, he borrowed of one of his ſeruants, called *Iames Hammelin*, 22. pounds and odde money, to be imployed in his voluptuous pleaſures, and that cauſing a Gentlewoman of Dijon, named *Hacquet Iacquelin* Widdow to the deceaſed *Phillip Chamarges*, to come vnto him in Auguſt, 1479. [e] One of his Caruers who went to fetch her, aduanced the charges both of her voyage and ſtay, which ſhee made at Tours: And that in the laſt yeares of his Raigne, his pilgrimages increaſing, the expence of his Almes and Offrings, the Maiſter of the Chamber of the Treaſury was troubled to furniſh him with Crownes of gold, and did buy them at fiue deneers more then they were currant, which was at 35. Soulz. [f]

[a] *The liberality of a Prince is ſweeteſt vnto him as he that receiues is aſſured that no man is grieued for that which is giuen him, and that no man hath the leſſe for it but the Prince:* Quod gratiſſimum eſt accipientibus, ſciunt dari ſibi quod nemini eſt ereptum, locupletatiq; tam multis pauperiorem eſſe factum principem tantum. *That which is moſt pleaſing to the receiuers, they know that is giuen which is taken from no man, and that for ſo great wealth no man is the poorer but the Prince.*

[b] *A Prince ſhold not giue all at once, hee ſhould ſhew his bounty by degrees.* Multi ſunt qui non donãt ſed proiiciunt. Non vocoliberalem pecuniæ ſuæ iratum. *There are many which doe not giue but caſt away profuſely, I doe not call him liberall that is angry with his money.* Sen.

[c] Monſtrelet *ſaith from the yeare* 1465. Lewis 11. *did impoſe new Taxes vpon his Subiects, & that he meant to gather together great ſtore of treaſure as well to ſatisfie the Duke of Bourgundy as for his owne priuate pleaſures, and that he gaue bountifully to Falconers, and little, or nothing to any other.*

[d] *We find in Hiſtories, prodigall gifts to Ieſters:* Roſcius *had* 36000. *Crownes yearely rent out of the Treaſury of Rome, to play the foole ſome twelue times euery yeare before the people.*

[e] *This expence from the firſt of Auguſt vnto the eleuenth of September, did amount but to nine and twenty pounds, ſixteene ſhillings Sterling.*

But

But that which now ſeemes litle was much in thoſe times, by the rareneſſe of Gold and Siluer, & the low priſes of all ſorts of commodities. The proofe of the one is the euidence of the other, & to put either of them out of doubt, who hath not read that this mighty empire of the Gaules, nay rather this great Ocean of riches, which doth water the whole earth, was ſo vnfurniſhed of Siluer, as after the battell of Poictiers, they had no money but of leather, with nailes of Siluer, and that King *Iohn* found himſelfe in the like paine that Saint *Lewis* had beene in, to pay his ranſome: [f] Hee could not finde credite for ſixe thouſand pounds Sterling in his great neceſſity, and was forced to returne into England, and to vngage his word by the ingaging of his perſon, being impoſſible for him to finde his ranſome. The ſcarcity of mony did wrong the deſire which his Subiects had to ſet him at liberty. This truth may alſo be verefied by the ſmall Dowries and Portions of the Infants of France. *Iſabell* of France was married to the King of England with a dowry of eighteene hundred pounds Sterling, and *Charles* Earle of Vallois had but a thouſand pounds yearely rent, for his portion. *Charles* of Vallois, diſpoſing of the portion of *Iohn* his ſonne, would that his eldeſt daughter ſhould haue but ſeuen hundred pounds Sterling of yearely rent. [g]

Pouerty of France in the time King *Iohn*.

Expences ruled by occaſions.

For the ſecond, the eſtate of the expences of thoſe times, as it hath beene formerly repreſented, ſpeaking of the Magnificence of this Prince, ſhewes that all things were at low priſes, and that there was nothing rare, nor hard to come by, but mony: I haue obſerued in the accompts of this expence, that hauing giuen commiſſion to *Peter* of Caſtello, one of his Sellar, to buy foure and twenty peeces of wine, whereof the one halfe did ſerue for the prouiſion of his houſe, and the other was preſented to the King of England, all which coſt but ſixteene pounds ſterling.

There are occaſions which make the expences greater and more ſumptuous, as that is alwaies which is done by Embaſſadours, for great men will haue all they do ſeeme great: [h] That of thoſe times muſt not be eſteemed by the price: It hath beene ſaid, that three Princeſſes of Sauoy, hauing remained eight and twenty daies at Pleſſis, there expence came but to two and forty pounds tenne ſhillings Sterling.

When he was at Hedin in the yeare 1477. he was viſited by the Embaſſadours of England, being followed by ſeuenty perſons, they remaind there tenne daies, and their expences came to nine and forty pounds Sterling: *Nicholas* of Hauſtreburch, Embaſſadour to the King of Hungary, hauing in his traine ſixe men with their horſes, remained fifteene daies at Arras, and his expences came but to ſixe and twenty pounds Sterling. The expences of *Thomas* of Acquin, Embaſſadour for the King of Naples, from the 12. of September vnto the firſt of March, 1473. amounts to 93. pounds, 14. ſhillings.

He that conſidereth all this, will grow amazed to ſee this Princes Coffers

[f] *The King S^t. Lewis was much preplexed to pay his ranſome, which was ſet at two hundred thouſand peaſants of gold, which the Lord of Ioniuille eſteemes at fifty thouſand pounds Sterling.*

[g] *In the yeare 1331. King Phillip of Vallois, appointed ſeuen hundered pounds Sterling, yearely rent, for the eldeſt daug'ter of France, and two hundred pounds in rent, & fiue thouſand pounds in ready money for the ſecond.*

[h] *Expence is a marke of the greatneſſe and Magnificence of him that vndergoes it:* In beato omnia beata.

Coffers alwaies empty, and the people ſtill complaining of their impouerifhing: In a word, gold was ſcant, France neuer knew the aboundance but by the Trafficke of Italy, the which had, in a manner, ſtored vp all the gold of Europe, and ſo aboundantly, as when as France gaue vnto the Kings daughters but ſixe thouſand pounds Sterling for their Dowry, a Vicount of Milan (a ſmall matter in compariſon of a great King) gaue ~~to~~ two hundred thouſand Crownes to his daughter. [i] But ſince that France hath made the Spaniards, by an ineuitable force, to go and ſeeke gold at the Indies to haue her corne, and the Engliſh, Scottiſh-men, and all Northerne Nations to breake vp the bowels of the earth, to ſearch for Mines of Gold to haue her Wine and Salt, ſhee hath beene ſeene all of gold. The commerce of the Leuant Seas, aſſured by the Alliance of the houſe of France with that of the *Ottomans*, hath beene a ſpring of gold to enrich it, [k] and that of the Citty of Lyon, with the permiſſion of the exchange, an other kind of Dyamond, which hath made the moſt famous Marchants of Europe, being greedy of the certainety of the gaine, to bring infinite ſtore of Gold and Siluer thither, ſo as commodities, which were ſold at an vnder price, for that gold was very ſcant, are now become very deare, when as aboundance hath made gold leſſe rare then it was: In former times for a little mony they had much, and now they giue little for much money. Euery thing is growne twenty or thirty times dearer then it was, and after this proportion they did more then for a Crowne, then they can do at this day for twenty: [l] Wherefore wiſe men haue ſaid, that the Eſtate of the reuenewes vnder *Charles* the ſeuenth, which in the yeare 1449. came to forty thouſand pounds Sterling, therein comprehending the meanes, was not much leſſe, conſidering the eſtimation of things, then the eſtate of the reuenues of foureteene hundred thouſand pounds Sterling, the yeare that *Charles* the 9. dyed, and by this conſideration we ſhall finde that what Kings *Lewis* the 11. did leuy was much more then what hath beene leuied ſince.

France ſends Spaine to the Indies.

But this liberality of *Lewis* the 11. grew odious, when as to make it continue, the people were conſtrained to endure great oppreſſions: this Prince, neither conſidering the things giuen, nor whence they came, but onely what was the hand that gaue it. [m] *Phillip de Commines* thinkes to do him a great honour, when as after hee had ſaid that he had charged his Subiects much more then King *Charles* the ſeuenth his father had done, and that it was a great pitty to ſee their pouerty, he addes: *There was one good thing in our Maiſter he put vp nothing in his Treaſury, hee tooke all and ſpent all, and made great buildings for the fortification & defence of the Townes*

Lewis the 11. tooke all & gaue all.

[i] Charles *the 2. Vicount of Milan gaue two hundred thouſand Crownes for the marriage of his daughter with* Lyonel *ſonne to the King of England, and his brother* Barnabas *who had the Royalty of the Earledom of Milan, gaue two Millions of gold for the marriage of nine daughters lawfully borne, and two baſe, and yet he had fiue ſonnes and two Baſtards.*

[k] *By the alliance of the houſe of Ottomans, the French Marchants haue houſes, Shoppes, and Store-houſes in Alexandria, Caire, Baruth, Tripoly, Faix, & Maroc, like vnto the Marchants of Venice and Genoa.*

[l] *The demonſtration heereof is ſeene in many Regiſters of the Chamber of Accompts, but it changeth contradiction into amazement and admiration, whē as they ſee that in the cuſtome of Anjou ſet downe in the yeare 1508. a fat ſheepe with the wooll is valued but at nine pence Sterling, and in that of Auuergne ſixe pence, and foureteene yeares after that of Bourbonnois was priſed at foureteene pence.*

[m] *Liberallity doth not regard him that receiues*: Alexander *giuing a Towne to one, hee ſaid vnto him, that that preſent was not fit for his fortune, I do not regard, anſwered* Alexander, *what thou ſhouldſt receiue, but what I ſhould giue.* Plut.

and places of his Realme, more then all the Kings that were before him. Hee gaue much to Churches, in ſome things leſſe had done better, for hee tooke from the poore to giue vnto them that had no need[n]*: To conclude, there is no perfect meaſure in any man liuing.* A Prince which takes from ſome to giue vnto others, looſeth more hearts then he gaines, the hatred of him that is diſpoſſeſt is greater then his loue to whom it is giuen, and they that are enricht with the ruine of an other are ſubiect to be ſacrificed to the publicke hatred.

His immoderate gifts draue him to extreme councels, and to remedies which for that they alwaies ſauour of violence did thurſt men to extreme reſolutions: they brought France to the laſt gaſpe, in ſuch ſort as preſently after the death of this great Prince, it was ſaid in the eſtate of Tours, [o] *That in many places men, women, and children were forced, for want of Cattell, to draw the Plough by their neckes and that in the night, not daring in the day time to ſhew themſelues to the Collectors of Taxes.*

Theſe Taxes were rigorous, and the manner of exacting them ſo cruell, as it draue them to diſpaire that would and could not pay, or that could not endure the common iniuſtice in ſuch exactions to fauour the rich and oppreſſe the poore: [p] The Chronicle ſaith, that in the yeare 1477. one named *Laurence Garnier* of Prouence ſlew a Collector, or Receiuer of the Taxes, and therefore was condemned to be hanged, his brother obtained from the King reſtitution of the honour of his body and memory, and cauſed him to be taken downe from the Gallowes a yeare after his execution, and as they carried him very honourably vpon a Hearſe through the Citty of Paris to go to Prouence, the Cryer which went before, either through mockery, ſimplicity, or to deface the infamy of the dead, inuited the people to pray *for the ſoule of* Laurence Garnier *who was newly found dead vnder an Oake.* Rigorous exactions of Taxes.

This Prince vſed all meanes to get money: The body was let bloud in euery veine; It was impoſſible for him to moue theſe great engines of affaires without great meanes, [q] and therefore hee was forced to mow the Medow as often as he had need, and as often as he liſt: He defeated not ſuch great and mighty enemies, he entertained not warre in their eſtates, hee did not diuert it from his owne, hee did not adde ſuch goodly peeces vnto the Crowne, he did not command the wils of his Subiects ſo abſolutely, hee did not pierce ſo farre in his enemies Councels, he did not ſo long entertaine Great affaires muſt haue great ſupplies.

[n] *The exceſſe of liberality ruines a State, and it is an vniuſt thing when they muſt ſupply that, by iniquity, which a diſordered bounty hath waſted, when it is immoderate it diſtaſtes more men then it contents.* Sequuntur largitionē rapinæ. Cum enim dando egere cæperint homines alienis bonis manum auferre coguntur nec tanta ſtudia aſſequuntur coram, quibus dederunt, quāta odia eorum quibus ademerunt: *Rapine follows profuſion: When as men beginne to want with giuing they are forced to lay hand vpon other mens goods, neither doe they purchaſe ſo much loue of them to whom they haue giuen, as they do hatred of them from whō they haue taken.* Cic. Off. lib. 2.

[o] *Wee do not find that there is any cauſe that doth moue the peoples mindes more violently to rebellion and ſedition, then to free themſelues from rigorous exaction:* Archeus *King of the Lydiens was therefore hanged by the feete by his Subiects,* Theoderic *King of France loſt his Crowne.*

[p] *Rigorous conſtraints are laid more vpon the poore then the rich: This was practiſed in* Caſſiodorus *time.* Exactorum nimietas, dum a potentibus contemnitur, in tenues conuerſa graſſaretur, & in ille potius ſolueret aliena, qui erat deuotus ad propria. *The exceſſe of exactions whilſt it was contemned of great men, it fell vpon the weake, and he paid for another that was carefull of his owne.*

[q] *An Eſtate cannot bee maintained but by Impoſts, Aides, and Taxes:* Nero, *after that hee had deuoured all the Reueneues, would haue taken away the Tributes, the Senate commended his good minde, and thanking him entreated him not to meddle with it, leaſt he ſhould ſhake the chiefe foundations which did vphold the Common-weale:* Vectigalia neruos eſſe Reipub: ſemper diximus. *Wee haue alwaies ſaid that Tributes were the ſinewes of a Common-weale.* Cic.

tertaine Armies in diuers places, both within and without the Realme, he had not at his deuotion the Secretaries, Spies, Captaines, Orators, and Domeſticke ſeruants of his enemies for nothing, without any charge, without giuing great penſions, without imploying great ſummes of money, and without hauing alwaies ſo much gold in ſtore, as is needfull to force a place, to winne a man of faction, or to auoide a danger.

With this money he diſquieted all Europe, and hee wonne the hearts of their chiefe ſeruants that troubled his affaires: [r] The Duke of Bourgundies cheife Commanders left him to follow him: After his death he did ſo politickely winne *Phillip* of Creuecœur, as without any difficulty hee entred into thoſe Townes which had beene able to haue ſtaid his forces long: Hee made him Marſhall of France, and Gouernour of Picardy. They write, that hauing made great enterpriſes, and hauing receiued great ſummes of money for the execution thereof, the King demanded an accompt, hee gaue it in few words, and made it knowne that hee had proceeded ſincerely, and as one that would not enrich himſelfe vniuſtly, [s] and that all this money had beene imployed for the entertainment of horſe and foote, and in diuers occaſions for the Kings ſeruice; in ſuch ſort, as he ſhewed the expence had beene more then the receite.

The King was ſomewhat grieued at the expence of ſo much mony, and *Phillip* of Creuecœur diſcontented that hee proceeded ſo exactly, and ſeeing that hee preſt him much to know how hee had employed it, hee ſaid: *Sir, I haue gotten for this money the Townes of Aire, Arras, Saint Omer, Bethunes, Bergue, Dunkerke, Grauelin, and Bourbourg, if it pleaſe your Maieſty to deliuer them vnto mee, I will reſtore whatſoeuer I haue receiued.* The King finding this enquiry fruitleſſe, anſwered; *By the Paſſion of God Marſhall, it is better to leaue it as it is.*

Whereby wee may ſee that in great occaſions of nothing comes nothing, and that they giue wings to great courages to raiſe them to glory: But there is no action ſo great and vrgent that ſhould force a Prince to ſee the bottome of his Coffers, if hee hath not meanes to ſupply them: There is no neceſſity (if it bee not extreme) that doth allow him to touch the Treaſure which is in the Caſtle of ſeuen Towres: [t] This Science of the Treaſure, the moſt difficult of all, it doth not onely conſiſt in finding the Veine or Spring of Siluer, but to diſpierce it in ſuch ſort as it may neuer grow dry: [u] *Lewis* the eleuenth was perfect in the firſt, but hee vnderſtood not the ſecond well, and was wholly ignorant of the third: The people giue vnwillingly to the Prince when they ſee he emploies it ill and vnprofitably, & that

[r] *As there are Flowers which turne alwaies towards the Sun, ſo there are Spirits which are not moued but with gold, and are like vnto the Statue of Memnon, which neuer ſpake Oracles but when the Sunne did ſhine on it.*

[s] *Riches ill gotten were neuer fortunate to them that got them.* Nulli cui rapina feliciter ceſſit, gaudium rapti durauit in poſterum. *No man that hath had good ſucceſſe of Rapine, hath left the ioy of it to poſterity.* Sen. Epiſt. 57.

[t] *In a great Eſtate they muſt alwaies haue treaſure in ſtore. The Turke doth neuer meddle with that which is in the Caſtle of the ſeuen Towers at Conſtantinople, but in caſe of extreme neceſſity.*

[u] *The whole practiſe of the Science of Treaſure, conſiſts in finding money, employing it, and preſeruing it.*

the treaſure is not faithfully gouerned: *Phillip de Commines* ſaith, that to free himſelfe from the perplexity wherein hee was at Peronne: *Hee cauſed fifteene thouſand crownes to bee diſtributed, and that he which had the charge acquitted himſelfe ill, and retained a part:* Wherein the indiſcretion of the Prince cannot bee excuſed, nor the infidelity of the miniſter too ſeuerely and ſharpely puniſhed.

This Science demands all the powers and faculties of the ſoule, it is none of thoſe which do but exerciſe the vnderſtanding and fill the memory, and delight nothing but the Will, all three are much buſied, for hee that deales in it muſt know and vnderſtand the good that he will do, and do it, and hee muſt remember both the one and the other, leaſt hee vndo that which hee hath done, neuer ſtraying from that iuſt Maxime, which bindes alwaies to preferre the publicke before the priuate.[x]

[x] *Hee that aimes at the generall good muſt neuer bee diuerted for any reſpect of priuate intereſſes:* Nulla lex ſatis commoda omnibus eſt id modo quęritur ſi maiori & in ſumma prodeſt. *No Law can bee helpefull to all men, that onely is required whether it bee profitable to the greater part.*

Let there bee neuer ſuch ſtore of Armes, nor ſo great courages, without money the moſt hardy reſolutions will proue vaine and ridiculous: The Common-weale of Lacedemonia, found nothing impoſſible to the force of her courage, nor any thing eaſy for the weakeneſſe of her meanes. Shee had enough to defend her Frontier, and to preſerue her liberty[y] and eſtates; they which haue neuer other deſigne ſhall neuer gouerne themſelues better then by her pollicy: But they that would command ouer many, and extend their Empire, will rather follow the courſe of Rome then Sparta: In this, courage did no ſooner giue wings to one hand, but pouerty tyed a rocke of Leade to the other: Her Army was no ſooner vpon the Frontier to make warre, but Embaſſadors were at the Court of the king of Perſia and Egypt for ſuccours.[z]

Pouerty of the State of Lacedemonia.

[y] *The example of the Common-weale of Lacedemonia ſufficeth to gouerne an Eſtate which hath no Ambition:* At ſi maiora quis moliatur, ac glorioſius ducat præeſſe multis, latè imperare & dominari, tum enimuero fatèdum eſt Laconicam Reipub. formã eſſe imperfectam & longè præſtare Romanam. *But if any attempt greater matters and hold it more glorious to haue a great command, then muſt wee confeſſe that the forme of the Common-weale of Lacedemonia was imperfect, and that the Romanes was much better.* Polyb. lib. 6.

As the Common-weale of Sparta was grounded vpon Lawes that were very iuſt and happy, ſo that of the Swiſſes is full of ſtrong and warlike men, Pouerty did wrong to the courage of the other, not ſuffering them to vndertake any thing beyond *Peloponneſſus*, whereas *Lycurgus* iron money could not blind a ſpye, nor corrupt a Centinell. The like ſterrility of the Country hath forced the Swiſſes to employ their men in the ſeruice of Conquerours, rather then to extend their limites: Fortune hath often offered great and bold deſignes to Princes, but the want and bad gouernement of money hath turned their fire and flame into ſmoake, and hath beene cauſe, that whereas they might haue crowned their pillars with goodly figures they

Sterility of Swiſſerland.

[z] *To attempt vpon the ſuccours of ones neighbours is as great a ſigne of indiſcretion as of weakeneſſe: The Lacedemonians were alwaies borrowing:* Lyſander *and* Calicratides *borrowed money of the Kings of Perſia,* Ageſilaus *and* Cleomenes *of the Kings of Egypt.*

haue

haue ſet on them hidious and disfigured Monkies. An Eſtate without Money, is as a body without ſinewes and Motion. There is no authority of command, nor perſwaſion of eloquence that doth equall the power of money ouer the mindes and willes of men, and places of ſtrength: without it nothing can bee done. If *Hanniball* had wanted Money hee could not haue paſt the Alpes.[a]

Lewis the eleuenth tryed but too often that a Prince which hath nothing in his Coffers; puts himſelfe in danger to ſuffer diſgracefully the out-rages and wrongs of Fortune. When the Moone is in the Wane, the Sea is moſt ſubiect to Stormes and Tempeſts: When as Siluer (whereof *Luna* is the Hierogliphe among the Metalliſts) failes, the people, who are more ſubiect to ſtormes then the Egean ſea, or the Cyclades, are alwayes in mutiny and ſedition, and contemne the Prince which is in want. And although that many hold opinion, that it were better the treaſure were diſperſt among the people, then ſhut vp in *Saturnes* Temple:[b] for as the [illegible] of the ſheepe returnes all to paſture, ſo the ſubiects wealth is alwayes at the diſpoſition of the Prince, yet there are occaſions ſo vnexpected, and not fore-ſeene, as they may be loſt for want of a little money. We will ſhew in another place, that the miſeries of the laſt troubles of France, grew by the refuſall of fiue and twenty Crownes,[c] which ſtayed a poſt from a iourney, wheron depended the ſucceſſe of a great reſolution.

A Prince doth ſooner finde in his owne Coffers then in his ſubiects purſes, that which wants. The Hiſtory hath obſerued how much *Lewis* the eleuenth was troubled to prouide the Money promiſed to the King of England, and how he imployed the credit of the chiefe men that were about him. If Paris had not relieued him in this neceſſity, he had not reaped the honor of that warre, and by conſequence the profit.

France, by the grace of God, and the Kings ſingular prouidence, is not in the apprehenſions of thoſe extreame wants, the reſt of the World cannot be without her, and ſhe may ſubſiſt without the reſt of the World;[d] ſhe ſees herſelfe in a more glorious eſtate then the laſt troubles did ſuffer her to hope for, part of her demaines are freed,[e] her debts diſcharged to friends and Allies, her forts manned, and the Frontiers aſſured, his Crowne as powerfull and renowned vpon the head of this great King, as his reigne ſurpaſſeth in power and greatneſſe, in Iuſtice, Clemency, and Felicity, that of his Predeceſſors. *Mighty Empire, which haſt ſtood firme againſt the courſe of time, which doth ruine Eſtates the beſt grounded in greatneſſe, and the moſt triumphant in glory. Theſe twelue Ages which thou*

Eſtate floriſhing of France.

[a] Hanniball *wonne the with money that kept the paſſages.* Titus Liuius *ſaith*, Inopem tantum iter ingreſſum vix penetraturum ad Alpes fuiſſe. *If hee had vndertaken ſo great a iourney poore, he would hardly haue paſt the Alpes.* Lib. 15.

[b] *The Treaſure of Rome was kept in* Saturns *Temple, for that in* Saturnes *Temple there reigned nothing but loyalty and fidelity among the Romans.* Valerius publicola *did chooſe the place as very ſure in the ſight of all the world, and by cõſequence hard to ſurprize and force.*

[c] *They that doe not aduſie princes to heape vp Treaſure, feare it ſhould bee an occaſion of an actiue or paſſiue warre: For whereas the Prince doth eaſily reſolue to warre, by the meanes which he hath to maintaine it, or the enemies attempt it againſt him vpon hope of ſo great a booty. The Emperour* Conſtans, *as ſaith* Eutropius, *ſaid, that the wealth of the Eſtate was better in many mens purſes, then in ones alone.* Contabeſcentibus extremis paulatim emoritur et ipſe venter: nec diu poſſunt conſtare principes vbi contabeſcit reſpublica. *When as the extremeſt parts languiſh, the belly doth alſo dye by degrees, neither can Princes ſtand long, when as the Common-weale doth languiſh.*

[d] *The felicity of* Trajans *Reigne made them to ſay the like at Rome, that Egipt could not liue without Rome, but Rome without Egipt.* Vbis annona tuis opibus tua cura vſque illuc redundauit & ſimul probaretur & nos Ægypto poſſe & nos Ægyptum carere non poſſe. Plin. Paneg. ad Tra.

[e] *By a generall audit of the receits in the yeare 1560. we find 11000 pounds ſterling yearly of the demaines, and by the accounts in the yeare 1572. there is not any mention made of the demaines.*

haſt paſt, hath giuen thee nothing but increaſe, the conſpiracies of the greateſt powers of Europe haue onely tried thy forces. Rich and goodly France, whom the ingratitude of thine owne children could not ſhake: If thou haſt beene ſometimes ignorant of thine owne power, thou canſt not (at this day) diſſemble what the felicity of an Eſtate is which liues in aſſured peace.

In former times there was nothing found in the Treaſury but debts. The difficulties which Kings haue had to decide Controuerſies with their owne Subiects, haue forced them to ſell their demaines, the chiefe part of the entertainment of their Maieſty. The ſinewes of this body were heretofore ſhrunke, their functions were neither liuely nor free: now that this great *Eſculapius* hath ſet together the members, and reſtored it to life, heate and motion, France may ſay that ſhee was not happy vntill the day that ſhe was vanquiſhed by his victorious Armes.[f]

[f] Lat. Pac. *making Rome to ſpeake in the panegericke of* Theodoſius, *ſaith thus*: Quando me *Nerua* tranquillus, amor generis humani *Titus*, pietate memorabilis *Antoninus* teneret, quum mœnibus *Auguſtus* ornaret, legibus *Hadrianus* imbueret, finibus *Trajanus* augeret, parum mihi videbar beata, quia non eram tua. *When as milde* Nerua, *the loue of mankinde, religious* Titus, *and memorable* Antonine *enioyed me, when as* Auguſtus *did beautifie mee with walles,* Adrian *gaue mee Lawes, &* Traian *augmented my boundes, yet did I hold my ſelfe ſcarce happy, becauſe I was not thine.*

It is the *Hercules* which hath cut off theſe *Hydras* heades, which hath deliuered France, tyed Want to mount Caucaſus; and who (after incredible toyles) hath dedicated Peace, that white Hinde *Menelea*, which hath the Head and Feete of Gold.

The beames of this Glory reflect vpon ſo many great vnderſtandings, ſo many noble reſolutions which haue followed the Iuſtice of his Hopes, and the croſſes of his Fortunes. A good Prince hath an Intereſt in the Commendation of his Seruants, hee hath a feeling of that which honours them, hee is moued with that which wrongs them; and a good Seruant cannot deſire a more glorious acknowledgement of his ſeruices, then in the heart and iudgement of his Maiſter.

Euery man knowes, and many vnderſtand the eſteeme which the king made of the Duke of Suillyes ſeruices, which are ſuch, that as all the Nations of the Earth giue the palme of Valour to this great King, in the reſtauration of this great Empire of *FRANCE*, ſo they cannot deny him the glory of great Wiſedome, and cleere Iudgement, and Prouidence, in the election which he hath made to commit vnto him the principall peeces of his Eſtate.

The pureſt eloquence hath already ſhewed her riches vpon this ſubiect by Diſcourſes which cannot bee followed but by the eyes of Admiration, and a deſire to imitate them. A great, rare, and happy Wit, Counceller to the King in his Councels, and Preſident in a Soueraigne Company, hath made the Marbles to ſpeake vpon this verity.

His Panegericke filling mens mindes with Admiration, and their eyes with Wonder, hath made knowne that one line ſufficeth to iudge of the excellency of the Hand that drew it. I haue taken this period as a gliſtering ſtone to beautifie this Diſcourſe.

Commendation of the Duke of Suilly.

This great HENRY *hath lodged his Treaſure in the Temple of your Integrities, a Temple ſhut for the prophane, a Temple whereas*

whereas onely vertue findes a place to receiue the reward of her Trauels. You haue made all Europe knowe, that there is not any place ſo fortified, either by Nature or Art, or by both together, which can long holde out againſt the thundering Artillerie which the IVPITER *of France hath committed into your handes, as to his faithfull Eagle, to carrie it whereſoeuer hee ſhall command.*

It is now that our great King may ſit in his Throne of Iuſtice, and puniſh Rebelles according to their deſerts: For although that Mens offences bee without number, hee can caſt forth as many thunderbolts as they can commit faults. The gliſtering of ſo many perfections and Armes wherewith your Store-houſes are filled, dazles the eyes of Subiects, and people bordering vpon France; the one feare them, the other are aſſured; but both the one and the other doe equally admire ſo fearefull a Power in the King, and in you ſo great Induſtrie, who knew how to prouide the meanes to make our peace ſo firme, as wee can giue it, and take it from whom wee pleaſe, whereby the Kings Maieſty is (at this day) the Arbitrator of Chriſtendome.

Valour naturall to the Kings of France.

Valour comes in order in the obſeruation of the Vertues and Vices of this Prince. It is a ſuperfluous curioſity to ſearch it among his Vertues: for although ſome men ſay, That Nature makes few men valiant, and that valour comes from good inſtitution, yet it is true that the Kings of France are all borne valiant. [g]

This vertue, which (through excellency) is ſimply called Vertue, and which containeth many other vertues, all Heroicke and Royall, Magnanimity, Wiſedome, Aſſurance, Conſtancy, and Perſeuerance to vanquiſh, breake and endure all kindes of accidents and difficulties, which returnes from Combats in the like ſort it goes, feares death no more in Armes then in his Houſe, and hath his ſeat in the Heart and Will.

This Prince had not learned the Art of Warre by diſcourſe, hee went to Horſe at the age of foureteene yeares, and continued vntill his Father had expelled the Engliſh out of his Realme. [h] Hee made proofe of his Courage at the battell of Montlehery, at the Alarme and Aſſault of Liege, and in the Warre of Artois. His Wiſedome corrected the heate of his Valour: for that which was eſteemed valour before hee was King, would haue carried the name of Raſhneſſe after he came to the Crowne.

PHILIP DE COMMINES ſaith, that (of his owne nature) hee was ſomewhat fearefull, and would not hazard any thing. But euery where, and in any great occaſion hee giues him the glory to haue carried his reſolutions beyond all kindes of accidents and dangers. Wee muſt iudge of Courage by all the dimenſions, and not onely by the height and greatneſſe, but alſo by the length and extention, not being ſufficient to bee valiant, if it continue not.

Aduerſity

[g] *Valour doth conſtantly reſiſt all the accidents which may ſhake the weakneſſe of man.* Timendorum contemptrix, quæ terribilia & ſubiugare libertatem noſtram nitentia deſpicit, prouocat, frangit. *A contemner of fearfull things, thoſe things which bee terrible, and ſeeke to ſubiugate our liberty, hee deſpiſeth, prouokes, and breakes.*

[h] *Hee that is no Souldiar but by ſeeing battels painted, is like vnto him that vnderſtands muſicke, but can not ſing.*

Aduerſity is the Touch-ſtone of mens reſolutions,[i] no man can iudge of his good fortune, nor her forces, if hee hath not tryed thoſe of miſ-fortune, and the vigor of his enemies: Shee is a learned miſtreſſe in all profeſſions, and makes that ruines, ſhip-wracks and routs produce the precepts which frame ſufficiency, and aſſure the iudgements of Architects, Pilots and Captaines.

Hee gaue Military charges to them that were capable to diſcharge them, he loued men that were reſolute to dangers, and did them good. By the Capitulation of the Caſtle of Hedin, *Flamen* of Launoy, who was gouernour, remained in the Kings ſeruice,[k] all his lands being then in the Conquerours power and dominions, the King gaue a penſion to *Raoul* of Launoy his ſonne. After the ſiege of Hedin, the King did batter *Queſnoy le Comte*, made a breach and gaue an aſſault, *Raoul* of Launoy, to begin his ſeruice by ſome notable proofe of his courage and valour, did clime vp the ruines of the Wall, through the blowes, fire, and flame, ſo couragiouſly, as the King ſeeing and admiring his courage, ſaid aloud, *Hee is too furious, hee muſt be bound.* The place being taken by aſſault, the king ſent for him, and ſaid vnto him: *Paſſion of God my friend, thou art but too furious in a fight, we muſt binde you to moderate your heate: for I will not looſe you, deſiring to make vſe of your ſeruice more then once.* And in ſaying ſo, he put a Chaine about his necke of fiue hundred Crownes, and gaue him a company of foot-men.[l] Hee was made Bailiffe of Amiens, and Lieutenant for the King at Genoa. They of his houſe haue for a long time carried a Chaine about the Scutchion of their Armes, in remembrance of this gratification.

Armes then were the delight of this Prince in his youth, wiſedome gaue him Maximes, contrary to thoſe of his courage, when hee was king, and yet in all places whither hee ſent his Armies, commanded by his Liutenants, and in thoſe where hee was himſelfe vpon the Frontier of Flanders, hee alwayes made it knowne, that his wiſedome to reſolue, and his preſence to execute, made the principall part of the happineſſe of his affaires. He had all the time of his reigne Armies on foote, and they giue him the honour to haue entertained greater and more mightie Armies then his Predeceſſors,[m] and to haue had more care of Men of Warre, Fortreſſes and Artillery. All this is ſeene in the Precedent booke, ſpeaking of his new erection of Troopes to haue alwayes the body of a great Armie ready to guard his Eſtate and perſon, and to ſuppreſſe any ſudden reuolt, holding it indiſcretion to attend neceſſity for the leuying of Souldiers. They of his time liued very licentiouſly. The complaints that were made preſently after his death,[n] to

Contempt of diſcipline in Souldiers.

[i] *Hee that hath neither enemy nor misfortune cannot make account of the force of his courage.* Miſerum te eſſe iudico, qui nunquam tuetis miſer, traxiſti ſine aduerſario vitã. Nemo ſcit, quid potueris, neq; tu quidem ipſe. Opus eſt enim ad ſui notitiam experimento. Quid quiſque poſſit, non niſi tentando didicit. *I hold thee miſerable that wert neuer wretched, and haſt drawn forth thy life without an enemy. No Man knowes what thou canſt do, no nor thou thy ſelfe. It is needfull to haue experiẽce to know ones ſelfe. No man hath learned what he can do but by tryall.*

[k] *There is no other thing to bee conſidered in the prouiſiõ of great Offices which cannot bee executed but in preſence & perſon, but experience and ſufficiency.* Tiberius *regarded the quality of the birth, ſo as it were ſeconded by proofes of vertue.* Mandabat honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiæ, illuſtras domi artes ſpectando, vt ſatis conſtaret non alios potiores fuiſſe. *He gaue honours, reſpecting the Nobility of the Anceſtors, their valour in warre, and their good deſerts at home, ſo as it might appeare there were not any more worthy.* Tacit.

[l] *The preſents and rewards of Princes are Chaines and Manacles which bind and captiuate mens affections.*

[m] *One demanded of* Ageſilaus *what parts were requiſite to make a great Captaine, hee anſwered, Courage againſt his enemies, and wiſedome and iudgement to make vſe of occaſions.*

[n] *An Eſtate ſhould haue ordinary & extraordinary forces: the ordinary is vnderſtood of Companies which are entertained in Forts, and neere vnto the Prince: the extraordinary is in Armies which are leuied, entertained and imploied in occaſions of warre.*

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the Eſtates at Tours vpon this ſubiect, were vehement; and it was particularly ſaid, *That the men at Armes, the Gentlemen of the Ban, the Franke Archers, and the Suiſſers, had done infinite harme vnto the people; that the Souldiers not contenting themſelues with the goods they found in the labourers houſes, forced them with cudgels to goe and fetch Wine, Fiſh, Spices, and other exceſſiue things from the Towne.*

King *Lewis* the eleuenth ſought to remedy theſe diſorders, and to ſettle diſcipline, to make the Souldiers more modeſt and moderate, [o] and to hold their handes free from all violence. But hee did it not effectually: for his Edicts had neither conſtancy nor execution. The Chronicle ſaith, that in the yeare 1474. being at Creil, hee made an Edict touching the Men at Armes of his Realme, by the which hee declared, *That a Launce ſhould keepe but ſixe horſes: that is to ſay, the Launce three horſes for himſelfe, his Page and Cutler, and the two Archers two horſes, and one horſe for the Groome, and that they ſhould no more haue Paniers to carry their Armes; and withal, they ſhould not lodge aboue one day in a village.* And moreouerit was proclaimed, *That no Merchant ſhould ſell vnto the ſaid Men at Armes, or lend any Silkes and Chamblets, vpon paine of looſing the money which the ſaid Souldiers might owe them by reaſon thereof: and alſo that they ſhould not ſell vnto them any woolen-cloath of aboue three ſhillings three pence an Ell.*

Edict to reforme Souldiers.

[o] *Military diſcipline conſiſts in three poynts, Continency, Modeſty, and Abſtinency. By the firſt they avoyd voluptuouſneſſe, which makes courage fainte. By the ſecond they frame thëſelues to valor, and it hath theſe three poynts: Velle, vereri, & obedire, to will, to feare, and to obey. By the third they are content to doe that which is allowed.*

The diſorder of Silkes was as great in thoſe times as it had been little knowne in precedent Ages. [p] This diſſolution was one of the cauſes of the rareneſſe of Gold and Siluer, which was no more to bee found but in Chaines of gold, and in their purſes who had had meanes to tranſport it out of the Realme to haue Silkes. The Eſtates of France complained at Tours, and it was ſaid, *That euery man was clad in Veluet and Silkes, and that there was not a Fidler, Groome of the Chamber, Barber nor Souldier but ware it, that they had Collers, or Rings of Gold on their fingers, like the Princes, and that there was no treaſon nor villany but they committed to continue this diſordered ſumptuouſneſſe of apparrell.*

[p] PHILIP *the faire made an Ordonance for the reformation of apparrel, according to the condition and difference of perſons. There was no mention made of Silkes, for that the vſe was not common, nor known in France. It allowes a Duke, Earle or Baron of ſixe hundred pounds ſterling a yeare rent, or more, to make foure ſuits of apparrell euery yeare, and no more, and as many for their wiues, and forbids Lawyers and Clarkes which are not in dignity, to make Gownes for their bodies of cloth of aboue ſixteene Soulz the Ell of Paris.*

Science. *Science.* If hee were learned by Art or by Practiſe, wee muſt looke vnto the effects of his good Conduct, with the which (like vnto *Perſeus* with *Mineruas Courtelax*) he had cut off the head of the *Meduſa* of reuolts and ſedition in his Realme. If it bee true, that in his time ſimple honeſty, [q] and ignorant vertue were degenerated into a Science, or knowledge of diſſembling, or ſubtilty, we muſt hold him for the moſt learned Prince that euer bare Scepter in his hand, or Crowne vpon his head. Hee had (ſaith *Philip de Commines*) his ſpeech at commandement, and his wit perfectly

[q] *Innocency doth commonly lodge with Ignorance and Simplicity. The troubles which haue moleſted the world, are not come from the ſimple. The learned, or they which preſumed to know all things, haue framed them.* Simplex illa & aperta virtus in obſcuram & ſolertem ſcientiam verſa eſt. *That ſimple and open vertue is turned into obſcure and cunning knowledge.*

good, without the which bookes ſerue to ſmall purpoſe. They make men learned, but not wiſe; and the difference is great to haue a full head, or a head well made, to bee ſufficient or learned, inſtructed in contemplation or in action.[r] A Princes Science is to know how to command. *Philip de Commines* ſaith, that hee was learned enough.

The Author of the Annals of Aquitane writes, *That hee had gotten more knowledge, as well Legall as Hiſtoricall, then the Kings of France were accuſtomed to haue.* And although hee were not of thoſe times, when as they met with Emperours going to the Schooles with Bookes vnder their Armes,[s] nor was not of the humour of that other Emperour, who forgat his Dinner to heare Leſſons,[t] yet that great leaſure which hee had in Dauphiné, and afterwardes in Flanders, accompanied with a deſire to learne (which is the firſt ſteppe to mount vnto knowledge) could not leaue him in the ignorance of things neceſſary to reigne well. On a time he vſed his Latine to good purpoſe: Pope *Sixtus* had ſent Cardinall *Beſſarion*,[u] a Grecian borne, to mediate a peace betwixt him and the Duke of Bourgondy. Hee had beene imployed in great Embaſſies in the time of Pope *Eugenius*, who had made him Cardinall, and of *Pius* the ſecond, the which hee ended happily. This was the cauſe of his death: for hauing begun with the Duke of Bourgondy, as holding him the moſt difficult to draw to reaſon, the King tooke it ill, and imputing it to contempt, or to ſome priuate paſſion, as hee preſented himſelfe at his Audience, hee laid his hand vpon his great beard, and ſaid vnto him: *Barbara Greca genus retinent quod habere ſolebant.*[x] An Arrow ſhotte not againſt Greece, which gaue the name of Barbarous to all other Nations, but againſt the Birth and Inciuilitie, or Indiſcretion of this Cardinall, whom hee left there, and commanded to bee ſo ſpeedily diſpatched, as he knew his ſtay there was no more pleaſing vnto him, then his Indiſcretion. The feeling hereof did ſo afflict him, as ſoone after returning to Rome, hee fell ſicke at Thurin, died at Reuenna, and confirmed that Truth, *That Embaſſages ambitiouſly affected, doe neuer ſucceed happily.*[z]

Who ſo had the Apothegmes, the goodly ſpeeches, and good words of this Prince, ſhould enrich this diſcourſe with ſo many pearles and pretious ſtones. There comes nothing from the mouth of a great King, full of wiſedome and experience, but ſhould be as curiouſly gathered vp as the crums which fall from the table of the Gods.[a]

[r] *They teach men diuers Sciences for their vſe, and to excell in them. Princes ſhould learne,* Regere Imperio populos, *To gouerne the people.*

[s] Lucius *met with* M. Antony, *who went to ſee* Cyrus *the Philoſopher, ſon to one of* Plutarkes *ſiſters, this Prince ſaid vnto him,* That it was a goodly thing to learne, euen for a man that grew old. *To whom* Lucius *all amazed, anſwered,* O *Iupiter* Romanorũ Imperator iam apetente ſenio geſtans librum qui pueris mos eſt preceptorẽ adit. *O Iupiter the Roman Emperour growing old, goes vnto his maiſter, carying a book, as ſchoolboyes vſe to doe.*

[t] Charles 4. *Emperour loued learning in ſuch ſort, as being in in the ſchooles at Pragne, ſome comming to put him in minde of dinner, hee ſaid vnto them, that hee had dined, preferring the contentment of the mind before that of the body.* Æn. Silv.

[u] *Cardinall* Beſſarion *borne at Trebiſond, and Monke of S.* Baſil *was made Cardinall at the Councell of Florence by* Eugenius *the fourth, and ſent Legat into Germany to reconcile the Emperour and the Archduke* Sigiſmond *brethren.*

[x] *The Grecians called all other nations barbarous.* Plat. in Menoxeno.

[z] *A graue and true ſentence ſpoken by* Iohn Caruagial *Cardinal of* S. Agnolo, Neſſuna legatione ambita puo hauer deſiderato fine. *No Embaſſage affected can haue a deſired end.* Ier. Garimbert.

[a] Damis *did curiouſly collect the words of* Appollonius. *Some miſliking that he buſied himſelfe with ſuch trifles, ſaid that he had done like vnto dogs, which gather vp all the crums and fragments which fall from their maiſters tables.* Damis *anſwered, You ſay well, but this is a banquet of the Gods, and all that aſſiſt at it are Gods alſo, the Officers ſuffer nothing to be loſt.*

Philip

Philip de Commines hath obſerued this: A King hath more force and vertue in his Realme where he was annointed and crowned, then he had without it.

Iudgment vpon the recõpence of ſeruices

To haue ſerued well, doth ſometimes looſe men, and great ſeruices are recompenſt with great ingratitude; but this may happen as well through the errour of them that haue done the ſeruices, who too arrogantly abuſe their good fortune, as well to their Maiſters, as their Companions, as through the miſtaking and forgetfulneſſe of the Prince.[b]

To haue good in Court, it is greater happineſſe for a Man when as the Prince whom hee ſerues doth him a great fauour for a ſmall merite; wherefore he remaines bound vnto him which ſhould not bee if hee had done ſo great ſeruices as the Prince had beene much bound vnto him. Wherfore hee doth by nature loue them more that are bound vnto him, then thoſe to whom hee is beholding.

When as pride goes before, ſhame and confuſion followes at the heeles.[c]

When hee changed his ſeruants, he excuſed this change, ſaying; That Nature was pleaſed with variety.

Hee ſaid, That if hee had entred his Reigne otherwiſe then with Feare and Seuerity, hee had ſerued for an example in the laſt Chapter of BOCACE his Booke of vnfortunate Noblemen.

And conſidering that ſecreſie was the ſoule and ſpirit of all deſignes, he ſaid ſometimes, *I would burne my Hat if it knew what were in my head.*[d]

Hee remembred to haue heard King *Charles* his father ſay, that Truth was ſicke, and hee added, I beleeue that ſince ſhee is dead, and hath not found any Confeſſor.

Mocking at one that had many bookes, and little learning, hee ſaid, that he was like vnto a crooke-backt man, who carries a great bunch at his backe, and neuer ſees it.

Seeing a Gentleman which carried a goodly Chaine of Gold, hee ſaid vnto him that did accompany him; *You muſt not touch it, for it is holy*, ſhewing that it came from the ſpoyle of Churches. It is long ſince that this ſacrilegious liberty hath beene in cuſtome, and that Princes, that would pleaſe GOD and Men, haue deteſted it; but cuſtome to euill hath more power ouer the willes of men to entertaine them in it, then it giues horror and ſhame to flye from it.[e]

He took delight in quick anſwers, which were made without ſtudy:

[b] *Princes ſeeing the merites and ſeruices to bee ſo great, as they cannot recompence them but by great aduancemets, they doe not willingly looke vpon them, who as often as they preſent themſelues vnto their eyes, ſeeme to demand recompence.* Beneficia eo vſque læta ſunt, dum videntur exolui poſſe. Vbi multum antevenere pro gratia odium redditur. *Benefits are ſo long pleaſing as they thinke they can bee payd; but when they haue exceeded, hatred is repayed for thankes.* Tacitus, lib. 4.

[c] *Pride is alwayes followed by Ruine and Shame.* Dominare tumidus ſpiritus altos gere,
Sequitur ſuperbos vltor à tergo Deus. SEN.

[d] Metellus *ſaid the like, that if hee knewe his ſhirt vnderſtood his ſecerets, hee would burne it,* Cæſar *did bite* Pompey *to the quicke, for that hee had taken away the ornaments of* Hercules *Temple.* Pecuniam omnem ex fano *Herculis* in opidum Gades intulit, *and giuing himſelfe the honour to haue cauſed it to bee reſtored,* Referri in Templum iubet.

for it there be premeditation they looſe their grace. On a time ſeing the Biſhop of Chartres mounted on a Mule with a golden bridle, hee ſaid vnto him, that in times paſt Biſhops were contented with an Aſſe and a plaine Halter. The Biſhop of Charters anſwered him, That it was at ſuch times when as Kings were Sheepheards, and kept Sheepe. The Annals of Aquitane, which report this, adde that ~~that~~ the King began to laugh: for hee loued a ſpeech which proceeded from a ſudden wit.

Hee loued Aſtrologians, and this loue proceeded (as it were) from a naturall and hereditary curioſity, hauing much troubled the mindes of his fore-fathers. *Charles* the fifth was gouerned by them, and gaue them meanes to teach Aſtrologie publickely in the Vniuerſity of Paris. Hee had for his Phyſition one called Monſieur *Garuis Cretin* a great Aſtrologian. [f] The like curioſity made *Charles* the 5th to loue and cheriſh familiarly *Michael Tourne-Roue* a Carthuſian, who was very skilfull in the practiſe of Elections: Hee made that of the day when as the King went a hunting, where as hee found the great Stagge which had a Coller of Copper about the necke, wherein theſe words were written; *Hoc Cæſar me donauit, Cæſar* gaue me this. The figure of it was ſet vp in the palace of Paris.

Credite of Aſtrologians.

Hee was alſo much bound to the aduice which *Iames* of Angiers gaue him of the bad Intention which two Auguſtine Monks had to open his skull, who were beheaded at Paris. [g] Hee alſo made great account of *Charles* of Orgemont, who foretold him that the Duke of Aniou his brother ſhould bring nothing backe from his voyage at Naples, but ſhame, want, and miſery, the which happened: for all the Knights which had followed him, returned with white ſtickes in their hands, [h] or dyed in Hoſpitals. He was alſo aduertiſed of the iſſue of the voyage which *Boucicant* made to Genoa, and of the treaſon of the Marques of Montferrat, and of Count *Franciſque*.

CHARLES the ſeuenth had Aſtrologians all his life: Hee entertained in his Court IOHN of Bregy, a Knight, who caſt the Natiuity of AME Duke of Sauoy, and of the Lady YOLAND of France his wife; and *Germaine* of Tibonuille, who fore-told the death of King *Henry* the fifth, and of *Charles* the ſixth. He receiued into Penſion, and into his houſe IOHN of Buillion, whom the Engliſh had kept priſoner at Chartres, for that hee had fore-told that which hahpened vnto them at the ſiege of Orleans.

Hee gaue entertainement alſo to SIMON of Phares, borne

[f] CHARLES *th fifth cauſed many Bookes of Aſtrology to bee Tranſlated into French, he built a Colledge for Aſtrologie and Phyſicke, and gaue them the Tithes of the Village of* Caugie, *and cauſed the foundation to bee confirmed by Pope* VRBAN *the fifth. He cauſed the Natiuity of King* Charles *the ſixtth, to bee caſt by Monſieur* Andrew *of Suilly.*

[g] *In the booke of* SIMON *of* Phares, *which is in the Kings Library, wee reade this:* IAMES *of* Angiers was in that time, who diſcouered the falſe intent which the two Auguſtines had, which did open King CHARLES his head, ſaying; They would cure him, beeing ignorant both in Phyſicke and Chyrurgery: They were ſuborned by PHILIP Duke of Bourgondy, (as was ſaid) to worke this effect. The matter beeing diſcouered, the ſaid Auguſtines were degraded, and loſt their heads, as was reaſon. [h] *Vpon this Prediction* SIMON *of Phares ſpeakes thus*: The French were forced to flye, and the Duke of Millan forgetting his Faith and Oath, did kill them that were taken, and ſuffered the Dogges to eate them, and therefore let this be an aduertiſment to the Kings of France, and to the French, neuer to truſt in a Lombards tongue.

at

borne at Orleance, whoſe booke of excellent Aſtrologians is to be ſeene in the Kings Library: [i] Maiſter *Lewis* of Langre a Spaniard, a Phyſition and Aſtrologian at Lyon, told King *Charles* of the victory he ſhould get at Fromigny, in the yeare 1450. & of the great plague which was at Lyon a yeare after, for the which hee gaue him forty pounds a yeare, penſion.

Predictions vpon the life of *Lewis* the eleuenth.

In all the chiefe actions of the life of *Lewis* the eleuenth, wee finde that *Iohn Merende* of Bourg in Breſſe, did caſt his Natiuity, and ſpeaking of his Aduentures vnto the thirtieth yeare, hee aduertiſed King *Charles* the ſeuenth of his rebellion, and how his gouernment would be wonderfull to men, [k] *Manaſſes* a Iew of Valencia continued theſe predictions vnto the battel of Montlehery: *Peter* of Saint Valerien, a Chanon of Paris, and a great Aſtrologian, was ſent in the yeare 1435. into Scotland for the marriage of the Lady *Margaret*; during his abode in Flanders, hee conſulted alwaies with Aſtrologians of future things, and theſe impoſtors, more hurtfull to a Common-wealth then Players, [l] whom his predeceſſours had chaſed away, were alwaies in his eares. Hee cauſed many iudgements to be made by *Iohn Coleman* his Aſtrologian, who taught him to vnderſtand the great Almanacke, and vpon the great Coniunction of *Saturne* and *Mars*, which was the eighth of Aprill, about ten of the clocke eighteene minutes, in the yeare 1464: He ſpake plainely of the troubles of the League, and ſo did in like manner *Peter* of Grauille, whom *Lewis* the 11. cauſed to come out of Normandy: *Conrade Hermgarter* a Germaine left the Duke of Bourgundies ſeruice for the Kings, who gaue him great entertainements. But aboue all, hee made great eſteeme of *Angelo Catho* a Neapolitan, who came into France with the Prince of Tarentum, [m] and had foretold the Duke of Bourgundy and the Duke of Guelders their miſſortunes. The King gaue him the Arch-biſhopricke of Vienna, wherein hee could not reſide for the great croſſes he receiued from them of Dauphiné, but was forced to retire himſelfe to Rome: His Chronicle doth alſo ſpeake of the death of Maiſter *Arnold* his Aſtrologian during the plague, in the yeare 1466. the which hee had foreſeene, and which vnpeopled Paris of aboue 40000. perſons.

Vanity of Iudiciary Aſtrology.

France had other kinds of men which did better deſerue the fauour and bounty of the King then theſe Deuiners. God is offended at the raſhneſſe of this ſcience which vndertakes the knowledge of future things, which is onely reſerued to his eternall Prouidence, and which in regard of man is all compoſed in with clouds and impenetrable darkeneſſe. The curious are deceiued, for they tell them things that are either true or falſe, [n] They make

[i] *This* Symon *of Phares writes of himſelfe that hee did foretell*, The great famine at Paris, and the great plague which followed vnder the raigne of *Charles* the 7. that the Lands were vntilled, and the woods, ſo full of wolues as they deuoured women and children, and that it was proclaimed that for euery Woolfe they could take they ſhould haue two ſhillings, beſides that which the Commons might giue.

[k] *This man was much eſteemed by Duke* Amedeus *the Pope, hee foretold the Schiſme of the Church, and the warre betwixt France and England.*

[l] *Sights entertaine the people and breed them vp in idleneſſe: And therefore* Phillip Auguſtus *by an Edict baniſht Players out of France*: Nihil tam moribus alienum quam in ſpectaculo deſidere. *Sen.*

[m] Iohn Spirink *did alſo foretel the Duke of Bourgundy that at if he went againſt the Suiſſes it would* compaſſed

[n] Fauorinus *ſuccede ill, the Duke anſwered, that the fury of his Sword ſhould vanquiſh the courſe of heauen. with this Dilemma mockes at Iudiciary Aſtrology:* Aut aduerſa dicunt & proſpera. Si dicunt proſpera & fallunt, miſer fies, fruſtra expectando. Si aduerſa dicunt & mentiuntur, miſer fies fruſtra timendo? *Either they tell aduerſe things or proſperous: If they fore-tell proſperous things and erre, thou art a wretch in vaine expectance? if they tell aduerſe things and lye, thou wilt be a wretch in fearing without cauſe?*

themſelues miſerable in the expectation of proſperity which neuer happens: They are miſerable alſo in the apprehenſion of aduerſities which they feare inceſſantly, & happen not but when they leaſt dreame of them, thinking they haue eſcaped them, and howſoeuer lying deceiues hope and augments feare: ° The Church which hath the eternall truth for the verticall Starre of her eſtabliſhment, which doth alwaies looke vnto the Sunne of Iuſtice and Conſtancie, not gouerning her ſelfe like vnto the Synagogue, by the inconſtancy of the Moone, hath religiouſly and iudiciouſly deteſted the practiſe of Iudiciary Aſtrology, which filles the eares with vanity and curioſity, and the conſcience with amazement.

If the curioſity had had any reflexion to the aduancement and beautifying of learning, Barbariſme had not tyranized ſo long ouer ſo many good wits: Princes cannot adde goodlier Crownes to the Palmes and Bayes of their vertues, then thoſe which good wits do dedicate vnto them as an acknowledgement of their fauours to learning. ᵖ King *Charles* the ſeuenth, father to *Lewis*, and King *Charles* the eighth his ſonne, had ſome care of the Vniuerſity of Paris: The firſt ſet downe an order for the deciſion of cauſes referred to the Court of Parliament: The laſt declared what men ſhould enioy the priuiledges of the Vniuerſitie, and how they ſhould be inrowled in the booke of Priuiledges: But wee do not finde that *Lewis* hath done any thing either with it, or againſt it. The Preſident *Thou*, whoſe Hiſtory Europe doth no leſſe admire for his eloquence and boldneſſe, then Italy did *Titus Liuius*, and Greece *Thucidides*, ſpeakes of *Iohannes Vulceus* of Groningue, and ſaith that he reformed the Vniuerſity, during the raigne of this King, and this reformation ſhewes that there was ſome diſorder. The negligence of men was not ſo much the cauſe as the violence of times, full of troubles and confuſion, which did not permit them either to teach or to learne. Theſe clouds of Ignorance were as darke in other Nations: The miſery of that age was ſo great as who ſo ſhould repreſent the potrraite of that Barbariſme, would moue the minds of men both to pitty of ſo great ignorance, and to feare that our negligence would bring vs ſoone into the like. The ſweeteneſſe of the Muſes was but bitterneſſe, their flowers all withered, and their light all confuſion; the men of thoſe times did not onely contemne learning, but they did abhorre her beauty, and ſaid that it did not agree with the grauity and ſeuerity of other Sciences. ᑫ For this cauſe the purity of the Lattine Tongue was baniſhed out of the Schooles, and they were filled with vnknowne Sophiſtries, which were ſtrange and barbarous: The Schooles were no more the Fountaine of the Muſes, but Moates full of Frogges, There were good wits, as all ages doth produce, as all Seas may breed Pearles: But as there is a neceſſity to howle with Wolues:

Barbariſme in in the time of *Lewis*.

° *Iudiciary Aſtrologyis forbidden by the reaſons which* Epiphanius *produceth againſt the Manicheans*, Baſle *in his Exameron*: Chriſoſtome *vpon Geneſis, Hom.* 5. Auguſtin *lib.* 4. *cap.* 3 *of his Confeſſions, and by the Counciles of Toledo.*

ᵖ *The glory which a Prince doth get by Armes is great, That which comes from the fauour and protection of learning is immortal.* Inter omnia quæ virtute principum ac felicitate recreantur, ſint licet fortaſſe alia magnitudine atque vtilitate potiora, nihil eſt tamẽ admirabilius hæc libertate quam fouendis honorandiſue literarum ſtudijs impartiũt. *Among all the things which are delighted with the vertue and felicity of Princ although it may be there are ſome tobe preferred in greatneſſe and profite, yet there is nothing more admirable then that liberality which is beſtowed to nouriſh & honour the ſtudy of learning.* Eumenes Rhœtor in orat. pro inſtau. ſcho.

ᑫ *Barbariſme being baniſhed the ſchooles whereas the taught good learning, it remained long among the Lawiers. King* Francis *the firſt hauing ſeene theſe words in a Decree,* debotauit & debottat: *commanded that all the Actes of iuſtice and contracts ſhould be made in Lattine.*

were

they were forced to fit themselues to the common vse, being impossible to wipe away the contumely which was done to the reading of good bookes: It was a good Verse if it fell not twice or thrice vpon the Cadence of the same Sillable: All Lyricke Poets medled with time, as careleſſe of elegancy as of reason.

The Latine tongue was harboured in some Cloisters, and thence the Prouerbe came, *Not to speake Latine before Friers:* as if they should not handle any tooles before good worke-men, nor dance before good dancers: But they that haue written of those times shew that all the eloquence was nothing but a confused babling which brought forth new words, as monsters bred of pride and ignorance: So the greatest & most famous actions were all made vpon the modell of Sermons, and they alwaies tooke some Text of Scripture which they called the Theame of the Discourse: [r] They did often adde ridiculous and foolish Etymologies, and their inuentions were about Letters and Syllables. The proofe heereof may grow of that which hath beene obserued in diuers places of this History, as of the discourse which the first President of Grenoble made to *Lewis* the 11. Of the pleading which was in the Court of Parliament before the King of Portugall: Of the Oration made at the opening of the Estates of Tours: That which was made vnto the Millannois vnder the raigne of *Lewis* the 12. is an other marke of this great simplicity: [f] In like manner the Oration made by the Rector of the Vniuersity of Paris, to Queene *Mary*, second wife to *Lewis* the 12.

When they haue searcht into the causes of this great desolation, they haue found that auarice hath contributed most; for when as they found that great wealth was not gotten by the profession of learning; that they which had consumed most in good bookes, had wasted their estates vnprofitably, and contemned their fortunes: that onely pleading got the graine and left but the straw for other professions: Men studied no more to be learned but contented themselues to be Doctors: The Law it selfe, which makes a great part of polliticke knowledge, was, in a manner, abandoned, and her excellencies dishonoured with an infinite number of ridiculous glosses and vaine questions: Wherefore Pope *Innocent* the 3. who laboured, more seriously then happely, to restore that Profession to honour, did often complaine that auarice had made the Liberall Sciences Mechanicke, and that many past impudently from the first precepts of Grammer, to the study of the Lawes, not staying neither at Phylosophy, nor any other good Art: Wherefore throughout all the East good bookes were not knowne but to some rare and eloquent spirit, and in the West the Latine tongue was growne barbarous, the Syriac vnknowne, and the Greeke so odious, as it was no ignorance in the most learned to skip a Greek word and not to reade it. [t]

[r] *In those daies they busied men's wits with vnprofitable & impertinent Etimologies: They said in Schooles that the* Scipio's *and the* Censorins *were names of dignity: That the Ethnicker came from Mount Ethna, and that the Law,* Falcidia *was so called a* falce, *for that like a Sithe it did cut off Legacies.*

[f] *The Millannois for a rebellion made against King* Lewis *the* 12. *came in Procession to demand pardon of the Cardinal of Amboise, his Maiesties Lieutenant, Mr.* Michael Ris *a Doctor of the Laws, Councellour in the great Councell and Parliament of Dijon, and in the Senate of Milan, made a great discourse vpon this occasion, the which he began in these termes.* Misertus est Dominus super Niniuem ciuitatē quod pœnitentiam egit in cinere & cilicio.

[t] *Ignorance is so shameleſſe as shee glories of that shee vnderstands not. In those times when they met with a Greeke word, they were dispenced with, if they made no stay at it, and the Reader said:* Græcum est non legitur.

The

The taking of Conſtantinople did wholly ruine learning in the Eaſt, and was the cauſe to make it reuiue in the Weſt, by the care of Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, and of great *Coſmo de Medicis*, who gathered together the ſad Relickes of this Shipwracke: They cauſed the good bookes of all the Greeke Authours to be ſought out and preſerued, and did lodge and entertaine them that were capable to make them ſpeake Lattine. This miſfortune made them to arriue in Italy as into a Port of ſafety, againſt the tempeſt of Greece, or rather as ſome precious moueable reſcued out of a great fire, they found a ſweete retreate, and an honourable reſting place in the houſe of *Medicis*.

Some time before *Emanuel Chriſolara* had beene ſent by *Iohn Paleologue*, to demand ſuccours of Chriſtian Princes againſt *Bajazeth* the firſt, who threatned Greece with the ſeruitude which it hath endured vnder the Empire of his deſcendants: Hauing done his charge he ſtaid at Venice, then at Florence and at Rome, he read ſome leſſons at Padua, paſt into Germany, and dyed during the Councell of Conſtance. *George Trapezonde*, by extraction from Trapizonde, but borne in Candy, and *Theodore Gaza* of Theſſalonica continued theſe firſt beginnings. *Coſmo de Medicis* made choice of *Iohn Argyropile*,[u] their companion to be ſchoolemaiſter to *Peter de Medicis* his ſoone, then he went to Rome, where he did publickely interpret the Greeke Hiſtories, and did ſo inſpire the loue of learning into the hearts of good ſpirits, as the Cardinals and Noblemen of Rome did not diſdaine to go and heare his Leſſons.

Out of the Schoole of *Emanuel Chriſolara* came *Gregory Typhernas*, who came to Paris, and preſenting himſelfe to the Rector, he ſaid vnto him, *That he was come to teach the Greeke, and demanded to haue the recompence allowed by the Holy Decrees:* The Rector was ſomewhat amazed at the boldneſſe of this ſtranger, and yet commended his deſire, and with the aduice of the Vniuerſity ſtaid him and gaue him the entertainement he deſired: *Ierome* of Sparta ſucceeded him.

The Shipwracke of Greece brought many other great perſonages to the roade of Italy, *Demetrius Chalcondyle*,[x] *Marcus Muſurus* a Candiot, *Iohn Laſcaris* of the Imperiall race, whom the Magnificent *Laurence de Medicis* employed to get leaue from *Bajazeth* to viſite the Libraries of Greece, from whence are come many good books, which where ſo many Lampes diſpierce the clouds of Ignorance and Barbariſme.

The Vniuerſity of Paris as fruitfull a mother of good wits as a careleſſe Nurſe to cheriſh them, is much fallen from her firſt glory: Her Schooles, which were ſometimes more famous then thoſe of Athens in Greece, are vnpeopled; the water of her Fountaines which did water all the youth of Europe is troubled; there is no Spring in the yeare for theſe goodly flowers, which are cheriſhed of ſome for the rareneſſe, of others for the ſmell, and of all for

[u] Iohn Capnio *was one of his Auditours, the firſt time he entred*, Argyropyle *aſked him of whence hee was and what he would; hee anſwered that hee was a Germain, and would remaine at Rome to learne ſomething of him in the Greek tõgue, whereof hee had already ſome knowledge:* Argyropile *commanded him to reade and to interpret a paſſage of* Thucidides, Capnio *did it after ſo elegant a manner, and with ſo cleane a pronounciation, as* Argyropile *ſighing ſaid*, Græcia noſtro exilio tranſuolauit Alpes. *Greece by our exile hath flowen ouer the Alpes.*

[x] Demetrius Chalcondyle *an Anthenian, taught publickly at Florence after* Argyropile: *Hee went away through the practiſe and iealouſy of* Angelus Politianus, *and retyred to Milan.*

for the assurance of fruites. The Northerne blasts of the last troubles, haue (in a manner) withered them, and hardly will they recouer their beauty, if the same Sunne which hath raised the Flower de Luce doth not reuiue them. *Hercules* after so many glorious labours, did not disdaine the name of *Musagete*: [y] France dare not hope that any other will finish that which *Henry* the fourth shall leaue vnperfect, he will not suffer that she which carries the glorious name of his eldest daughter, and hath purchased it by her immortall watches, and by the production of many great personages, which haue worthily serued the Church and State, shall languish any longer in hope to recouer her first dignity: There wants nothing else for the tryumph of his glory, nothing but that can make his Bayes immortall: The Muses haue neede of *Hercules* valour, and the labours of *Hercules* haue need of the recommendation of the Muses. The generous thoughts which our *Augustus* hath of this restauration, are wonderfully reuiued by the liuely and powerfull perswasions of the learned Cardinall, the miracle of our daies: But where shall we finde so many *Budeus*, *Turnebus*, *Cuias*, *Murets*, and *Scales* as is necessary to haue the effect answereable to the designe and reputation.

Iames Dauid Cardinall du Perron High Almoner of France.

Temperance: If it were not taken but for the moderation which seasons all things, that great temper which he had in prosperities, and his constancy in aduersities, had purchased him the palme of this vertue, but if they take it for the rule and restrainte of voluptuousnesse, and of other motions of the minde, it is not so apparent in his heart as in that of *Alexanders*, *Cyrus*, and *Scipioes*: The two base daughters which he had shewes that he was not contented with the lawfull intemperance of marriage: [z] Hee married the first to the Admirall of Bourbon, and the other to the Lord of Saint *Valier*: The letters which were dispatcht for the declaration of her Armes, would not be vnprofitable to insert in this place, and they were in these termes.

Temperance wherein it consists.

Lewis, *by the Grace of God, King of France, to all to whom these present Letters shall come greeting: Hauing of late treated, and accorded, the Marriage of our deere and louing Base daughter*, Mary, *with our deere and faithfull Cozen*, Aymard *of Poictiers, Lord of Saint* Valier, *Wee haue thought it expedient to appoint the Armes which it shall please vs our said daughter shall cary: wee therefore giue to vnderstand that, being assured that the said* Mary *is truely our base daughter, and desiring to honour her and her posterity, that shee may enioy the honours, dignities, and prerogatiues which belong to the Bastards of Princes, for the great loue and affection which we beare her:* [a] *Wee will, and ordaine, by these presents, that the said* Mary, *our base daughter, carry the Armes of France, and for a difference a Bend Or, beginning at the sinister Canton, as base children haue accustomed to do, for the which wee haue and do giue her power and faculty for euer: In witnesse whereof wee haue caused our Seale to be set to these Presents. Giuen at Meslay, the eleuenth of Iuly*, 1467. *and of our Raigne the sixt: By the King,*

[y] Fulvius *caused a Temple to be built in Circo Flaminio at Rome to* Hercules Musagete, *that is to say the conductor of the Muses, and* Eumonius *the Rector giues this reason*: Quia mutuis operibus & premijs iuuari ornarique deberent, Musarum quies detensione *Herculis*, & virtus *Herculis* voce Musarum. *For that they should be releeued and adorned by their mutuall workes and rewards: The quiet of the Muses by the defence of* Hercules, *and the vertue of* Hercules *by the voice of the Muses.*

[z] *After the Battell of Montlehery the King gaue his base daughter to the Bastard of Bourbon, and the assurances were made in the Towne house of Paris.*

[a] Du Tillet *saith that the Surname of France is allowed to the base daughters of Kings, if vpon the aduow there be no other Surname giuen thē, and the Armes of France with the difference of a Bende: Some haue beene aduowed by letters Pattents, and others by fact being nurst.*

the Lord of Cruſſol. Peter Doriole *& others being preſent. L. Touſtain.*

Opinion that *Charles* the 8. was ſuppoſed.

It were a great proofe of Inconſtancy, and prophane pollicy, if that were true which many haue ſaid, that King *Charles* the 8. was not ſonne to Queene *Charlot*, and that the King hauing him by a Miſtreſſe made this ſuppoſition: They that write things whereof they cannot ſpeake, which are not knowne to all men do often erre, for that they truſt to their owne conduct, and turne away their eyes from that which might giue them light in the darkeneſſe of ſuch difficulties. It is the melancholy of men of this profeſſion; preſumption and vanity [b] makes them thinke that they ſee cleere enough, and as the Citties of Greece ruined themſelues for that they would do their buſineſſe a part, they looſe by this diſvnion that which they might preſerue by conference. I haue alwaies held it an honour to learne, and a happineſſe to bee reprehended. A man ſhould hold himſelfe more bound to bee warned of a fault in his writings then of a blemiſh in his face: Vpon this ſuppoſition I went to Monſieur du Haillan, for that in the ſecond booke of the eſtate of the affaires of France he reports this opinion, and promiſeth a more ample diſcourſe in the Hiſtory of this King not yet printed: [c] He anſwered me that hee held it from them who thought they knew it well, and that he hath written many other things of like conſequence vpon the beleefe of Tradition.

Errour of learned men not to communicate.

Princes will haue their loues excuſed, for that loue doth not alter the generoſity of a great courage, *Cæſar* did ſacrifice his heart to Armes and Ladies: [d] But I finde this Prince ſometime in delights which were not ordinary, nor ſcarce knowne to the Kings of France his Predeceſſours: His Chronicle ſpeakes of Bathes prepared for him, for the Queene and Ladies. I was of opinion that he had brought that cuſtome from Flanders: when *Phillip de Commines* ſpeakes of the exceſſe and diſſolutions which peace had brought into the Low Countries, hee makes mention of Bathes. *The great and ſuperfluous expences* (ſaith he) *of men and women in apparell. The greateſt and moſt prodigall bankets that I haue knowne in any place: The Bathes, and other feaſtings with woemen, great and diſordered, and with little modeſty.*

Delights and pleaſures are not faſhioned in an inſtant [e] they haue their beginning, increaſe, and continuance: That of Bathes was the like. At Rome, in the beginning, they did waſh nothing but their Armes and legges, after labour and painefull toyle, for that they would not haue their members vncleane, and their pores ſtopt with ſweate: They did waſh the whole body at Faires,

[b] *Vanity hath much power among learned men.* Iuſtus Lipſius *hath obſerued it in his time.* O litteræ, litteræ! quam ſemper à vobis aliqua vanitas, & quam illud verum, oportere omnibus corydalis criſtã ſineſſe.

[c] *Many were of opinion that* Charles *the* 8. *was ſuppoſed, others held that hee was the Kings ſonne but not by the Queene, and that the King to quench the troubles which had beene rayſed by his brother, made this ſuppoſition, the which is more amply written in the Hiſtory of the ſaid King, and not yet printed.* Bernard *of* Girard Signior of Haillan *in his ſecond booke of the eſtate of the affaires of France.*

[d] *Wee cannot find a more perfect patterne of Ambition and Loue then* Cæſar. *As for Ambition, his life is full of it: For Loue, he had the Maidenhead of* Cleopatra, *he made loue to* Eunoë *Queene of Mauritania, to* Poſthumia *wife to* Seruius Sulpitius, *to* Lollia *of Gabinius, to* Tertulla *of Craſſus, to* Mutia *of Pompey, and to* Seruilia, *Siſter to* Cato, *and mother to* Marcus Brutus: *He changed wiues foure times.*

[e] *Beſides the Bathes of* Agripina, *of* Nero, *of* Veſpaſian, *and of* Titus, *Rome hath beene beautefied with them of* Domitius, *of* Alexander, *of* Gordian, *of* Seuerus, *of* Aurelian, *and of* Conſtans. Marcus Agrippa, *to purchaſe the peoples fauour cauſed* 170. *Bathes to be built in Rome, to the end that euery Quarter ſhould haue one,* Antonin *was the firſt that decreed they ſhould pay nothing for Bathing, for before him they gaue the fourth part of an Aſſis.*

and

and health was the end of Bathing, as a thing generally held holdſome, ſince health is growne vnto voluptuouſneſſe, and they adde vnto it vanity and needleſſe pompe. The rareſt Marbles of Affrick and Alexandria were ſought for, and the moſt induſtrious Carners and Architects were employed in theſe Bathes as for the building of Temples.

If Temperance gaue no other content vnto a Prince but the quiet enioying of health, he ſhould be wonderfull curious, [f] for there is not any thing but we ſhould do for that which is the beſt, and richeſt preſent which Nature hath giuen, and without the which life is but a languiſhing, and all other felicities troubleſome, and importune; men are miſerable, in that they know not the price of things but by the loſſe of them: They do not taſte of reſt but in labour, nor of peace but after warre, nor health but in ſickeneſſe; When they are ſicke they make vowes to health, when they are in health they do what they can to be ſicke. They ſacrifice to health and eate the meats of the ſacrifice euen vntill they burſt, ſo as drinking, eating, ſleeping, playing, watching, ſickeneſſe it ſelfe, health, and all the actions of mans life are ſo many ſteps to death: [g] And although that delay of payment be no quittance, yet life is longer or ſhorter according to the Order of theſe things.

Fruites of temperance.

Princes are not alwaies knowne in theſe eminent places, they muſt be ſeene in actions which are not ſo glorious: Let vs look vpõ *Lewis* the 11. in his priuate carriage and courſe of life: Great ſpirits haue not their heads alwaies buſied with great affaires, their thoughts deſcend often to meane things and of ſmall conſequence: Egypt worſhips her Gods cloathed in thoſe formes which are fartheſt from the Maieſty and greatneſſe which ſhe thinkes is in them. [h] *Nicias* makes men thinke that he extracts the quinteſſence of his wit for the affaires of State, whilſt that hee entertaines himſelfe with the hope and profite of his Mines: *Traian* did ſometimes ſpend whole nights in telling tales with his ſeruants. [i] When as *Lewis* the 11. was in his ſolitary aboade at Pleſſis, he tooke delight to go into the Offices, and to talke with the firſt he met. One day he went into the Kitchin whereas he found a yong Lad turning of the ſpit, he demanded his name, of whence he was, and what he did earne: This Turne-ſpit, who knew him not, told his name, that of his father, of his Village; and although hee were in the Kings ſeruice, yet he got as much as the King: *For the King* (ſaid he) *hath but his life and ſo haue I, God feeds the King, and the King feeds mee.* [k] This ready anſwer pleaſed the King, who drew this Boy out of the Kitchin to make him ſerue in his Chamber, & frõthence raiſed him to great wealth: Behold how fortune fauours euen thẽ which haue

[f] *Health is to be preferred before all things, as the richeſt preſent of nature.* Pithagoras *ſaid that men ſhould demand 3. things of God, Beauty, Riches, and a good conſtitution of minde and body.*

[g] *One demanded of* Hypocrates *a rule for his health, he anſwered him,* Cibi, potus, ſomni, Venus, omnia moderata ſint. *Let thy meate, drinke, ſleepe, and Venus ſports bee moderate.*

[h] Nicias *going frõ Councell ſhut himſelfe vp, and cauſed* Hieron *his man to ſay that hee left his owne affaires to thinke of the publicke, yet in the meane time heinformed himſelfe by a Deuine of the iſſue of his affaires, and thought of his mines of Siluer which he cauſed to bee digged.* Plut. in Nicias.

[i] *It is good a Prince ſhould be ſometime familiar with his ſeruants, but the more rare the better.* Traian *ſurpriſed them ſometime at meate, he came to their houſes without Gard, and ſpent whole nights there:* Xiphilinus: *But they do not all what* Titus *went to the Bathes and waſht himſelfe openly with the people; Affability is a goodly thing ſo as it draw not neere to contempt.*

[k] *A ſmall matter rayſeth the fortune of a man, and changeth his baſeneſſe into greatneſſe,* Mahomet Bachas *who was Vizier to three Emperours, was beholding for all his greatneſſe to a leap which he made when he was yong:* Sultan Solyman *being at a window which did looke into a Garden let fall a Letter, euery man ran downe the ſtaires to fetch it, but* Mahomet *who was a yong Lad leapt out at the window, and brought the letter vnto the Emperour.*

no knowledge of it, nor ſeeke it not. Hee added to the pleaſures of ſolitarineſſe thoſe of ruſticke Husbandry. I haue ſeene by the Accompts of the Chamber of the Treaſure, that in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and ſeuenteene, he cauſed a woman of Bethune, with two more with her, to come to Pleſſis, hauing two horſes and foure Kine, to make Butter and Cheeſe for his owne mouth, and that for the voiage, implements, and proviſion of this woman and her Family, he paid ſeuen pounds.

This popular facility did much auaile him to winne the hearts of the Pariſians, whom the pretext of the Common-weale had much ſhaken. The Signior of Haillan ſaith: *That being come to Paris hee went from ſtreet to ſtreete, and from houſe to houſe, to dine and ſup with them, talking familiarly with euery one, to make himſelfe pleaſing vnto the people, and to incenſe them againſt his enemics; That the Pariſians neuer held the better party, nor did any thing commendable, but at this time, for they were for the King, and did ſupport and releiue him.* His Chronicle obſerues, for an example of his affection to Paris, that he came in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and eleuen, with the Duke of Guienne his brother, and there made great feaſts, and kindled the Bonfire at the Greue, on Saint *Iohn Baptiſts* Eue: His moſt confident ſeruants ſate commonly at his Table, and hee made them diſcourſe of diuerſe ſubiects. He would not haue their hearts in the clouds whilſt their bodies were at the Table: [l] Hee would be entertained in his eare by them that came from other Prouinces to vnderſtand all things, and to draw out the Quinteſſence. Among the profites of Commerce the knowledge they haue of that is done among ſtrangers ſhould be eſteemed one of the chiefe, for by the going and comming of Marchants Princes are aduertiſed of many things, whereof they ſhould otherwiſe be ignorant, and they that report them do not conceiue of them after the ſame manner as they do that receiue them. Great Vnderſtandings draw profite from euery thing, and can iudge of the reſemblances of things which do nothing reſemble, the which is one of the higheſt points of humane wiſedome. It is true that the wiſe obſerue other diſcommodities which grow by commerce, to alter and degenerate mens [m] manners & courages.

Popularity of *Lewis* the 11.

The King being very familiar with men of this ſort, cauſed them to eate at his Table to diſcourſe more freely: The Kings good countenance, added to the place, and good cheere, makes them ſpeake that are moſt ſtaied: A Marchant ſeeing himſelfe often in this honour, diſdained to ſee himſelfe ſtill called Sir *Iohn*, and beſought the King to make him an Eſquire: The King gaue him letters of gentry, after which the Marchant ware a Rapier and apparell accordingly: [n] He preſented himſelfe vnto the King, thinking that by this new honour hee had beene rayſed to the Epicycle of Mars, and that hee ſhould go equall with the chiefe Noblemen in Court. The Aſſe is entertained with blowes when as

[l] *It is neceſſary that the minde taſt the neceſſary pleaſures of the body, not that he ſhould wallow in them: He muſt ſubmit his violent occupations & his laborious thoughts to the vſe of the ordinary life, and if hee bee wiſe let him vſe moderation.*

[m] *When as* Cæſar *would giue a reaſon of the Belges vallour, he ſaith*: Propterea quod à cultu & humanitate Prouinciæ longiſſimè abſunt, minimeq; ad eos mercatores ſæpe commeant, atque ea quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important. *Cæſ. l. 1. de Bell. Gall. For that the Prouinces are farre from ciuility and humanity, neither do Marchants go often vnto the to carry thoſe things that may make their minds effeminat.*

[n] *Marchandiſe is incompatible with Nobility, not for that the one propounds honour onely, & the other profite, for both may bee vnited: But for that Gentry cannot be purchaſed but by birth, and the ſeruice of the ſword, or by the dignity of Offices which make men Noble: wherfore the Emperour* Maximilian *anſwered a merchant who beſought him to make him a Gentleman:* I can make thee much richer then thou art, but it it is not in my power to make thee a Gentleman.

the

the Spaniell is cheriſhed at the Table. But hee would not vouchſafe to looke on him, and left him alwayes attending. The Merchants would gladly haue left his letters to returne vnto his firſt courſe; and not able to endure this change, hee complained vnto the King, who ſaid vnto him: *when I made you ſit at my table, I held you as the firſt of your condition, and did no wrong vnto Gentlemen to honour you for ſuch.* ° *Now that you would be a Gentleman, and that in this quality you are preceded by many, who purchaſed it by the Swords of their Anceſtors, and by their owne merits, I ſhould do them wrong in doing you the like fauour. Go Mr Gentleman.*

° *The change of condition is not alwayes honorable nor fortunate. It is better to be the head of a flye, then the tayle of a Lyon.*

Lewis II. delighted in hunting.

Of all exerciſes he was moſt earneſt at hunting; and indeed it is the moſt royall and moſt neceſſary for a Prince, to inure him to toyle, P to know the Countrey, and to entertaine, in time of peace, a goodly table of warre; but he would not haue this exerciſe common, although it doth rightly belong vnto the Nobility, when they are diſpenced withall from the ſeruice of the ſword. Hee did forbid hunting in the beginning of his reigne, and added to this defence odious puniſhments. It was a hanging matter for a Gentleman to flye idleneſſe: they puniſhed him as rigorouſly that had ſlaine a wild beaſt, as a Man: q and thereof come ſo many tales of the ſeuerity of this Prince, which haue diſhonoured his life, and which now beautifie this Hiſtory as Toads, Serpents, and Monſters are admired and pleaſing vpon Marbles and Agathes. r

P *Hunting is the true exerciſe of Princes. The Roman Emperours beeing alwayes in warre, had no pleaſures, and beſides, they were forced to hunt very farre from Rome. The Kings of Macedonia, Perſia & Parthia haue alwaies been great Hunters.*

Princes haue alwayes made choyce of a great number of ſeruants, in ſome they haue had more confidence and credit, they haue done them greater fauours, and aduanced them more then the reſt. And although theſe elections bee not alwayes grounded vpon merit, and that honours conferred vpon vnworthy men are the leſſe eſteemed, yet it were to clippe the wings of the Kings Authority to reſtraine him from this liberty. Hee made of men as an Auditor doth of Counters, placing ſome for hundreds, others for thouſands, ſome for ten, and ſome for vnits. He allowed many petty Companions in his Cabinet, who could not remember the condition of their fore-fathers without bluſhing, or diſavowing them. r But for all that he did not leaue to haue about him, and to imploy in great charges Noble-men iſſued from houſes which were then illuſtrious, both by their owne vertues, and by thoſe of their fore-fathers. Of this number was *Iohn* of *Daillon*, Lord of Lude, and *Imbert* of Baterney, Lord of Bouchages. They came in fauour with this Prince by diuers meanes, and maintained it in like maner. The Lord of Lude had been bred vp with this Prince, and the affection which begins ſo ſoone, doth not wither eaſily. *Philip de Commines* addes this reaſon, *that he knew well how to pleaſe the King.*

q *To take the exerciſe of hunting from a Gentleman, is to declare him baſe. Beſides it, he can not do any thing in time of peace, and to play the Gentleman for time that is not, is to do nothing. A Lacedemonian ſeing that the Ariopage had condemned an Athenian of Idleneſſe, intreated his friendes that were about him, to ſhewe him the man that was condemned to liue a Gentleman.*

r *It was more pardonable, ſaith* Claud Seyſſel,

The Lord of Lude.

to kill a man, then a Stagge, or a wilde Boare. r *Honor meeting with an vnworthy ſubiect, hath leſſe luſter and eſteeme. When as the people of Athens ſaw that* Yperbolus *(a decayed man, and who had nothing to looſe) was intreated equally with good men, they diſſolued the Oſtraciſme, an honorable puniſhment for thoſe whoſe vertue was ſuſpected. In like manner they tooke it ill at Rome when as* Flauius *being freed by* Appius, *was made* Edilis Curulis.

Fortune fauoured the merits of *Imbert* of Baterney. *Lewis* Dauphin of France retiring himſelfe into Dauphiné, and going from Moras to Romans, hee ſtaied in a valley vnder the Caſtle of Baterney, to take the coole aire, and demanding ſome refreſhing in the heate of the ſeaſon, and the tediouſneſſe of the way, the Lord of Baterney ſent ſome things vnto him, and came himſelfe to doe his duty; hee brought with him *Imbert* of Baterney, being then but a yong man, who carried a Hauke, with the which hee kild ſome Partridges. [t] The Dauphin tooke pleaſure in it, and commanded him to come vnto him to Romans, for that hee had a deſire to ſee that Hauke flye againe. He went, and did ſo pleaſe this Prince, as he demanded him of his father, and from that time he neuer abandoned him vntill his death. He made him great in riches, and honor, as he was in merit and vertue. *Imbert* of Baterney.

Charles of Artois, Earle of Eu, hauing remained three and twenty yeares priſoner in England, returned into France, and was much beloued of king *Lewis* the eleuenth, for that he held nothing of the ſower & arrogant humors of his predeceſſors, & he continued in the Kings ſeruice at ſuch time as the Noble-men left him to follow the Princes Armie. He reconciled the King, and the Duke of Brittanie, and ſoone after died in Iuly, in the yeare 1471. without any children: *John* of Bourgondy, Earle of Neuers his Nephew, was his heire. [u] *Charles* of Artoix.

John of Orleans, Earle of Longueville, baſe ſonne to *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, was the greateſt and moſt fortunate Captaine of his time: he alone of all the Noblemen of the league of the Common-weale, purſued the fruits which France expected of ſuch an enterpriſe. He was chiefe and Preſident of the Commiſſioners appointed for the reformation of the diſorders of the Realme, and died before he could ſee the effects of that which hee had ſo earneſtly purſued in the yeare 1470. Baſtard of Orleans.

Andrew of Laual, Lord of Loheac. *Lewis* 11. tooke from him the dignity of Marſhall of France, wherewith *Charles* 7 had honoured him, and rewarded his ſeruices. Hee reſtored it vnto him againe, when as neceſſity made him know, that none was more capable then he. For his ſake he gaue vnto his brother the Lord of Chaſtillon, the Office of great Maiſter of the Waters and Forreſts. *Andrew* of Laual.

Alaine of Albret purchaſed the ſurname of *Great* by the ſame greatneſſe of courage which gaue the ſword of France to *Charles* of *Albret* his grand-father. [x] He left the league of the Common-weale as ſoone as he was entred into it, and remained more conſtant in the aſſurance of his word, then the Duke of Nemours: his great corage found nothing impoſſible: He was often wont to ſay, that he which had force in hand, needed no other thing. He married *Francis* Vicounteſſe of Limoges, and was father to *Iohn* of *Albret*, King of Nauarre. *Alaine* of Albret.

Iohn of Bueil, Earle of Sancerre, preſently after the coronation of *Lewis* the eleuenth, was diſmiſt from his Office of Admirall, [y] for *Iohn* of Bueil.

no

[t] *The pleaſure of hunting, which had beene the raiſing of his fortune, was (in a manner) the cauſe of his ruine.* Claude *of* Seyell *ſaith, that going to Amboiſe to ſee the Dauphin, & hauing had him to field to ſee his Haukes flye, the king was much incenſed, thinking that he had a deſigne to make him ſee the world, and to know it.*

[u] *The accord betwixt the king and the Duke of Brittany was made at Saumur in the yeare 1469. and the difficulties were decided by the dexterity of the Earles of Eu and Dunois.*

[x] Charles *of Albret was not onely entreated, but in a manner forced by the King to receiue the ſword of Conſtable. The king put it into his hand, the Dukes of Orleans, Burgondy, Berry, & Bourbo girt him with it, a little before hee had caried* Charles *the ſeuenth vnto the font.*

[y] *The Earle of Sancerre was Admirall of France by the death of* Pregent *of Coitiuy, Son-in-Law to* Giles *of Raix, Marſhall of France.*

no other reaſon, but for that he had ſerued *Charles* the ſeuenth. He returned to Court and fauour, but yet he ſtood alwayes vpon his guard againſt that Lyon which ſtrooke with his paw when they leaſt thought of him.

Iohn of Andie.

Iohn of Andie, Baſtard of Armagnac, Lord of Leſcun, and Earle of Cominges, was Admiral of France after the diſmiſſion of the Earle of Sancerre, and then Marſhall of France, he chaſed the Brittains from Baieux, and was Gouernour of Dauphiné.

Ioachim of Rouvault.

Ioachim of Rouvault,[z] Lord of Gamaſches ſerued him worthily and couragiouſly in the warre of the Common-weale, and was the cauſe of the preſeruation of Paris. He alwayes coaſted the Duke of Bourgondy his Army to keepe it from ſcattering to the hurt of the Kings ſubiects; and that it ſhould not make profit by the ſurpriſe of any places in paſſing. Then he caſt himſelfe into Paris, and by his preſence fortified the courages which an accident (rather feared then foreſeene) had much deiected. The King gaue him the gouernment with a troope of two hundred maiſters, and made him Marſhall of France.

[z] *Hee had done great ſeruices vnder King* Charles *the ſeuenth, and had beene preſent at the battell of Fromigny, and at the ſiege of Bourdeaux. The King gaue him the place of Marſhall of France: and* Monſtrelet *ſaith, that* Charles *the ſeuenth made him Conſtable of Bourdeaux, and that hee tooke his oath in the hands of the Chancellors of France.*

Tanneguy of Chaſtel

Tanneguy of Chaſtel,[a] one of the Architects of the league, found in the end, that there was no better lodging then at the kings armes. His fortune was ruined in Brittany, and raiſed in France. Hee did negotiate the enter-view of the King and Duke of Bourgondy at Peronne, he was imployed in the Truce of nine yeares, 1475. and was aduanced to the gouernment of Rouſillon.

[a] *He was one of the Commiſſioners whom the King appointed for the accuſation and Impriſonment of the Cardinall of Balue.*

Lord of Nantoillet

The Lord of Nantoillet had for a time the authority ouer all the Armies of France, he wanted nothing but the name of *Conſtable*, for he did exerciſe the Functions, the King hauing made him his Lieutenant Generall throughout his whole Realme, and afterwards Lord Steward of France. He was ſo fauoured, as the King gaue him often the moity of his bed. This fauour laſted not long. The Chronicle of the Kings library ſaith, *That the King could not pardon any one of whom he had ſuſpition*. He cauſed his head to be cut off in the yeare 1468. and that the Hangman hauing cut off but a peece at the firſt blow, hee left him force and courage enough to ſtand vp, and to proteſt before heauen and the people, that hee died an Innocent. After that *Philip de Commines* had ſaid, that he had ſerued the king well in Paris in the warre of the Common-weale, he addes: *In the end he was ill rewarded, more by the purſuite of his enemies then by the Kings fault, but neither the one nor the other can well excuſe themſelues.*

Death of the Lord of Nantoillet.

Anthony of Chabannes.

Anthony of Chabannes, Earle of Dammartin, brother to *Iames* of Chabannes, Lord Steward of France, ſaw the ſhip of his fortune caſt vpon the ſhelfe in the beginning of this Princes Reigne. His good fortune drew him out of the Baſtille to go to the warre of the Common-weale, in the end whereof hee was made Lord Steward of France, hee had the chiefe charge of the Kings Army in Guyenne, and was then much fauoured by this Prince, with whom hee was ſo inward, as when hee meant to marry his ſecond Daughter

to

to the Duke of Orleans, hee discouered his secret affections vnto him by a letter which hee did write vnto him vpon that subiect, wherof the Chronicle (in written hand of King *Lewis* the twelfth) makes mention: hee sent him word, that whatsoeuer they said, hee was resolued to giue his daughter to the yong Duke of Orleans, but no man should bee troubled to nourish the Children that should bee borne of that marriage.

Peter of Tremouille, Lord of Croan, saw not his life to end with the fauours and honors hee had had of this Prince. His Predecessors, *Guy* of Tremouille and *Iohn* of Tremouille, Lord of Ionuelle, were made great in following the Duke of Bourgondies party. The eldest of this house married *Ioane* Countesse of Boulleyn and *Comminges*, Widow to *Iohn* of France, Duke of Berry.[b] King *Charles* 7 supported *George* of Tremouille, Lord of Craon, in the quarrell which he had with the Earle of Richmont for the Lands of Thouars and Benon. *Peter* of Tremouille defeated the troopes of the Prince of Orange before Gy in the Franch-County, but hauing beene repulst from the siege of Dole, hee was disgraced by *Lewis* the eleuenth, who loued the seruices better then the seruants. Hee was (saith *Philip de Commines*) a very fat man, who being reasonably well content and rich, retired himselfe to his house.

Peter of Tremouille.

Charles of Ambois did long feele the disgrace of *Peter* of Chaumont his father, who retired himselfe in the begining of the reigne of *Lewis* with the Duke of Berry.[c] He was afterwards imployed in great affaires, and continued vnto the end. His brother was Bishop of Alby, and then Cardinall, and the greateſt fauourite of *Lewis* the twelfth, who called him Mr. *George*. *Philip de Commines* calleth *Charles* of Ambois, a most Valiant, Wise, and Diligent Man.

Charles of Ambois.

Peter of Rohan, Lord of Gy, did gouerne his fortune happily amidst the waues and stormes of this Princes reigne, who made him Marshall of France. He was one of the foure which vndertooke the gouernment of affaires during the Kings infirmity, and disability.[d] Hee continued this great Authority vnder the reigne of *Charles* the eighth: for the respect whereof, the Lady *Anne* of France, Regent to the King, and Wife to *Peter* of Bourbon, offended that the Duke of Orleans attempted vpon her Authority, would haue taken him prisoner by the Marshall of Gye. The Duke of Orleans retired himselfe, and hee that was chosen to stay him, was the Instrument of his returne, and made his peace with the Regent.

Peter of Rohan.

Iohn of Chalons Prince of Orange, left the Duke of Bourgondy to serue *Lewis* the eleuenth: then hee left *Lewis* to serue *Mary*, daughter to the Duke of Bourgondy. This first discontentment against his first maister, grew, for that disputing the succession of *Iohn* of Chalons, Prince of Orange his Grand-father,[e] against *Lewis* and *Hughe* his vncles, the Duke of Bourgondy being President in his Councell when as the cause was pleaded, made a Decree against him.

Iohn of Chalons.

This

[b] K. Charles the seuenth hauing the Lord of Tremouille, gaue the gouernment of Guienne to the Lord of Albret, & tooke it fro the Earle of Richmont in the yeare 1430.

[c] The House of Chaumont vpon Loire, belonging vnto Peter of Chaumont, was razed by the Kings Commandement in the yeare 1465.

[d] When as Lewis the eleuenth fell sicke at Conon, the Bishop of Alby, the Lord of Chaumont, the Marshall of Gye, and the Lord of Lude, gouerned the Estate for 10 or 12 dayes.

[e] Iohn of Chalons, sonne to Lewis & Margaret of Vienne, was married to Mary of Baussac, heire of the principalitie of Orange, by whom hee had Lewis, surnamed the Good. Lewis first married Ioane of Montbeliart, by whom hee had William: and then hee married Elenor of Armagnac, by whom hee had Lewis and Hugh. William was married to Katherine of Brittaine, of whom Iohn of Chalons was borne, of whom wee now make mention.

This deſpight drew him to the Kings ſeruice, who promiſed to reſtore him to his lands, and to giue him the gouernment of Bourgondy; but when as he ſaw that he had but the name, and that the Lord of Tremouille had the command of all the forces, he returned to the ſeruice of the Princeſſe of Bourgondy; and cauſed the whole Countrey to reuolt from the King. He troubled him much, and let him ſee, that a great Prince hath no ſmall enemies; that a Hornet is able to put a Bull into fury.

John of Eſtoteuille. *John of Eſtoteuille*, Lord of Torcy, gouerned his fortune amidſt ſo many rockes and ſhelues vnto a ſafe port. The King made him maiſter of the Croſſ-bowes, and committed vnto him the guard of the Cardinal of Balue in the Caſtell of Montbaſon. It was he that came and aduertiſed the King of the danger in ſuffering ſuch numbers of Engliſh to enter into Amiens, during the Treaty of Piquigny.

Philip of Creuecœur. *Philip of Creuecœur*, Lord of Eſquerdes, or Cordes, Marſhall of France. He had great honors, and deſerued great aduancements in the houſe of Bourgondy: he receiued the Coller of the golden Fleece, when as D. *Charles* did firſt ſolemnize the order at Bruges after his fathers death, [f] when as the Earle of Neuers was degraded more vnworthily then the reſpect of his houſe made him to hope from a Prince his neere kinſman. The Duke gaue him the gouernment of the County of Boullein, & afterwards of Artois. He came vnto the Kings ſeruice, and deliuered into his hands the Towne of Arras after the Dukes death. It ſeemes that *Philip de Comines* would not ſpeake all he knew, nor call a *Fig*, *a Fig*. He knits it vp ſhortly in theſe words: *He could not miſtake in ſubmitting himſelfe vnto the Kings ſeruice, vnleſſe he had taken a new oath to the yong Lady of Bourgondy, and in yeilding vp that vnto her which he held of hers. They haue and will ſpeake diuerſly hereof, wherfore I referre my ſelfe to the truth.*

Triſtan the Hermit. *Triſtan the Hermit* whom the rigor of this reigne hath made ſo famous for the ſuddenneſſe of his executions, was high Prouoſt. King *Charles* the 7th made him knight after the ſiege of *Fronſac* [g] The name of *Triſtan* was giuen to Princes borne in ſome great affliction. *Iohn* of France was ſurnamed *Triſtan*, for that he was borne at *Damiete* during the Impriſonment of S. *Lewis* his father. In like manner, the ſonne to the King of Sicile was called *Triſtan*, for that he was borne in Catelonia, when his father was a priſoner.

Philip de Commines. *Philip de Commines* Lord of Argenton. Some haue thought that he freed the king from the danger of *Peronne*; and that it was the cauſe of the great fauour which he had purchaſed with the king. I haue wondred why the king did not adde the honour of the Order of S. *Michael*, and how it was poſſible that it ſhould faile a man who wanted not any thing, and who was ſo much fauoured, and ſo familiar with the king, as he did often lye in his Bed, eate at his Table, ſit at his Councell, and carried his moſt ſecret deſignes to Princes

[f] *Charles Duke of Bourgondy renewed the order of the golden Fleece the 7.8.9. of May, in the Towne of Bruges, where as he caused the place to bee all coloured with blacke, where as the Earle of Neuers Armes should haue stood with these words*, which are read in a *Chronicle*, M. S. *of the Kings library*: The Earle of Neuers being adiourned by the letters patents of the moſt high, and moſt excellent Prince, my redoubted Lord the Duke, ſealed with the ſeale of his order of the Fleece, to appeare in perſon at this preſent Chapter, there to anſwere vpõ his *honor* touching witchcraft and abuſing the holy Sacraments of the Church, hath not appeared, but hath made default. And to auoid the ſute and depriuation of the order to bee made againſt him, he hath ſent back the Coller, and therefore hath been, and is declared out of the order, and not called in the offring.

[g] *After the ſiege of Fronſac there were made knights*, Iohn *of Bourbon, Earle of Vendoſme*, Iohn *of Bourbon his baſe brother, the Vicount of Turaine, the Lords of Rochefaucaut, Commery, Rochechouart Grignaux, de Barres, Mommorin, Bordeilles, Fontenelles and Eſtauge.*

and Comon-weals. It may be that this humor was not destined but for such as were issued from greater houses then the Lord of *Argẽton*;[h] or that the king, contenting himselfe to haue attained the effect for the which he had instituted this order, did not care to augment the number of knights, nor to fill vp the places that were void. The reigne of *Charles* the 8th was full of rigor and crosses. *Commines* was a prisoner fiue yeares, and tortured with those new punishments which they called *the Kings snares*; so true it is that the fauours of fathers, discontinued by their children, cannot be termed Inheritances; and that there is a long time required to end *Penelopes* web happily. This made him oftentimes to say that which is yet to be read in the *Augustines* Chappell at Paris: *That the world is nothing but abuse.*

[h] *The author of the life of* Philip de Commines *speaks after this manner*: He was a Fleming borne, of a great house, and allied to the chiefe of the Countrey. Moreouer, he had great possessions.

We see in the same place, and in many others of that Chappell, his deuice in Latine, drawne from the truth it selfe; *He that labours not, let him not eate.*[i] I will not seeke any illustration of this goodly Deuice, but in that excellent discourse of the conduct of mans life, which seemes vnto me a *Sabee*, whereas the eternall Prime doth produce all sorts of sweet odours and perfumes. *An idle Man is a charge to the publick, and slothfull hands do not liue but by the labour of others.*[k] *Slothfull men are the feast which eate vp the gaine of the precedent day. Idlenesse is a great instrument of the Diuell; To what end saith he to idle men, serues so much labour? Thou art not assured of thy life. Hast thou need of money? Borrow. Art thou disappointed? Pay not. Hast thou no more credit? Steale. There is no Image more deceitfull then that of rest and Idlenesse; it seemes full of ease, and yet there is no condition more subiect to languishing, waywardnesse and disquietnesse.*[l] *Pouerty, which growes by sloth, is shamefull; and losse, which happens through negligence, is blameable. Labour is the subiect of glory; he that reiects it contemnes vertue. Rest should haue some intermission, but not be idle. A man without action is a body without motion, an vnprofitable interest to the earth. Idlenesse is pardonable in beasts, who haue no foresight; but not in Man, who knowes the commandement of God, who sees that the earth doth not produce any thing of it selfe, and doth enioy the Armes which are giuen him to imploy in labour. Let vs conclude then this point by these words; He that will eate, let him labour.*

[i] *It was the Deuice of* Philip de Commines, Qui non laborat, non manducet.

Discourse of the cõtempt of the world, & conduct of life.

[k] *Slothfull men steale away the fruits of them that labour*, Vt fuci cum ipsi non mellificent tamen apum insidianter laborum. Ita sunt qui nihil ipsi excudunt, sed aliorum vigilijs elaborata furto sibi vindicãt. *As Drones who make no hony themselues seeke to entrap the Bees labors, so are they that do nothing but steale away the labours of other mens watches.* Plin. l. 11. c. 9.

[l] *The Lesson to labour is generall, the commandment is for all, but not for all times. Mans life is diuided betwixt rest and labour. The Angels ascend and descend without intermission, the Heauens turne all wayes, the Sea is neuer without flowing and waues, the Sunne continues alwayes his course. All vertues are actiue; euen God is the act of powers, and the power of actions.*

He was beloued of his maister for that he was good for any thing, making him to play what part he pleased vpon the Theater of his affaires; and sometimes the kings part, when as in most solemne assemblies he would haue him attired like himselfe, a Captaine, an Embassador, a Secretary, and a Chronicler. He performed this last charge so well, as his History is compared to the best of the Antient, and much vnlike vnto those at the end whereof the Reader may say (like vnto those that tell dreames,) *And then I awaked.*[m]

[m] *They that had told their dreames to the interpreters of dreames, when they had told all, they added,* And then I awaked. *This hath been turned vnto a prouerbe against tellers of tales, and sellers of smoke.* Postea experrectus sum.

If

If there be any thing wanting, it comes but from his diſcretion which did not allow him to ſpeake all he knew of a Prince to whom he was ſo much bound.[n] But when I ſee that he imployes him in diſpatches, that he vſeth the firſt Secretary he meetes for letters of commandement, that meaning to draw the Conſtable of St Poll vnto him, for the need he had of his head, he imployed him that came firſt to his hand; that ſurpriſing a Clarke, he made the Dice and Pen come forth of his penner together. I wonder that this Prince, who ordained ſo many Secretaries, did not make choice of ſome one to diſpatch a buſineſſe which might not be committed to many. Hee would haue the Colledge of Secretaries to conſiſt of ſix ſcore, he declared himſelfe the head, and reſerued vnto himſelfe the firſt purſe, and gaue them the Title of the *True, ordinary and domeſticke Officers to the King, and of the houſe and Crowne of France*; and in this quality he freed them from all duties, charges, and ſubſedies, from lodging of Souldiers, and Courtiers, and from the payment of that which is giuen to Regiſters in Soueraigne Courts for the expedition of letters, and proceedings,[o] and would that their cauſes, as well plaintiue as defendants, ſhould be iudged by the maiſters of Requeſt. The great number of thoſe that haue beene aduanced to theſe Offices, haue much blemiſhed their eſteeme and dignity. *Charles* the ninth added forty to the ancient number of ſix ſcore. *Henry* the third foureteene, and *Henry* the fourth ſix and twenty.

This Prince was ſo iealous, as he would not haue truſted *Mercury*, and he thought he had as many enemies as he had ſeruants; hee had rather ſee matters faile by diſtruſt, then by too much credulity, referring the reſt to Fortune, which makes things ſucceede otherwiſe then man propounds.[p] He would reſolue all, do all, and finiſh all: he was at the concluſion of all the Treaties he made with *Edward* King of England, the Dukes of Berry, Brittanie, and Bourgondy. The continuance of *Monſtrelet*, which is in the Kings library, ſaith, that he did write letters with his owne hand to the Duke of Bourgondy, when as the two Armies were in field, the one at Amiens, the other at Beauuais. Diſtruſt gaue him content in theſe Irregular figures, and entertained him in that humour to ſee all, and to doe all, euen vnto the extremity, when as hee made ſhew to reade the letters that were ſent him, and muttered ſomething betwixt his teeth, notwithſtanding that his ſickeneſſe had made him vnable either to read or ſpeake. He that will obſerue the expeditions of his reigne, ſhall finde almoſt as many Secretaries as affaires. He knew well, that this proceeding was not good, and therefore in his inſtructions to the King his ſonne, he gaue him for Secretary, one called *Parrent*. King *Lewis* the twelfth vnderſtood it better, and found himſelfe well ſerued of the great confidence hee put in *Florimond* of *Robertet*. Wiſe Princes haue alwayes had choyce men, to whom they haue committed their ſecrets in the conduct and expedition of affaires of Eſtate, which cannot bee

[n] *It is ingratitude in a ſeruant to diſcouer his Maiſters faults. The Lord of Tinteville ſaid (on a time) to a great perſonage, that none could write the life of his deceaſed Maiſter ſo well as hee. To whom he anſwered wiſely and ingeniouſly*, I am too much bound vnto him to ſpeake the truth

[o] *The Priuiledges for Secretaries were granted by* Lewis *the eleuenth in Nouemb.* 1481. *at Pleſſis by Tours.* Charles *the 8th declared them Noble, and would haue this Office to bee an increaſe of Nobility, and of generoſity to them that were Noble.*

[p] *Great affaires end otherwiſe then they imagine that manage them:* ſemper fortuna maximas quaſquæ hominum actiones inopinate fine amat terminare. *Fortune doth alwayes loue to end the great actions of men by an vnexpected end.* Polyb hiſt. lib. 2.

treated [q] happily, but by them that know them by the beginning, progresse, and effects, by whose eyes and hands they see them, and then dispatch them. Sufficiency, Experience, and Fidelity, serue as a lampe in obscurest deliberations, and giues them *Ariadnes* threed, which keepes them from meeting the *Minotaure* of repentance [r] in the intricate Labyrinth of Enterprises. For this reason in some well-gouerned Common-weales, where as Offices are annuall, that of Secretary is perpetual; to the end that one alone may be Register of that which is concluded by many, and an inviolable Guardian of Secrecie; which is the soule of affaires, and returnes neuer when it is once let slip. [s]

Secretarie of state a necessary Office.

France cannot passe without the Counsell and experience of him: who for that hee hath serued foure Kings in that great and painfull charge, is held by all Europe for the Oracle of all resolutions and reuolutions. There is not any thing vnpenetrable to his Iudgement: who entring into the most confused and obscure affaires, doth presently draw light. But it is time to go to land. This name so famous and renowned throughout all the world, is the rocke of Adamant which drawes my ship. Hee is the Port of this Nauigation which I finish: he shall be the North-starre of another which I continue. The profit of them shall redound to all in generall; the thankes vnto the King; and the glory vnto God.

[q] *Wee doe often finde the word* Notary *of the secrets in Lawyers books.* Procopius *saith, that the writers of secretes were called* à Secretis. Honor qui tunc dabatur egregijs, dum ad Imperiale Secretum tales constet eligi, in quibus reprehensionis vitium nequeat inueniri. *An honour which was then giuen to worthy men, whilst such are chosen to the secrets of the Empire, in whō no vice of reprehension can bee found.*

[r] *The Venetians (whose state is Aristocraticall) change all their Officers yearely, and some euery two moneths; but the Duke, the Procurators of S^t. Marke, the Chancellor, and the Secretaries of State, are for life: the which the Florentines ordained in their state when as* Lewis *the twelfth freed them from the tyranny of Count* Valentine.

[s] *Secretie is the soule of affaires, and as* Valerius *calles it,* Optimum ac tutissimum rerum agendarum vinculum: *The best and safest bond for the managing of Affaires.*

The end of the History of Lewis the eleuenth.

MAXIMES, IVDGE-MENTS, AND POLITIKE OBSERVATIONS OF PHILIP DE COMMINES Lord of Argenton.

UPON

THE LIFE, REIGNE, AND ACTIONS OF LEWIS the eleuenth, and of diuers other occurrents.

PLACES AND TITLES
of these Maximes.

Prouidence of God.
Princes.
Realme.
Salique Law.
Enter-view of Princes.
Gouernments.
Councels and Councellors.
Court of Parliament.
Embaſſadors.
Treaſure of the Prince.
Aſſemblies and Treaties.
People and Subiects.
Townes and Nations.
Houſe of Bourgondy.
Enemies.
Enterpriſes.
Battels.
Warre.
Souldiars.
Sieges.
Victories.
Changes.
Proſperity and Aduerſity.
Diuiſion.
Tumults and Sedition.
Liberalitie.
Iuſtice and Iniuſtice.
Puniſhment.
Iniury and Offence.
Wiſedome.
Secreſie.
Experience.
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Careleſneſſe and Vigilance.
Pride and Preſumption.
Treacherie.
Dutie.
A good Man.

Prouidence

POLLITICKE MAXIMES.

PROVIDENCE OF GOD.

ALL well conſidered our onely hope ſhould be in God, for in him conſiſts all our aſſurance and all goodneſſe, which cannot bee found in any other thing in the world: But wee do, euery man, acknowledge it too late, and after that wee haue neede: yet it is better late then neuer. *In the end of the firſt booke.*

Grace and good fortune comes from God. *Lib. 1. chap. 4.*

In all enterpriſes wee muſt haue God of our ſide. *Lib. 2. chap. 1.*

God hath alwaies loued the Realme of France. *Lib. 4. chap. 1.*

To ſee things which God hath done in our time, and doth daily, ſhewes that he will leaue nothing vnpuniſhed; And we may ſee plainely that theſe ſtrange workes come from him, for they are ſupernaturall, and his ſodaine puniſhments, and eſpecially againſt them that vſe violence and cruelty: Who, commonly, are no meane men, but great Perſonages, either by their owne abſolute power, or by the Princes authority. *Lib. 4. chap. 13.*

When God meanes to change the fortune of a Prince, from good to bad, or from proſperity to aduerſity, he prepares him enemies of no force, ſuffers his ſeruants to become treacherous, and makes him diſtruſtfull and iealous of them that are moſt faithfull. *Example of* Charles *Duke of Bourgundy.* *Lib. 1. chap. 3.*

God giues the Prince as he meanes to puniſh Subiects, and to Princes Subiects, and diſpoſeth of their affections towards them as he meanes to raiſe or ruine them. *Lib. 5. chap. 9.*

Lib. 5. chap. 18. God hath not created any thing in this world, neither men nor beasts, but he hath made him some thing opposite, to keepe him in feare and humility.

God speakes no more to men, neither are there any more Prophets which speake by his Mouth; For his Faith is ample and plaine to all those that will heare and vnderstand it, and no man shall be excused for Ignorance, at least they which haue had hope and time to liue, and which haue had their naturall wits.

Lib. 5. chap. 18. The misery of Princes is when as God is so offended as hee will no longer endure them, but will shew his force and his Diuine Iustice, and then he doth first of all take away their iudgements, which is a great wound for them it toucheth: He troubles their house, and suffers them to fall into diuision and murmure. The Prince fals into such indignation with God, as hee flies the counsell and company of wise men, and doth aduance Vp-starts, Indiscreete, Vnreasonable, Violent men, and Flatterers, who applaud whatsoeuer he saith: If he must impose a peny, they say two: If he threatens a man, they say he must be hanged; and in like manner of all other things: And that aboue all things they cause themselues to be feared; They carry themselues insolently and proudly, hoping that they shall be respected and feared by this meanes, as if Authority were their inheritance.

Princes.

In the Prologue. THere is good and euill in Princes, for they are men like vnto vs, and to God onely belongs perfection.

In the same. When as the vertues and good conditions of a Prince are greater then his vices, he deserues great praise; for that such personages are more inclined to all voluntary things then other men, as well for their breeding and little correction they haue had in their youth, as for that comming to the age of man, most men seeke to please them, and to applaude their humours.

Lib. 1. chap. 4. No man should attribute any thing to himselfe, especially a great Prince, but should acknowledge that grace and good fortune comes from God.

Lib. 1. chap. 5. Great Princes are much more suspitious then other men, for the doubts and aduertisements which are giuen them, and oftentimes through flattery without any necessity.

Princes and they which rule in great Estates should bee very carefull not to suffer any faction to grow in their house, from whence this fire flies throughout the whole Prouince: But this happens not but by a Diuine instigation. For when as Princes or Realmes, haue beene in great prosperity and wealth, and haue forgotten from whence that Grace did come, God hath raysed them enemies of whom no man doubted.

Lib. 1. chap. 9. God doth a great fauour vnto a Prince when he makes him capable to winne men, and it is a signe that he is not infected with the odious

odious vice and ſinne of pride, which doth purchaſe hatred with all men.

Princes and great men that are proud and will not giue eare to any, are ſooner deceiued then they that are affable and heare willingly. *Lib. 1. chap. 10.*

God ſhewes a great grace vnto a Prince, when he knowes good and euill, eſpecially when the good precedes. *Lib. 1. chap. 10.*

Aduerſity teacheth a Prince to be humble, and to pleaſe them that he hath need of. *Example of* Lewis *the eleuenth, expelled from his fathers Court in his youth.* *Lib. 1. chap. 10.*

A Prince which hath entred into league with others, ſhould diſſemble many things which may breed diuiſion betwixt them: and as he is the ſtronger, ſo ſhould hee bee more wiſe. It is the counſell which the Lord of Contay gaue vnto the Earle of Charolois, who was diſcontented; for that the Dukes of Berry and Britany held councels in his chamber and preſence, diuided from him. *Lib. 2. chap. 12.*

I neuer knew Prince that could diſcerne the difference of men, vntill he had beene in neceſſity and in action. *Lib. 2. chap. 12.*

Princes haue ſometimes need of them whom they haue contemned: *Example in King* Lewis *the* 11. Edward *the* 4. *and the Earle of Charolois.* *Lib. 1. chap. 12.*

Princes impart their authority to them that are moſt pleaſing vnto them, both for the age which is moſt ſortable vnto them, and for that they are well conceipted of them: or ſometimes they are led by them who know and gouerne their delights. But they which haue vnderſtanding, returne ſoone when there is neede.

I haue ſeene Princes of two humours, ſome ſo ſubtile and ſuſpitious, as no man knew how to liue with them; and they did ſtill imagine that they were deceiued: the others truſted enough in their ſeruants: but they were ſo groſſe and vnderſtood their owne affaires ſo ill, as they could not diſcerne who did them good or euill. And theſe are preſently changed from loue to hatred, and from hatred to loue. And although that of both ſorts there are few found good, nor any great aſſurance in them: yet I had rather liue vnder the wiſe then vnder fooles. For there is more meanes to purchaſe their fauour: but with the ignorant there is no meanes to be found, for that there is nothing done with them, but with their ſeruants whom many change often. Yet euery man muſt ſerue and obey them in the Countries where they are, for they are bound vnto it. *Lib. 1. chap. 16.*

To pardon, to be bountifull, or to do any other grace, are things belonging to the Office of Princes.

A Prince, or any other man, that was neuer deceiued, cannot be but a beaſt, nor haue knowledge of good and euill, nor what difference there is.

Men are not all of one complexion, and therefore the Prince for the lewdneſſe of one or two, ſhould not forbeare to doe pleaſure to many. For one alone, being the leaſt of all thoſe to whom *Lib. 1.*

he

he hath done any good, may happily do ſuch ſeruice as it ſhall recompence all the villanies which the others haue committed. *Example in the Hoſtages of Leige, whom the Duke ſent away free, contrary to the opinion of the Lord of Contay, who concluded to put them to death, ſome made the Liegeois grow obſtinate in their reuolt, others were the cauſe of their reduction, and the inſtruments of the wiſe negotiation of the Lord of Imbercourt to draw in the Duke.*

One of the greateſt ſignes of Iudgement that a Prince can ſhew is to draw vnto him vertuous and honeſt men: For he ſhall be held in the opinion of the world to be of the diſpoſition and humour of ſuch as are neereſt about him.

God hath not ordained the Office of a King or Prince to be executed by beaſts; nor by them who through vaine glory ſay, I am no Clarke, I refer all to my Councell, I truſt in them, and ſo giuing no other reaſon, go to their ſports: If they had beene well bred in their youth, they would haue other reaſons, and bee deſirous that both their perſons and vertues ſhould be eſteemed.

God cannot ſend a greater plague vnto a Country, then a Prince of weake vnderſtanding: for from thence proceed all other miſeries; Firſt growes diuiſion and warre, for he alwaies puts his authority into an other mans hand, the which hee ſhould be more carefull to keepe then any other thing, and from this diuiſion proceeds famine and peſtilence, and all other miſchiefes which depend of warre.

Princes hate them mortally that ſeeke to keepe them in feare.

Wiſe Princes do alwaies in their Deſignes ſeeke ſome honeſt and apparant coulour: *Example in* Lewis *the eleuenth, who cauſed the Eſtates to aſſemble at Tours, and there made his complaints againſt the Duke of Bourgundy, to haue a Subiect to breake the peace.*

Of thoſe bad Princes, and others, hauing authority in this world, which vſe it cruelly and tyrannouſly, not any, or few, haue remained vnpuniſhed: but it is not alwaies at a prefixed day, nor at ſuch time as they that ſuffer deſire it.

It is no blemiſh to Princes to be ſuſpitious, and to haue an eye ouer thoſe that go and come: But it is a great ſhame to be deceiued, and to looſe by his owne errour; yet ſuſpitions ſhould haue a meane; for to exceed is not good.

A weake and couetous Prince endureth any thing: *Example in the Emperour* Fredericke, *whom the Authour cals a man of a faint courage, and who endured all for feare of ſpending.*

Lib. 1. chap. 1. There is no reaſon a Prince ſhould thruſt himſelfe into danger for a ſmall matter, if God hath not abandoned him: *Example in the Duke of Bourgundy, who vndertooke a war againſt the Suiſſes for a very light occaſion, and without hope of profite, conſidering the nature of the people and country.*

In the Prologue. Princes giue not honours and riches at their pleaſures that demand them.

Princes

Princes feare not to thruſt a ſeruant into danger if neede require. *The Duke of Bourgundy had commanded* Phillip de Commines *to go to Calice, which he durſt not do without ſome aſſurance: The Duke commanded him to paſſe on, although he ſhould be taken, promiſing to redeeme him.* *Lib.* 3.

A Prince gouerned by other counſell then his owne doth in the end returne to that which is moſt neceſſary for him : *Example in the Duke of Brittany.* *Lib.* 3. *chap.* 10.

A Prince ſhould alwaies feare to put any thing in hazard. *Lib.* 6. *chap.* 2.

There is not any man, of what dignity ſoeuer, but doth ſuffer, either in ſecret or in publicke, and eſpecially they that cauſe others to ſuffer. *Lib.* 6. *chap.* 12.

The condition of two Princes, which haue beene enemies, is therin miſerable; that they cannot by any meanes aſſure themſelues one of an other. *Example in* Lewis *the eleuenth, and* Charles *Duke of Bourgundy: When they were together at Leige, there were not fifteene daies paſt that they had made and ſworne a Peace, and yet* (ſaith the Authour) *there was no truſt.*

The old age of a Prince makes him patiently to endure many things : *Example of the Duke of Bourgundy, who diſſembled that which the Earle of Charolois his ſonne did againſt the houſe of Croüy.* *Lib.* 1. *chap.* 2.

Realmes.

God hath had, and hath ſtill the Realme of France in ſpeciall recommendation. *Lib.* 4. *chap.* 7.

The diuiſions of Realmes are made in heauen : *Example of the houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke, and of the crownes of Caſtile and Portugall.* *Lib.* 1. *chap.* 3. *Lib.* 5. *chap.* 18.

God hath giuen to the Realme of France the Engliſh for Oppoſites, and to the Engliſh Scots, to Spaine Portugall, to Caſtile Grenado, to the Princes of Italy the Common-weales, to the houſe of Arragon the houſe of Anjou, to the *Sforca's* that of Orleans; to that of Auſtria that of Bauaria and the Swiſſes, to that of Cleues that of Guelders, to that of Guelders that of Iuliers: The Princes and Townes of Germany are oppoſite one to another, and it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſo throughout the world. *Lib.* 3. *chap.* 18.

Salique Law.

With wiſe and great deliberation, and the Aſſiſtance of Gods Grace, that Law and Ordonance was made in France, that the daughters ſhould not inherite the ſaid Realme, leaſt it ſhould fall into the hands of a forraigne Prince, for hardly ſhould the French euer haue endured it, neither do other Nations: And in the end there is no great command whereas the Country doth not remaine to them which are of the Country; the which *Lib.* 6. *chap.* 3.

you

you may ſee by France, whereas the Engliſh haue had a great command within theſe forty yeares, and at this day they haue nothing left but Callice, and two little Caſtles, which coſt them much to keepe: The reſt they loſt with much more eaſe then they conquered it, and they loſt more in one day then they got in a yeare. The like wee may ſay by the Realme of Naples, the Iland of Sicile, and other Prouinces, which the French haue enioyed many yeares, and at this day there is no ſigne nor memory of them, but by the Sepulchres of their Predeceſſours. And although they ſhould endure a Prince of a Forraine Nation, with a ſmall traine well ordered, and himſelfe wiſe, yet ſhall they hardly do it with a great number of men: For if he brings with him a great Traine, or he ſends for them vpon any occaſion of warre, they fall out with the Subiects, as well for the diuerſity of their humours and conditions, as for their violence, and for that they are not beloued in the Countrey as they that are borne there, and eſpecially when they ſeeke Offices, Dignities, and the Managing of great affaires in the Country. A Prince that will ſhew himſelfe wiſe, when he goes into a Forraine Country, muſt reconcile all his Townes, and if he bee endowed with this vertue (which onely comes from the grace of God) it is to be eſteemed before any other thing: And if hee liue the age of a man hee ſhall haue great troubles and affaires, and all they that ſhall liue vnder him, eſpecially when hee ſhall come to age, and his men, and ſeruants, ſhall haue no hope of amendement.

Enterueiw of Princes.

Lib. 1. chap. 14. IT is almoſt impoſſible that two great Lords ſhall euer agree, for the reports and ſuſpitions which they haue howerly, & two great Princes which deſire to loue ſhould neuer ſee one another, but ſend honeſt and wiſe men one vnto another, who ſhould enterraine their friendſhips, and reconcile their errours.

It is a great folly for two great Princes (which are in a manner equall in power) to ſee one an other, vnleſſe they were very yong, at which time they haue no diſcourſe but of pleaſures: But when as they beginne once to enuy one another, although there were no danger for there perſons (which is in a manner impoſſible) yet there hatred and enuy encreaſeth. Wherefore it were better they ſhould reconcile their quarrels by good and wiſe ſeruants.

Gouernements.

A Prince ſhould haue a great care what Gouernours he ſets in a Country newly conquered, or ioyned to his State, to the end the Subiects may be better intreated then they were before.

Example

Example of Archambaud of Hagembach, who was the cauſe that the Duke of Bourgundy *loſt the Country which he held by engagement from the Arch-Duke* Sigiſmond.

Councelles and Countellors.

A Wiſe man cannot be bought at too deare a rate. It is very neceſſary for a Prince to haue many of his Councell, for the wiſeſt erre very often, eyther for that they are paſſionate in matters whereof they ſpeake, through loue or hatred, or for that they will oppoſe one againſt another, and ſometimes by the indiſpoſition of perſons, for we muſt not hold that for Councell which is done after dinner. Some may ſay, that men committing any of theſe errors, ſhould not be of a Princes Councell. To whom I muſt anſwer that we are all men, and he that would finde out ſuch as ſhould alwaies ſpeake wiſely, and ſhould neuer be moued nor diſtempered, muſt ſeeke them in Heauen, for they are not to bee found among men: but to recompence it, there may bee ſome one in Councell which ſhall ſpeake very wiſely, and much better then he hath beene accuſtomed, and ſo one helpes another. *Lib. 2. Chap. 1.*

There are few things ſecret in this world, eſpeciallie of thoſe that are ſpoken. *Lib. 2. Chap. 8.*

About great Perſonages there are alwaies ſome Clarkes or Lawyers, as it is fit and reaſonable when they are good, but verie dangerous when they are bad, they haue ſtill the Law in their mouthes, or ſome Hiſtorie, and the beſt that can be found, may be turned to a bad ſenſe: but wiſe men that haue read will neuer be abuſed, neither will any be ſo hardy as to tell them lyes.

It is a great treaſor for a Prince to haue a wiſe man in his company, and very ſafe to giue him credite, and that he may haue libertie to ſpeake the truth.

Court of Parliament.

IT is the cuſtome of France to publiſh all Accords in the Court of Parliament, elſe they ſhould be of no force, yet the King may alwaies doe much. *Lib. 2. Cha. 14.*

Ambaſſadours.

WHen as Ambaſſadours returne from Treaties and Negotiations, they muſt be heard alone, or in little company, to the end that if their diſcourſe be to terrifie, they ſhould giue ſuch words as they ought to them that are inquiſitiue, for euery man deſires to heare newes of them that come from ſuch Treaties, and many will ſay: *Such a one will not conceale any thing from me.* But yet they will, if they be as I ſay, and that they know they haue wiſe Maiſters. *Lib. 1. Chap. 9.*

It is not verie ſafe to haue many goings and commings of Ambaſſadors: for many times they treat of things that are preiudiciall, *Lib. 3. Chap. 8.*

yet it is neceſſary both to ſend and receiue it.

Lib. 3. Chap. 8. Ambaſſadours which come from true friends, and where there is no cauſe of Ielouſie, ſhould be well entertained, and may ſee the Prince often, according to the qualitie of the Princes perſon, for if he be not wiſe nor honeſt, the leſſe he is ſeene the better. If Ambaſſadors come from Princes, which are not friends, they ſhould be receiued and intreated honourably, they muſt appoint truſty and wiſe men to accompanie them, and diſpatch them preſently, for it is a bad thing to keepe an enemy with him.

Lib. 3. Chap. 8. Although warre were begunne, yet ſhould they not breake off any Treaties or Ouertures that are made of Peace, (for they know not when they ſhall haue neede of it) but intertaine them all, and heare all Meſſengers, doing the ſaid things, and keeping good gard, what men ſhould goe vnto them, and who ſhould bee ſent both by day and night, but as ſecretly as might be. And for one meſſage or Ambaſſador which they ſhould ſend me, I would ſend them two: And although they were weary, ſaying, that I ſhould not ſend any more, yet would I ſend when as I ſhould haue meanes and opportunitie. For you cannot ſend a better Spy, which ſhould haue ſo good meanes to ſee and vnderſtand. And if they be two or three, it is impoſſible to keepe ſo good gard ouer them, but the one or the other will haue ſome ſpeech, or learne ſome thing from ſome of them: I meane holding honeſt tearmes, as they doe to Ambaſſadors. And it is likely that a wiſe Prince will alwaies endeuor to haue ſome friends with his aduerſe party, and preuent it as hee can: for in ſuch affaires they cannot doe as they would; Some will ſay that your enemy will grow more proud. I reſpect it not; for I ſhall know more of his newes, and in the end ſhall reape both the profit and honour. And although that others may doe the like with me, yet will I not forbeare to ſend: And to this end will heare all practiſes, and not breake any, but ſtill find new matter. Moreouer, ſome are not alwaies ſo iudicious as others, nor haue ſo great experience in theſe affaires, neither haue they ſo great need. And in this caſe the wiſeſt gaine alwaies.

Treaſure of the Prince.

Lib. 5. Cha. 18. KIng *Charles* 7. did neuer raiſe aboue one hundred and fourſcore thouſand pounds ſterling a yeare. And King *Lewis* his Sonne did raiſe at the houre of his death, foure hundred, threeſcore and ten thouſand pounds ſtarling, beſides Artillerie and ſuch other like things: and without doubt it was a great pitty to ſee the pouerty of the people. But our good Maiſter had one good thing in him, that is, he laid vp nothing in his Treaſure. He took all, and ſpent all, and made great buildings for the fortification and defence of the towns and places of his Realme, more then any of the Kinges which had beene before him.

Aſſemblies,

Aſſemblies, Conferences, and Treaties.

THe Aſſemblies and Conferences which are made from party to partie are very dangerous, eſpeciallie for him that is in danger to fal. Moſt men haue naturally a deſire to raiſe or ſaue themſelues, the which drawes them eaſily to the ſtronger. Some are ſo good and ſo conſtant, as they haue none of theſe reſpects, but there are few of them. And this danger is cheefly, when as they haue a Prince which ſeekes to winne new. *Example of the conference which was made at the Mercers grange, which was ſince called the Market, for that both parties did debauch one anothers men.* Lib. 1. Chap. 9.

Treaties of peace ſhould be managed by the moſt faithfull Seruants of Princes, and men of middle age, leaſt their weakneſſe cauſe them to make ſome diſhoneſt bargain, or to amaze their Maiſter at their return more then is needfull; & they ſhould be rather imployed that haue receiued moſt fauours from him: But eſpecially wiſe men, for no man euer made his profit of a foole, and theſe treaties ſhould be rather handled a farre of then neere. Lib. 1, Chap. 9.

There was neuer ſo good a marriage but ſome dined ill. *Example in the Treatie of Conflans where as ſome did what they would, & others got not any thing.* Lib. 1. Chap. 4.

There are ſome good people which haue this glorie to think that they will end matters whereas they vnderſtand not any thing, for ſometimes their Maiſters diſcouer not vnto them their moſt ſecret intents. In the company of ſuch, who, moſt commonly, goe but for ſhew, and many times at their owne charge, there goes alwaies ſome meane man which doth negotiate apart. Lib. 1. Chap. 16

Princes ſhould haue a wiſe care to whom they commit their affaires, and ſo ſhould they alſo haue that are imploied for them, and deale in ſuch buſineſſe. He that could excuſe himſelfe and not meddle (vnleſſe he ſaw that they themſelues vnderſtood it well, and had an affection vnto the matter) ſhould be very wiſe. Lib. 1. Cha. 16.

It is an honor for a Prince to feare that which is to be feared, and to foreſee it.

A Prince if he hath age ſhould be verie warie not to make this excuſe, *I did not thinke ſuch a thing would haue happened*, for it is not allowable.

Princes feare not to thruſt their Seruants into danger when they haue neede.

In Treaties Princes muſt imploy men that are pleaſing, and ſuch as will paſſe ouer all things, and all wordes, to attaine vnto the end of their Maiſters deſſeignes.

Allyances.

BEtwixt the Kinges of France and the Emperors, there are great oathes and confederacies not to attempt one againſt another.

For this reaſon Lewis *put Cambray into a Neuters hand, and deliuered* Queſnoy le Conte *and* Bohain.

People and Subiects.

A Long peace and the Princes bountie, make the Subiects happy and rich. *Example in the Eſtates of the howſe of Bourgondy, which he calls the land of promiſe, for that they were in peace ſince the treaty of Arras, and paid but ſmall taxes.*

Lib. 1. Chap. 2. In the beginning of a warre the people in townes hearken who ſhall be the ſtronger. *Example of the townes of Picardy when as the Earle of Charrolois Army entred.*

Lib. 1. Chap. 2. A multitude is not to bee regarded, if it be not guided by ſome head whom they may reſpect and feare; yet there are times when as their fury is to be feared. If the people be not guided they are ſoon broken and diſordered. *Example in them of Liege.*

Lib. 2. Chap. 8. He muſt not repreſent him ſelfe weake that will comfort a multitude. *Example of* Lewis *the eleuenth who came with a great troope to Paris, being beſieged by the Princes of the League.*

Lib. 2. Chap. 1. When as a multitude hath eſcaped a danger they grow inſolent. *Example of them of Liege. It was in the Duke of Bourgondies power to cut the Liegeois in peeces, who were ſcattered and broken, and the time limited to giue hoſtages, paſt. The Councell of the Conſtable of St. Pol hindred it, and yet with in an hower after they ſaid, he durſt not fight with him.* +ſ e m.

Townes, Nations.

Lib. 1. Chap. 9. AMong the Bourgondians they were moſt honored that went downe with the Archers.

Lib. 1. Chap. 8. Paris is a Citty, all conſidered, enuironed with the beſt and moſt fruitfull Contry, and it is almoſt incredible what ritches come thither.

Lib. 1. Cha. 13. The Normans haue alwaies thought it fit and do yet, that ſo great a Duchy ſhould haue a Duke. And to ſpeake truth it is of great eſteeme, and there is much money leuied. I haue ſeen foureſcore and fifteene thouſand pounds ſtarling raiſed in one yeare. Some ſay more.

Lib. 1. Chap 16. The Brittons are wiſe when the danger is paſt.

Lib. 2. Chap. 1. It is not credible the hatred which the townes of Dinan and Bouines had one againſt another, and yet they did moſt commonly marry their children together, for they were farre from all other good Townes.

Lib. 2. Chap. 2. They of Gand loue their Princes ſonne well, but not their Prince.

Lib. 2. Chap. 2. To ſpeake truth, next vnto the Liegeois, there are none more inconſtant then they of Gand. They haue one thing reaſonably good in them with their bad inclinations, for they did neuer touch their

Princes

Princes perſon, and the cheefe Bourgeſſes are very honeſt men, and much diſcontented with the peoples folly.

The Sauoyards and Bourgondians did alwaies loue one another. *Lib.6. Chap. 5*

The Nobility of Dauphine and Sauoy were the cheefe in the chaſe at Montleherry. *Lib.1. Chap.3.*

The Kings of France and Caſtile are the moſt allied Princes in Chriſtendome: for they are allied from King to King, from realme to realme, and from man to man, and bound by great curſes to obſerue them well. *Lib.2. Chap.8.*

The Scottiſhmen carried themſelues valiantly before Liege, they did not ſtirre from the King their maiſters feet, but ſhot aboundance of arrowes; with the which they hurt more Bourgondians then Liegeois. *Lib.2.Chap.12*

The manner of England is, when they haue wonne a battell, not to kill any, eſpecially of the people (for they know that euery man ſeekes to pleaſe them being the ſtronger) and they put none to ranſome. But yet King *Edward* told me, that in all the Battells which he had won, he preſently went to horſe; and cryed that they ſhould ſaue the people and kill the Nobility, ſo as few or none eſcaped. *Lib.1,Chap.5.*

It is a ſpeciall grace in the Realme of England in their Ciuill warres; aboue all other Realmes, that the people are not ruined, the Country burnt, nor their buildings beaten downe; but all the wrack falls vpon the ſoldiars, and eſpecially vppon the nobility againſt whom they are very enuious. For there is nothing perfect in this world. *Lib.5.Chap.18*

Of all the people in the world they of England are moſt inclined to Battells. *Lib.3.Chap.7.*

The Germans are ſo great and mighty as it is almoſt incredible. *Lib. 4. Chap.1.*

In England: they are long in their conſultations to make a warre: for the King cannot vndertake any ſuch buſines before he hath called a Parliament, which is as our three eſtates; and it is iuſt and holy, & their Kings are ſtronger and better ſerued, when as they do ſo vppon ſuch occaſiõs. For the Iſſue moſt commonly is not ſhort. When the Parliament is aſſembled, he declares his Intention, and demands aid of his ſubiects: If it be to paſſe into France, or into Scotland, or for ſome ſuch like Charge, they do willingly grant it, eſpecially to goe into France. And it is a practiſe of the Kings of England (when they will get money) to make ſhew to goe into Scotland or into France, and to raiſe armies: leuying great ſtore of money, they pay their troupes for three monthes; then they diſſolue their armies, and ſo returne home hauing receiued money for a yeare. *Lib.4.Chap.1.*

The Suiſſes haue beene ſo greedy of money (whereof they had little knowledge before, eſpecially of gold) as they haue been ready to grow into diuiſiõs: otherwiſe no man could hurt them, their Contry is ſo rough and poore, and they good ſoldiers, wherefore few wil attempt againſt them. *Lib.6. Chap. 4.*

Lib.1. Chap.6. The firſt Suiſſes that were ſeene in this Realme, and who haue giuen credit to them that haue come after them, were at the Siege of Paris, in the war of the common-weale, whereas they behaued themſelues moſt valiantly, and in all other places where they were imploied.

Lib.4.Chap. 5. The Engliſh are in a manner vnprofitable in the wars of France. If the Duke of Bourgundy would haue made vſe of them, it had bin needfull that for a ſeaſon hee ſhould haue accompanied them, to help, to direct and gouerne their Armie, according to the manner of our warres. For there are none more ignorant nor more vntoward when they firſt paſſe: But in a ſhort ſpace they become good Souldiers, wiſe and valiant.

Lib.6.Chap.2. There is but one high Chamberlaine in England: and for that there is but one, it is a great office.

Lib.1.Chap.3. The Engliſh are the beſt Archers in the world.

Lib.6.Cha.11. The Engliſh are ſuſpicious.

Lib.3.Chap.8. The Engliſh haue a common ſaying, whereof they haue ſometime told me treating with them: That in battails which they haue had with the French, they haue alwaies, or moſt commonly won: But in all treaties with them they haue euer loſt. And in my opinion I haue knowne men in this Realme, as worthy to manage a great Treatie, as any other in the World, and eſpecially of the breeding of our King.

Lib.6.Chap 5. The Florentines did euery three months change their Lords who had al the gouernment of the Cittie.

Lib.4.Chap.9. The Engliſh are not ſo ſubtile in Treaties and Accordes, as the French: and whatſoeuer is ſaied they goe groſſely to worke, but they muſt haue patience and not debate matters cholerickly.

Lib.6.Chap.5. The Italians take not Townes beſieged ſo ſpeedily as the French. They know not ſo well how to force places and to defend them: but to hold the fielde, and to ſettle a good order for their victuals, and all other thinges neceſſary to hold the field, they vnderſtand it better then we do.

Lib.5.Chap.2. I doe not thinke that I lie, to ſay that I beleeue, that ſince the firſt battaile of *Granſon*, vnto the death of the King our Maiſter, the ſaid Townes, and priuate men of the Suiſſes, haue gotten of our King a Million of Florins of the Rhin, of the Townes I meane but foure, Berne, Lucerne, Friburge, Zurich, and their Cantons, which haue their Mountaines. Suiſſes is one, yet it is but a Village. I haue ſeene one of this village, being an Ambaſſadour with others, in a very meane habit, who notwithſtanding gaue his aduice with the reſt. Soleuure and Ondreual are called the other Cantons.

Lib.6.Chap.2. The Engliſh, as well Nobility, Commons, as Clergie, are inclined to warre againſt this Realme, as well vnder colour of their quarrels which they pretend, as for the hope of gaine; for that God hath ſuffered their Predeceſſours to win many great battels within this Realme, and to haue a long poſſeſſion, both in Normandy and in Guyenne, which they had held three hundred and fiftie yeares,

when

when as King *Charles* the ſeuenth won it firſt, as I haue ſaid elſewhere, at what time they carried great ſpoiles and riches into England, as well of Princes and Noblemen of France, which had been their Priſoners, and in great numbers, as of Townes and places which they had taken in the ſaid Realme, and hope ſtill to doe the like. But hardly ſhould ſuch an aduenture haue happened in the time of the King our Maiſter: for he would neuer haue hazarded his Realme, by putting himſelfe, and all his Nobilitie, on foot to fight with them, as they did at Agincourt, but would haue proceeded more wiſely if it had come to that point.

The Earledome of Flanders is a ſmal matter, without the Country of Artois; which lies betwixt France and them, and is as it were a curbe vnto them. *Lib. 6. Chap. 7.*

Offices and Eſtates are more deſired in Paris then in any other place of the World, for they that haue them make of them what they can, and not what they ought: There are Offices without fees, which are ſold for aboue eight hundred Crowns, and others which haue very ſmall entertainment, are ſold for more then their wages amount vnto in fifteene yeares. Wherefore ſeldome doe any diſappoint themſelues. And the Court of Parliament maintaines this Article. It is reaſon, for it concernes them all. Among Counſellors there are alſo ſome good and worthy men, and in like manner there are ſome ill conditioned: So is it in all Eſtates. *Lib. 1. Chap. 6.*

Houſe of Bourgundie, her greatneſſe and fall.

AFter a long felicitie and great riches, and three great Princes good and wiſe going before this, who had continued ſixeſcore yeares ormore, and liued well and vertuouſly; God gaue this duke *Charles*, who continually held his Subiects in great warres, toyle, and expence, and in a manner in Winter as much as in Sommer, ſo as many rich men were ſlain or ruined by impriſonment in theſe warres. The great loſſes began before Nuz, and were continued by three or foure battels, euen vnto his death, ſo as in this laſt battell all the force of his Country was conſumed, and his men either ſlaine or taken priſoners, who might and would haue defended the State and honour of his houſe. And ſo (as I haue ſaid) it ſeemes that this loſſe hath beene equall to the time that they were in felicitie: for (as I haue ſaid to haue ſeene it great, rich and honoured) ſo I may ſay to haue ſeene it all in his Subiects; for I thinke that I haue ſeene and knowne the beſt part of Europe, yet haue I not knowne any State or Country, ſo much for ſo much, nor of larger limits, that did ſo much abound in riches, moueables, and buildings, nor in prodigalitie, expence, feaſting, and good cheare, as I haue ſeene during the time I was there. And if it ſeeme to any one (who was not there in thoſe times) that I ſpeake too much, others that were then preſent, will happily ſay that I ſpeake but little. *Lib. 2. Chap. 9.*

It is God which made this great and ſumptuous building to fall ſuddenly; that powerfull houſe which hath fed and maintained ſo many good men, and hath been ſo much honored both far off and neere, by ſo many trophees and victories, as not any Neighbour in thoſe times hath receiued the like. And this felicity & grace of God continued an hundred and twentie yeares, when as all their Neighbours did ſuffer (as France, England and Spaine) and they haue all come thither to require aide; as you haue ſeene by experience of the King our Maiſter, who in his youth, and during the life of King *Charles* the ſeuenth his Father, liued ſixe yeares there, in the time of the good Duke *Philip*, who receiued him louingly. From England I haue ſeene King *Edwards* two Brethren there, the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Gloceſter; who afterwards called himſelfe King *Richard*, and of King *Henries* partie (who was of the houſe of Lancaſter) I haue ſeene in a manner all that race there. I haue ſeen this houſe honoured from all parts, and then ſuddenly fall, and to be the moſt deſolate and ruinous houſe both in Princes & Subiects of all her Neighbours.

Enemies.

Lib. 4. Chap. 8. THere is not any thing which a Prince ſhould not doe to ſend an Enemie out of his Realme; but he muſt not yeelde to giue him any land: by the example of king *Lewis* the eleuenth, to haue *Edward* the fourth repaſſe the Sea: who ſaid that hee would hazard all, rather then giue him any places.

Enterpriſes.

Lib. 2. Cha. 10. VVE muſt be ſlow and fearefull in Enterpriſes, & purſue them in ſuch ſort, as we may be ſure to be the ſtronger. Such was *Lewis* the eleuenth.

Lib. 2. Chap. 1. In all Enterpriſes we muſt relie cheefely vpon God.

Battailes.

Lib. 1. Chap. 3. THe cheefeſt things in battailes are Archers; ſo as there be thouſands (for beeing in a ſmall number they are not of any force) and that they be ill mounted, to the end that they bee not greeued to looſe their horſes; or that they haue not any at all. And it is better for this kind of armes, in a day of battaile, to haue thoſe that neuer ſaw any thing, then others that haue had much practiſe. The Engliſh hold this opinion, who are the flower of all the Archers of the world.

Lib. 1. Chap. 3. Battailes are in the hand of God, who diſpoſeth of victories at his pleaſure.

Matters ſucceed not in the field, as they are concluded in a Chamber. *Example of the battaile of Montlehery, where the Earle of Charolois*

Charolois did quite contrarie to that which had been reſolued.

It is dangerous for any one to hazard his eſtate vpon a battell, if he may auoide it. For although the number be ſmall that he looſe, yet the hearts of his men are danted, and the change more then can be imagined, as well in feare of their enemies, as in contempt of of their Maſter and of their truſtie ſeruants, and they fall into mutinies and practiſes, demanding more boldly then they were wont, and they grow angry if they be refuſed. One Crowne before would haue ſatisfied them better thenthree wil now. And if he that hath loſt be wiſe, he will not at ſuch a time hazard any thing with them that haue fled : But onely ſtand vpon his gard, and ſeeke out ſomething eaſie to vanquiſh, whereas they may be Maſters to put freſh courage into them, and take away feare. Howſoeuer, a loſt Battell hath alwaies a great traine, and bad for the looſer : True it is that Conquerors ſhould ſeeke it to ſhorten their worke, eſpecially they that haue good footmen, and better then their neighbours, as wee may ſay at this day the Engliſh or Suiſſes. I ſpeake not this to contemne other Nations, but thoſe haue had great victories, and their men are not to hold the field long without imploiment, as the French or Italians can doe, who are wiſer, or more eaſie to leade. Contrariwiſe he that gaines growes into greater reputation and eſteeme with his men then before. His obedience encreaſeth among his ſubiects. In this eſtimation they grant him whatſoeuer he demands, and his men grow more couragious and hardie : Alſo the ſaid Princes do ſometimes grow ſo glorious and proud, as they miſcarry afterwards, and hereof I ſpeak vpon knowledge : But ſuch grace comes onely from God. *Lib. 2. Chap. 2.*

Euery one ſhould be fearefull to hazard a battell that is not forced : But if there be no remedie, before he come to it, he muſt caſt all the doubts that can be thought on. For commonly they that doe things fearefully make prouiſion for all euents, and gaine oftener then they that proceed with pride : yet when God will haue a hand in it nothing can preuaile. *Lib. 2. chap. 4.*

Euery man ſhould doe what he may, and what he ought in a day of Battell, and acknowledge that it is one of the accompliſhments of the worke of God, begun ſometimes vpon ſmall occaſions, and giuing victorie ſometimes to the one, and ſometimes to the other. And this is ſo great a miſterie, as Realmes and great Siegnories are ſometimes ruined, and others increaſe and begin to raigne. *Lib. 2 Chap. 3.*

Warre.

IT is an eaſie matter to begin Warre betwixt two great Princes, but hard to pacifie it, by reaſon of the accidents which happen : For many exploits are done of either ſide to anoy his enemy, which on the ſudden cannot be recalled.

It

It is a great folly in a Prince to ſubmit himſelfe to the power of an other, eſpecially when they are in warre.

Lib.2. Cha. 10 It is a great ſhow of pride or folly for any one to hold himſelfe too ſtrong, and yet Captaines doe it ſometimes to be held valiant, or for that they doe not well vnderſtand the buſines which they haue in hand.

Among other things that are fit to make conqueſt, if there bee not a great iudgement all the reſt is of no force, and I thinke that it muſt come from the grace of God.

He that hath the profit of the Warre hath the honor.

Lib.5.Chap.28 There muſt bee no haſt nor precipitation when they vndertake, and begin a warre: And I tell you that Kings and Princes are much the ſtronger when they vndertake it with the conſents of the ſubiects, and are more feared of their enemies. When it is a defenſiue warre this cloud is ſeene comming a farre off, eſpecially if it be from ſtrangers, and therein good ſubiects ſhould not complaine nor refuſe any thing, and the accident cannot be ſo ſudden but they may call ſome men, ſuch as ſhall bee named. It is not done without cauſe, and therein they vſe no fixion, nor entertaine a pettie warre at pleaſure, and without cauſe, to haue occaſion to leuy money.

The greateſt miſeries come commonly from the ſtronger: For the weaker ſeeke nothing but patience.

Souldiours.

Lib.3.Chap.3. I Hold that men at Armes entertained are well imployed vnder the authoritie of a wiſe King or Prince, but when he is otherwiſe, or that he leaues Infants, the vſe, wherevnto their Gouernours imploy them, is not alwaies profitable, neither for the King nor for his ſubiects.

Men at Armes lie continually vpon the Country, without paying any thing, committing infinite inſolencies and exceſſe, as all others know: For which they are not content with an ordinarie life, and with that which they finde in a labourers houſe, from whom they are payed: But contrariwiſe they beat the poore men and force them to fetch bread, wine and victuals from abroad: And if he hath a faire Wife or a Daughter, hee ſhall doe well to keepe her ſafely. Yet ſeeing there is pay, it were eaſie to reforme it, ſo as the men at Armes were payed euery two monethes at the fartheſt, and ſo they ſhould haue no excuſe to commit thoſe inſolencies which they doe, vnder coulour of want of pay: For the money is leuied and comes at the end of the yeare. I ſpeake this for our Realme, which is more oppreſt in this caſe then any other that I know, and no man can help it but a wiſe King. Other neighbour countries haue other puniſhments.

Sieges

Sieges.

ALthough that ſometimes ſallies bee very neceſſarie, yet are they dangerous for them that are in a place, for the loſſe of Ten men is greater to them then a hundred to the enemie without, their numbers not being equal: neither can they recouer more when they will, and they may looſe a Commander or a Leader, which oftentimes is the cauſe that the reſt of the ſouldiors demand nothing more then to abandon the place.

In ſieges of places the loſſe of one man alone is the cauſe to preſerue his Maſter from a great inconuenience, although he be not of his houſe, nor of any great extraction, but onely hath iudgment and vertue. *Example in* Cohin, *an Engliſhman, who being ſlaine with a Canon ſhot within Nancy, the Engliſhmen whom he commanded mutined and cauſed the Towne to be yeelded.* Lib. 5. Chap. 3.

After that a Prince hath laid ſiege againſt a place, and planted his Artilerie, if any come to enter and to relieue it againſt him they are worthy of death, by the law of Armes. Yet it is not practiſed in our Warres, which are more cruell then the wars of Italy or Spaine, *whereas they vſe this cuſtome.* Lib. 5. Chap. 6.

Deſpaire of ſuccors make men beſieged to put all things in hazard. *Example by the furious ſallie of them of Liege who had like to haue taken or ſlaine the King, or the Duke of Bourgundy.*

Victorie.

THey doe alwaies augment the number of the vanquiſhed. I haue ſeene in many places whereas for one man they ſaid they had ſlaine a hundred, to pleaſe them, and with ſuch lies they doe ſometimes abuſe their maſters. Lib. 2 Chap. 2.

Hee that gaines in warre growes in greater reputation with his Souldiors then before. His obedience encreaſeth. They grant him what hee demands, and his men are more hardie and couragious. Lib. 2. Chap. 2.

Changes.

THe changes are great after the death of great and mighty Princes, where ſome looſe, and others gaine. In the Prologue.

Great changes proceed not from fortune, which is nothing but a Poeticall fiction. The Author ſpeakes this vppon the Conſtables ruine, and concludes in theſe tearmes. He ſhould be very ignorant that ſhould beleeue that fortune, or any ſuch like thing, ſhould cauſe ſo wiſe a man to be hated of theſe two Princes Lib. 1. Chap. 12.

at

at one inſtant who in their liues did neuer agree in any thing but in this, and moſt of all of the King of England who had married his Neece, and did wonderfully loue all his wiues kindred, and eſpecially thoſe of this houſe of St Pol. It is likely and very certaine that hee was depriued of the grace of GOD to haue made himſelfe an enemie to theſe three Princes, and not to haue any one friend that durſt lodge him one night, and there was no other fortune that had any hand in it but God, and ſo it hath happened and will happen to many others, who after great and long proſperities fall into great aduerſities.

When as a great man hath loſt all his owne, he ſoone wearies them that ſupport him. *Example of* Rene *Duke of Lorraine, who retired into France after the Duke of Bourgundie had taken his Country.*

Lib. 5. Chap. 5. God giues extraordinarie willes vnto Princes when it pleaſeth him to change their fortunes. *Example of* Charles *Duke of Bourgundie who grew obſtinate at the ſecond ſiege of Nancy, againſt the aduice of his Councell.*

Proſperitie, Aduerſitie.

Lib. 3. Chap. 5. A Misfortune neuer comes alone.

Lib. 4. Chap. 3. Proſperitie makes people proud. *Example of them of Arras.*

Lib 5, Chap. 5. Princes are proud and ſeeke not the true remedies in their misfortunes, whereof the firſt is to returne vnto God, and to conſider if they haue offended him in any thing, and to humble themſelues before him, and acknowledge their errors: For it is he that iudges of ſuch ſuites whereas no error can bee propounded. After this, it will doe him great good to conferre with ſome priuate friend, and boldly to diſcouer his griefes vnto him, for it doth eaſe and comfort the heart, and the ſpirits recouer their vertue, conferring thus with ſome one in priuate; or elſe he muſt ſeeke another remedy by exerciſe and labour, for of neceſſitie, ſeeing we be men, ſuch griefes muſt paſſe with great paſſion, either in publike or in priuate.

Lib. 5. Chap 7. In time of aduerſitie euerie one murmures and contemnes all the actions of the afflicted. *Example in the Duke of Bourgundy after the loſſe of the battels of* Granſon *and* Morat.

Lib. 5. Chap. 6. Wee muſt hold for certaine that the great proſperities of Princes, or their great aduerſities, proceed from the Diuine prouidence.

Lib. 1. Cha. 15. If men were alwaies wiſe, they ſhould bee ſo temperate in their ſpeeches in time of proſperitie, as they ſhould haue no cauſe to change in time of aduerſitie. *The Flemings during the life and proſperitie of their Duke, ſpake not to the King, nor of the King*

King with ſuch reuerence as they haue done ſince.

Affliction troubles the minde and alters the complexion. *This was knowne in the Duke of Bourgundy after the Battell of* Granſon. *He was neuer ſo wiſe as he had been, his choller and naturall heat was ſo great before as he dranke no wine, and after this they cauſed him to drinke it pure.*

Diuiſion.

ALl good things in this world are ouerthrowne by diuiſion, and it is almoſt impoſsible that many great Noblemen of like eſtate can long entertaine themſelues together, if there bee not a head aboue them, and if it were neceſſarie he ſhould be wiſe and well eſteemed to draw obedience from them all. *Lib. 2. Cha. 16.*

A wiſe Prince hauing the command of ten thouſand men, and meanes to entertaine them, is more to bee feared then ten hauing either of them ſix thouſand, all allyed and confederate together, for that they haue ſo many things to decide among them, as halfe the time is ſpent before any thing can bee conceiued. *Lib. 1. Chap. 16.*

The true ſigne of the ruine of a Countrey is when as they that ſhould hold together are deuided and abandon it. *Example in the Towne of Dinand, which left the alliance of them of Liege.* *Lib. 2. Chap. 1.*

Factions are much to be feared in a Realme when as they happen, and cauſe great ruines. *Example of the diuiſions of England betwixt the houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke.* *Lib. 3. Chap. 7.*

When as a faction begins, although there be but two or three Princes, or meaner men that deale in it, yet before the feaſt hath continued two yeares all the neighbours are inuited. *Lib. 3, Chap. 8.*

There was neuer any faction begun in the countrie but the end was preiudiciall and hard to be quencht. *Lib. 4. Chap. 9.*

Diuiſions are the ſprings of Warre from whence grow mortalitie and famine, and all theſe miſeries proceed for want of faith. *Lib. 5. Cha. 18*

Wee muſt confeſſe (conſidering the wickednes of men, and eſpecially of great men who know not, neither doe beleeue that there is a God) that it is neceſſarie that euery Nobleman and Prince ſhould haue his contrarie to keep him in feare and humilitie, elſe no man ſhould bee able to liue vnder them or neere them.

Commotions and Seditions.

IN tumults and Seditions the moſt wicked are moſt bold and hardie. *In the Prologue.*

Liberality.

In the Apology. RIches and Honors are not giuen at their pleaſures that demand them.

Lib.5.Cha.18. King *Lewis* the eleuenth gaue much to Churches. In ſome things leſſe had done better: For he tooke from the poore to giue to them which had no neede. To conclude, there is no perfect meaſure in this world.

Iuſtice and Iniuſtice.

THere are Princes which puniſh vnder a colour of Iuſtice, and haue Inſtruments fit for their humours, who of a venialll ſinne make it mortall. If they haue no matter, they finde meanes to delay the hearing of the parties and witneſſes, to ruine them in expences, expecting ſtill if any one will complaine of him which is in durance, and whom they hate. If this courſe will not ſerue to compaſſe their intention, they haue others more ſuddaine; ſaying that it were neceſſary to make him an example, making his caſe as they thinke good.

To others that hold of them and are ſomewhat ſtronger, they proceede by way of fact, and ſay: Thou diſobaieſt or doeſt contrary to the homage which thou oweſt me, and ſo by force they take from him that which he hath, if they can, (at the leaſt they doe their beſt) and make him to liue miſerably. He that is but their Neighbour (if he be ſtrong and reſolute) they ſuffer him not to liue: but if he be weake, he knowes not what courſe to take. They will ſay vnto him, he hath ſupported their enemies, or they will ſend their men at Armes to liue in his Country, or will buy quarrels, or finde occaſions to ruine him, or will maintaine his Neighbour againſt him, and will lend them men. Of their Subiects, they will diſgrace ſuch as haue ſerued their Predeceſſors well, to raiſe new men.

Puniſhment.

Lib.4.Chap.13. TO ſee the things which God hath done in the World, and doth daily, it ſeemes that he will leaue nothing vnpuniſhed, and we may ſee plainly that theſe ſtrange workes come from him: for they are beyond the workes of nature, and his puniſhments are ſo ſuddaine, eſpecially againſt them that vſe violence and cruelty; who commonly are no meane perſons, but great, either in Signeurie, or the Princes Authority.

Iniuries,

Iniuries, Offences, and Outrages.

PRinces and they that are in great Authority, ſhould feare to doe or ſpeake outragiouſly, and haue a care to whom they ſpeake them: For the greater they are, the more ſencible and diſtaſtfull are the outrages they doe; for it ſeemes that outrages will bee more noted for the greatneſſe and authoritie of the perſon that commits them, and if he be their Maiſter or Lord, they will diſpaire euer to receiue honour or fauour from him, and more men ſerue for the hope of future good, then for that which they haue receiued. *Example of the lye which the Conſtable gaue to the Lord of Imbercourt at the conference of Roy.*

Prudence, Experience, and Occaſion.

IHaue ſeene few men that could flye time, and auoyd their misfortunes, neither heere, nor in any place elſe: For the one hath no experience, hauing not ſeene their neighbour Countries, which is a great error in all men of worth, for it giues a great iudgement & reſolution to haue ſeene thinges by experience. Others haue to great a loue to their Goods, Wiues, and Children. And theſe reaſons haue beene the cauſes of the ruine of many good men. *Lib. 1. Chap. 3.*

Men which haue no experience, maintaine many ill grounded arguments, and with ſmall reaſon. Wherefore it is good to follow the opinion of him which ſaith, *That no man repents himſelfe of ſpeaking little, but oftentimes for ſpeaking to much.* *Lib. 1. Chap. 3.*

Secrecy.

AS ſoone as Princes depart one from another, they ſecretly whiſper whatſoeuer hath beene obſerued in them, and then through indiſcretion ſpeake of it openly at dinner and ſupper, and then it is reported of both ſides, for few thinges are kept ſecret in this world, eſpecially of thoſe which are ſpoken. *Lib. 11. Cha. 8.*

Knowledge.

A Prince, or man of any Eſtate whatſoeuer, if he haue force and authoritie where he liues ouer others, if he bee learned and hath ſeene or read, it will either amend him or impaire him: For the bad impaire with much knowledge, and the good amend. Yet it is credible, that knowledge doth rather amend him then impaire *Lib. 5. Cha. 18.*

him, were there nothing but the ſhame to know his owne euill, it were ſufficient to keepe him from doing ill, at the leaſt not to wrong any man, whereof I haue ſeene many experiences among great perſonages, whom knowledge hath drawne from many bad deſſeignes, and alſo the feare of Gods puniſhment, whereof they haue greater knowledge then ignorant men, who haue neither ſeen nor read.

Hiſtory.

Lib. 3. Chap. 6.

IT is a great aduantage for Princes to haue read Hiſtories in their youth, where they may plainely read of ſuch aſſemblies, and of the great fraudes, deceipts and periuries, which ſome of the ancients haue vſed one againſt another, hauing taken and ſlaine them that haue relyed vpon ſuch aſſurances. It is not ſaid that all haue vſed it, but the example of one is ſufficient to make many wiſe, and to giue them a will to ſtand vpon their gard: And in my opinion one of the greateſt means to make a man wiſe is to haue read ancient Hiſtories and to learne to gouerne himſelfe wiſely thereby, and by the example of our predeceſſors. For our life is ſo ſhort as it ſufficeth not to haue experience of ſo many thinges. Beſides we are decayed in age and the life of man is not ſo long as it was wont to be, nor their bodies ſo ſtrong,

All the Bookes that are written were to no vſe, if it were not to reduce things paſt to memory, where we ſee more in one booke in three monthes, then twenty men liuing ſucceſſiuely one after another, can ſee by the eye or learne by experience. Although that enemies nor Princes be not alwaies alike (notwithſtanding that the ſubiect be) yet is it good to be informed of thinges paſt.

Nouriſhment.

Lib. 1. Chap. 9.

ALl men that haue beene great, and done great matters, haue begun very yong. And it cõſiſts in the education, or coms from the grace of God. *This is ſpoken by the Author vppon the good education of* Lewis *the eleuenth, without the which it had beene impoſſible for him to haue ſurmounted thoſe great difficulties which he had in the beginning of his raigne, and to blame that of the noblemen of his time, who were not bred vp but to ſhew their folly in their ſpeach and apparrell.* They haue no knowledge of any learning, and there is not a wiſe man among them. They haue Gouernors to whom they talk of their affaires, and not to themſelues, and they diſpoſe thereof, and there are ſuch Lords which haue not ſixeſcore and ten pounds ſtarling yearely rent which take a glory in ſaying, *ſpeake vnto my officers*, thinking by theſe wordes to ſeeme great men. In like manner I haue often ſeen ſuch ſeruants make their profit of their maiſters, giuing them

them to vnderſtand that they were beaſts. And if happily any one returnes and deſires to know his owne, it is ſo late as it ſerues him to ſmall purpoſe.

A Princes ſubiects haue cauſe to greeue, when they ſee his Children ill bred vp, and in the hands of bad conditioned men.

Nature.

A Naturall wit, perfectly good excells al other ſciences, that may bee learned in the world. *Example of* Lewis *the eleuenth who without any knowledge of learning had the reputation and the effects of the wiſeſt Prince of his age.*

Hope.

ALL well conſidered our only hope muſt be in God, for in him lies all our aſſurance and all bounty, which cannot be found in any worldly thing, But euery man knowes it too late, and after that he hath need, yet it is better late then neuer. In the end of the firſt Book.

Age.

THe fathers old Age makes him to indure the Inſolencies of his ſonne patiently. *Example of* Philip *Duke of Bourgondy, who diſſembled the bad vſage of his ſonne the Earle of Charolois to them of the houſe of Croy.* Lib. 1. Chap. 2.

Foreſight.

VVIſe men diſcerne ſo farre off as their life is not ſufficient to ſee halfe of thoſe things which they haue foreſeene. Lib. 3. Chap. 3.

Careleſnes and vigilancy.

MAd and diſtracted Princes are not to bee blamed if they gouerne their affairs ill: but they that haue their iudgments ſound and are well diſpoſed of their perſons, if they ſpend their whole time in idlenes, and folly, they are not to be pitied if they fal into misfortunes: But they which diuide their times according to their age, ſomtimes ſeriouſly and in Councell, and ſomtimes in feaſts and pleaſure, are much to be commended, and the ſubiects are happy to haue ſuch a maiſter. Lib. 6. Cha. 4.

Lib. 6. Chap. 6. It is good to do well whilſt we haue leaſure, and that God giues health and vnderſtanding to men. *Example in* Lewis *the eleuenth who deferred to the laſt daves of his raigne to reforme the diſorders and miſeries of his realme, being preuented by death in this diſcourſe.*

Pride and preſumption.

Lib. 3. Chap. 5. IT is a folly to be careleſſe and not to feare an enemie. *Example of King* Edward *the fourth who neglected the Earle of Warwicks practiſes vvho chaſed him out of England.*

Lib. 5. Chap. 9. There is no cauſe for the which a Prince ſhould ſooner incurre the wrath of God, then when hee thinkes that all the graces and honors which he receiues in this world proceeed from his owne wit and vertue; and doth not attribute all to God as he ought. *Example of the Duke of Bourgondy.*

Lib. 1. Chap. 4. No man, eſpecially a great Prince, ſhould thinke too well of himſelfe, but acknowledge all grace and good fortune to come from God.

Lib. 6. Chap. 9. It is a great error in a Prince to thinke better of his owne opinion then of many, the which is ſomtime the cauſe of great croſſes and loſſes which cannot be recouered. *Example of King* Edward *the fourth who did not beleeue the counſell which was giuen him to aſſiſt the Princeſſe of Bourgondy againſt the King.*

Lib. 5. Chap. 5. Proude Princes in their misfortunes ſeeke not the true remedies, nor flye not to God, who alone determines of battailes.

Treachery.

Lib. 5. Chap. 6. THere is not any reaſon can hide the breach of faith and honor. *Againſt the Duke of Bourgondy, who ſuffered the Conſtable to be taken after he had giuen him a Paſſport.*

Lib. 5. Chap. 6. A good Prince ſhould neuer conſent to any treacherous wrong nor diſloyalty, what counſell ſoeuer is giuen him.

Duty.

TO terrifie a Maiſter, and to hold him in ſuſpicion, had neuer any good end. *Example of the Earle of Armagnac, and the Conſtable of* S^t. *Pol.*

Lib. 3. Cha. 12. They moſt commonly grow inſolent which haue done good ſeruice, for they thinke their merits are ſuch, as they ſhould endure much of them, and that they cannot liue without them. But Princes on the other ſide are of opinion, and ſay, that they are bound to ſerue them well, and deſire to bee rid of them which vſe them roughly.

They

They which ſpeake or write things in a manner contrary to their thoughts, labour much to ſhorten their owne liues.

A good man.

THere is no danger to commit a buſineſſe to a man that is honeſt and honorable. *It is the Iudgement of* Lewis *the eleuenth made of the Lord of Leſcun, who although hee followed a contrary party to the King, yet would he haue no intelligence with the Engliſh; nor conſent that any places in Normandy ſhould be giuen vnto them.* Lib. 3. Chap. 12.

The perſon of one man alone is ſomtimes the cauſe to preſerue his maiſter from a great inconuenience, although hee be neither of his houſe nor of anygreat extraction, but hath onely Iudgement and vertue. *The loſſe of Cohin was the cauſe of that of Nancy for the Duke of Bourgondy.*

FINIS.

An Alphabeticall Table of the principall matters contained in the first seuen Bookes of this History.

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